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A CAERETAN HYDRIA IN DUNEDIN

THE vase here described¹ was recently presented to the Otago Museum in commemoration of the distinguished services of Dr. H. D. Skinner, for many years Director of the Museum. It was formerly on the Rome market. It is restored from fragments, and missing pieces of the neck, mouth, and shoulder have been replaced by plaster. The joints and plaster restorations have been carefully painted over, and there has been a good deal of repainting where the glaze was worn. On the mouth, neck, and shoulder the restorations, though extensive, merely fill gaps in a well-defined pattern, and can therefore be passed over without a detailed description. The repainting of the figures on the body of the vase will be described at greater length below. The clay is a fine, clear red, rather lighter than the usual colour of Attic. The principal dimensions of the vase are as follows (measurements in metres):

Overall height	0.44
Height of neck	0.095
Greatest diameter of body	0.32
Diameter of rim	0.21
" of lowest part of neck	0.125
" of junction of foot and body	0.105
" of foot	0.19

The body is ovoid, with high, flat shoulders. It is separated from the wide flaring foot by a low, raised ridge. A similar ridge separates the shoulder from the neck, which is cylindrical with slightly concave sides. The lip flares widely. The side handles are small and slope slightly upward; they are attached just above the widest part of the vase and below the sharpest curve of the shoulder. The vertical handle is divided by three deep, vertical grooves. The inside of the mouth and the upper surface of the foot are ornamented with rounded tongues of black glaze. These were painted alternately red and white, but the paint, which was applied on top of the black glaze, is now much worn. On the lower part of the body are short black rays; above these is a rather wider zone with a chain of five-petalled lotuses linked to five-leaved palmettes. The second and fourth leaves of the palmettes were red. The inner petals of the lotuses were mostly red, though some show traces of white paint. There are also traces of white paint on some of the outer petals, but it does not appear that the whole chain was painted red and white. The rays and lotus and palmette chain occupy about half the height of the body. The remaining half, up to the shoulder, contains the figured decoration. Above each of the zones into which the body is divided is a broad horizontal black band. Round the shoulder is an ivy wreath, painted in naturalistic style, with leaves and clusters of berries alternating on either side of a double-twined stem. No added colour is used on the ivy.² On the neck are pairs of five-petalled lotuses set back to back; the central petals are red, the second and fourth white; the black outer petals spread widely and form frames, in which are set rosettes of eight long-pointed petals, alternately red and black. Round the outside of the rim is a narrow black battlement maeander, whose merlons and embrasures are decorated with small red crosses. The paint of the coloured parts of the neck and rim is applied directly to the clay instead of being laid on over black glaze as elsewhere on the vase. The handles are black. Below the point where the vertical handle joins the body is a large seven-leaved palmette, and round the ends of the side handles are large rosettes. These are of black glaze; the middle of each petal was painted white, but the paint is much worn.³

The figures in the main zone of the vase (Plate I, *a*) are as follows: In front is a young man⁴ leading two horses. He is running towards the spectator's left. The raised left knee gives con-

¹ Dunedin E.53.61. Professor A. D. Trendall, by whose advice the vase was purchased, very kindly supplied me with microfilms of the articles by Santangelo and Devambez to which reference is made below. Professor G. R. Manton read over the first draft of this paper and added a large number of valuable observations. The staff of the Library of the University of Otago has also assisted me in many ways. But I have been unable to refer to more than a small part of the publications dealing with Caeretan hydriai, and have not therefore attempted a full study of the subject, which would demand not only a complete mastery of the literature but also a first-hand knowledge of the material. Such a study is, I believe, about to be produced by a scholar possessing the necessary qualifications; in the meantime, a description of our vase, together with an attempt to ascertain its relationship to some others of this class, may be of value. I have mentioned in the notes only those works which I have been able to consult. A fuller bibliography may be found in the articles of Santangelo and Devambez and in the relevant volumes of the *CVA*.

The photographs are the work of Miss Daphne Marshall.

² For this pattern, which is often used on these vases, see Santangelo, *Mon Piot* XLIV 7.

³ Santangelo (*op. cit.* 14) points out that these features show the influence of metal vases.

⁴ White is used for the flesh of Herakles and Eurystheus on Louvre E 701, for one of the pairs of combatants in the centauro-machy on Louvre E 700, for the young warriors or hunters on Louvre E 699, for the rider on Louvre E 697, for Kephalos on Louvre E 702, and for two of the four hoplites on the British Museum hydria BM 59. These are only a few examples where sex is beyond question. See also R. M. Cook, *BSA* XLVII 141 n. 78 for the use of white paint for male flesh on Clazomenian vases. The heavily emphasised pectoral muscles are exactly like those of Nessos and Tityos on the vases published by Devambez (*Mon Piot* XLI). More usually this painter uses a continuous curving line, but he is certainly not trying to draw a girl's breasts.

siderable freedom and vigour to his conventional 'kneeling' attitude. The legs are seen in profile. The body is twisted round to face the spectator, and the head is looking back over the left shoulder. In each hand the runner holds the bridle of a horse. The horses are probably to be imagined as following him, but to balance the composition the artist has shown them heraldically opposed on either side of the central figure. They are prancing on their hind legs and striking out with their fore-hooves. Incision is used for the contours and inner details of the human figure, but for the inner details only of the horses. The boy's flesh was white, his hair black. The horses' hooves and tails are red (the paint is much worn), and traces of red paint are visible on the manes. The paint was everywhere applied over the black glaze. The horses' teeth may once have been white,⁵ but no trace of paint is now visible. The shoulder, mane, and head of the left-hand horse have been extensively repainted, and the shape of the head altered thereby; he should have a straight nose like the right-hand horse. The middle incision on his shoulder should continue rather farther to the right than appears from the photograph. His ears are now lost in his mane; whether this was



FIG. 1.—DETAIL OF FRONT OF HYDRIA. Scale 3 : 5.

originally so I am unable to determine. The right-hand horse is less seriously affected by repainting, but the shape of his lower jaw has been slightly altered. The heavy, clumsy headstalls seem to be original. The boy's legs and thighs have been retouched.

The anatomy of both horses and boy will repay study. Each of the boy's ankles is marked with a small incised pothook, the curve being downwards and to the front. The calves and thighs are well developed. The left leg, which is the only one completely visible, shows two faint incisions along the calf. The kneecap is represented by an elaborate incised pattern like two tongues of flame. The thigh is marked with two slightly curved lines, converging downwards. There is a short vertical curved line on the buttock. No serious attempt is made to show the abdominal muscles, though there is a single incision curving to the right and downward from the front of the body towards the left hand. The pectoral muscles are shown by two incised arcs, each rather less than a semicircle, in the centre of which are small incised circles for the nipples. The markings of the upper arms correspond with those of the thighs, and those of the forearms with the calves, but the elbow-joint is only indicated by a small incision near the point. An incised line divides the neck from the body. The nose is straight, the lips large, the eye long and pointed under straight eye-

⁵ As are those of the horses on Louvre E 697, 699.

brows. The iris and pupil are clearly marked. The ear is large and shaped like the upper part of a large question mark set back to front; it has no inner markings. The hair, which is divided into long, slightly crinkly, strands, is swept straight back from the forehead and falls down the back as far as the shoulders.

Of the anatomy of the horse, the most notable features are the three vertical incisions on the outside of the rump, the weak and niggling lines on the inside of the hind leg (those on the right-hand horse are rather more purposeful) and the simple treatment of the shoulder and neck. (The left-hand horse is more elaborate; note especially the folds of skin under the jaw). The manes are differently treated, though the repainting of the left-hand horse has probably exaggerated the difference. One might suppose that the artist was still experimenting with different ways of drawing horses and trying out various effects.

On the back of the vase are two eagles seizing hares, one on each side of the palmette below the vertical handle. The birds are shown grasping their prey with their beaks (this I believe to be incorrect; my own observation leads me to suppose that an eagle first seizes his victim in his claws, then tears it with his beak); their wings are half-folded above their backs and their tail-feathers displayed. Their feet, with talons outstretched, are reaching forward; the bird on the right is almost grasping its hare's hind leg. The hares are attempting to bound away. Incision was used for the interior details but not for the contours; note especially the very fine scales on the lower part of the birds' legs. The beak and claws of the left-hand eagle (Fig. 2) are red; white is used for the upper part of the legs, for a band across the middle of the wing, and for a similar band across the tail. The lower part of the hare's belly was white, but the white paint, which was laid directly on the clay, has mostly disappeared. The group to the right of the vertical handle has been much repainted. The added colour has disappeared except for traces of red on the eagle's legs and a patch of white on its tail. The hare owes its slim figure to the fact that the restorer has repainted the black parts only, without regard to the white belly-stripe, which has disappeared.

These groups of hare and eagle connect our vase closely with the Lion Hunt hydria⁶ in the Louvre. The Louvre eagles are making more use of their claws (though the main weapon is still the beak), but the greatest difference between them and our birds lies in the simplified treatment of the wing feathers. Note especially that the end of the wing appears to be bounded by a single incised line, instead of each pinion being closed separately, as on our vase. The upper part of the leg is sharply defined by an incised line. There are slight differences in the drawing of the beak, and the hare's ear is simplified. This rather more summary treatment of details may mean that the Louvre vase was painted slightly later than that in Dunedin. But if the fronts of the two vases are compared the resemblance between the ankles, knees, and thighs of the Lion Hunters and our boy is obvious. Moreover, the markings on the lioness's hindquarters and those on the hindquarters of our horses are similar. To confirm the close relationship between the two vases, the subordinate decoration of both is similar, except that the Louvre vase has a double battlement meander round the rim.

With the Lion-hunt Hydria Webster⁷ has already associated the Deer-hunt Hydria in the Louvre.⁸ But the difference between our horses and the deer hunter's is marked; note especially the different incisions on the hindquarters and the more elaborate treatment of the neck. Webster⁹ divides the horses on Caeretan hydriai into two groups. Our horses belong to his first class and that of the deer hunter to the second. There can be no doubt that the second group shows an advance in artistic skill over the first; probably therefore it is slightly later in date. The lion hunt seems to come between our vase and the deer hunt; the drawing of the lioness's hindquarters is closer to our horses than to the deer hunter's.

Also closely associated with our vase is one in Amsterdam, formerly in the Scheurleer Museum.¹⁰ This has the same subject as ours in front—a running youth between two horses. Though obviously close to our vase, it is in some ways less successful. The figure, with its left knee touching the ground, its head looking to the spectator's left, and its awkwardly placed hands, lacks the lively vigour of our boy. But the goat-hunt on the back is a spirited piece of work. Note also the rather heavy chain of lotuses and buds, which replaces our lotuses and palmettes round the lower part of the body. It would be rash to speculate too far on the relationship of the Dunedin and Amsterdam vases without a proper knowledge of both, but at least it seems certain that they cannot be widely separated.

I believe that it is safe to say that these four vases are fairly closely related, and that Louvre E 698 and 697 are rather more advanced than the Dunedin vase. We may now attempt to fix the relationship of others to this series.¹¹

⁶ E 698. *CVA Louvre IX*, Pl. 612. (Compare especially our left-hand eagle with *ibid.* fig. 5.) Webster, *JHS XLVIII* 196 ff. Catalogue No. 17.

⁷ *Op. cit.* 204.

⁸ E 697. *CVA Louvre IX*, Pl. 609 and 611. Webster, *op. cit.* Catalogue No. 15.

⁹ *Op. cit.* 204.

¹⁰ *CVA Musée Scheurleer I*, pl. 19, figs. 3 and 4. Webster, *op. cit.* Catalogue No. 13.

¹¹ In the following discussion I have only considered those vases about which I could form an opinion from the photographs available to me. My method is based upon that of Webster, and has led me to very similar results. I hope that it may prove applicable to the rest of the material.

The following vases seem closely related to ours:

(1) *The Louvre Centauromachy*.¹² Not only are the hindquarters of the centaurs similar to those of the Dunedin horses, but the knees and thighs of their front legs are marked like those of our boy. The pectoral muscles are indicated by a continuous curving line instead of two semicircles. The hair of the left-hand centaur resembles our boy's; that of the right-hand centaur has been repainted.¹³ The diving eagles on the back of this vase, with their bright-coloured ruffs, are rather different from ours, but show a family likeness about the beak and eye. The shoulder (rounded tongues), neck (large rosettes), and rim (laurel wreath) show quite a different scheme of decoration, but this must not be allowed to outweigh the close anatomical resemblance of the figures.

(2) *The Louvre Punishment of Tityos*.¹⁴ The attitude of Tityos¹⁵ resembles that of the boy on our vase, and the treatment of his ankles, knees, thighs, and pectoral muscles is similar. Note also the dancers on the shoulder of the vase;¹⁶ the attitudes and anatomical details of the youths are particularly close to our boy. (I am convinced that these figures are male, not 'danseuses'; for the use of white for male flesh see Note 4 *supra*.) The dresses of Artemis and Leto¹⁷ resemble



FIG. 2.—EAGLE AND HARE TO LEFT OF VERTICAL HANDLE. Scale 3:4.

those of the hunters on E 698, with folds radiating from the middle of the girdle and straight lower edges. The hair of Leto, though streaming wildly in the wind, resembles that of our boy in that it is swept straight back from the forehead.

(3) *The Louvre Calydonian Boar Hunt*.¹⁸ The dress of the boar-hunters is like that of the lion-hunters. The hindquarters of the boar, and of Europa's bull on the back of the vase, resemble those of the Dunedin horses. Note, however, the different treatment of the subordinate decoration.

(4) *The Louvre Infant Hermes*.¹⁹ This vase and the next clearly form a pair. They are distinguished from the others by the shape of the rim, by the subordinate decoration (their necks come close to that of E 696), and by the unusually large proportion of the body given up to the figured zone. But the cattle on the Hermes vase are very close to Europa's bull on the back of E 696. (Contrast the necks of the winged bulls on the back of the Deer-hunt Vase, E 697). The two vases are further connected by the conventional use of a hare (on the island of Crete, and among the

¹² E 700. *CVA Louvre IX*, Pl. 613, 614 fig. 2, and 615. Webster, *op. cit.* Catalogue No. 10.

¹³ *CVA Louvre IX* Text III Fa p. 7.

¹⁴ Devambaz, *Mon. Piot.* XLI 29 ff.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* 45, Fig. 8.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* 31, Fig. 1.

¹⁷ Leto rather than Ge; *op. cit.* postscript on p. 62.

¹⁸ E 696. *CVA Louvre IX*, Pl. 609, 610. Webster, *op. cit.* Catalogue No. 5.

¹⁹ E 702. *CVA Louvre IX*, Pl. 616 and 618. Webster, *op. cit.* Catalogue No. 9.

bushes by the mouth of the cave) to show which parts of the picture are solid earth. The convention is similar to the more familiar one (also used by our artist on both his Europa vases²⁰) by which dolphins and other fishes show the sea. The hair of the figures is swept straight back from the forehead. Webster²¹ calls the Hermes vase late because of the drawing of Eos on the back. The lower edge of her dress is not straight but scalloped. But this seems to me to be a very different thing from the attempt to show folds in depth on the British Museum hoplite vase.²² Moreover, the dresses of Kephalos and the figures in the cave have straight lower edges. That of Kephalos is very close to the lion hunters'. His attitude, and the markings of his knees and thighs, as far as they can be distinguished from the photograph, resemble those of the Dunedin boy.

(5) *The Louvre Herakles and Cerberus*.²³ Since this vase obviously goes with the last, it will suffice to call attention to the resemblance between the hair of Eurystheus and that of the Dunedin boy, and to the incised details of the knees, thighs, and ankles of Herakles. The hindquarters of Cerberus are treated in the same way as those of our horses. The hare on the back is close to those on our vase and E 698, and the flying eagles come from the same eyrie as our birds.

(6) *The London Arimaspean*.²⁴ Note especially the hindquarters of the animals, the folds of the Maenads' dresses, and the incisions on the knees, thighs, and ankles of the satyrs.

(7) *The Louvre Punishment of Nessos*.²⁵ The hair of Oineus, Deianeira, and the sphinxes on the back of this vase is like that of the Dunedin boy. Note also the straight lower edge of Oineus' dress and the thighs, hindquarters, and pectoral muscles of Nessos. But the figure of Herakles resembles that on the Busiris hydria rather than that of Louvre E 701.

I agree with Santangelo that 'il faut renoncera répartir nos hydries en groupes distincts', but it does seem to me that the following vases are marked off by peculiarities of drawing from those already discussed. They seem to me to show an advance in artistic skill, and I would regard them as representative of the artist's later manner.

(1) *The London Hoplite Vase*.²⁶ The lower edge of the hoplites' kilts shows an advance in the treatment of folds, as Webster points out. But this vase is obviously connected with the Louvre Centauromachy (E 700) by the details of the warriors' breastplates. I am unable to distinguish any incision on the rump of the horse or the knee of the boy in Webster's Fig. 1, but the horse is certainly a finer animal than ours.

(2) *The Berlin Chariot Scene*.²⁷ The elaborate lower edge of the woman's dress has been noted by Webster, and is more advanced than the kilts of the London hoplites. The woman's hair, instead of being swept straight back, has a braid looped across the forehead. The left knee of the young man mounting the chariot seems to be a modified version of the early 'flame pattern' type. There is only a single incision on his thigh.

(3) *The Departure of Warriors in the Louvre*.²⁸ Webster had already noted the more advanced treatment of the folds of the dresses on this vase, the more elaborate necks of the horses, and the drawing of their hindquarters.²⁹ Note also the left knees of the young warriors (the only ones that are visible). Instead of the elaborate 'flame pattern' of the early vases there are only two vague hooked lines. The characteristic pothook on the ankle is also missing. The hair of the woman between the two horses, instead of being brushed straight back, is arranged in a fringe over the forehead, and is swept back from the top of the head. (The two sphinxes on the back of the vase have similar fringes.) The woman's ear is hidden by what seem to be three small curls, and she wears a large ear-ring. This hair style, with fringe, may represent an actual change in fashion, as it is not found on the earlier vases.

The form of this vase is remarkable. The shoulder is unusually rounded and wide in proportion to the height of the vase. The side handles are in consequence set on rather high. The rim slopes the opposite way to that of most vases, being narrower above than below.

(4) *The Busiris Hydria*.³⁰ The knees of the Egyptian police on the back of this vase are marked with two curved lines instead of the 'flame pattern'. They have three parallel incisions on the upper part of the thigh. The pectoral muscles are shown by a horizontal incised line, slightly turned up at the ends. The tight loin-cloths are very different from the dress of, for example, the lion-hunters on Louvre E 698. But a different garment is being shown.

On the front of the vase, the Herakles is very different from the early Herakles of Louvre E 701; details of the ankles, knees, and thighs are also different. The Louvre Punishment of Nessos, as already noted, helps to link these two. But I have been unable to examine all our artist's other drawings of Herakles, and so feel unable to discuss this matter at length.

²⁰ The Villa Giulia Europa (Webster, *op. cit.* Catalogue No. 6) is known to me only from the drawing in Poulsen, *Delphi*, fig. 21 on p. 79.

²¹ *Op. cit.* 204.

²² Webster, *op. cit.* Catalogue No. 11 (Pl. XI 2).

²³ E 701. *CVA Louvre IX*, Pl. 616-17. Webster, *op. cit.* Catalogue No. 2.

²⁴ BM 1923, 4-19, 1. Webster, *op. cit.* Catalogue No. 18 and Pl. XI, 1, and XII.

²⁵ Devambez, *op. cit.* esp. Pl. VI.

²⁶ Webster, *op. cit.* Catalogue No. 11, Pl. XI 2 and Fig. 1.

²⁷ Webster, *op. cit.* Catalogue No. 19. Known to me only from Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Fig. 151. My opinions, not being based on pictures of the whole vase, may be completely wrong.

²⁸ E 699. *CVA Louvre IX*, Pl. 613 and 614. Webster, *op. cit.* Catalogue No. 16.

²⁹ *Op. cit.* 204.

³⁰ Webster, *op. cit.* Catalogue No. 1. The best illustrations available to me have been Pfuhl, *op. cit.* Figs. 152, 153.

It cannot, I think, be maintained that the Busiris vase is early because the lower edges of the Egyptians' dresses are straight. The Egyptians are not merely running or standing, but being tossed about in the wildest confusion, and the artist has evidently felt himself unequal to the task of depicting the disorder of their dress. He has, however, been able to cover up his inadequacy by giving the garments tasselled fringes.³¹

To sum up, our vase is to be placed early in the artist's career. It is connected through the Lion Hunt (Louvre E 698) with the Deer Hunt (Louvre E 697), and the Deer Hunt, by the drawing of the horses, is connected with the Departure of Warriors (Louvre E 699). These four vases seem to represent successive stages in the artist's development; the difference between the first and last is so great that one might suppose that the vases were by different hands were it not for the connecting links. Of the other vases discussed, only the London hoplite vase, the Berlin Chariot scene, and the Busiris hydria are in the artist's late manner, and the first two of these are less fully developed than the last. I have disregarded the theory of development from 'Ionian' polychromy to a more severe 'Atticising' black figure.³² Our vase illustrates the dangers with which this theory is beset; it was obviously once very much more gaily coloured than its appearance, or that of its photographs, would lead one to suppose.

That the vases were the work of an Ionian exile from Asia Minor, who had perhaps fled to Caere to escape the Persians, seems generally agreed.³³ Until more is known about the pottery produced by the various Greek cities in Asia Minor during the sixth century, the exact home of our artist will remain doubtful.³⁴

Although many Caeretan hydriai show scenes from Greek mythology, I have been unable to find a satisfactory mythological interpretation for the picture on our vase. The facts that there are similar eagles on the Louvre Lion-hunt Vase and that the vase in Amsterdam has a boy hunting a goat on its back show that there is no symbolic connexion between the front and back of our hydria.

Professor Manton has called my attention to the extraordinarily close anatomical resemblance of some of the figures painted on the walls of the Tomb of the Augurs at Tarquinii³⁵ to those on the Caeretan hydriai, which I believe to be in the artist's early manner. Besides the points of resemblance to which Pallottino has called attention, note the knees and ankles of the wrestlers³⁶ and the drawing of the legs of the masked man.³⁷ Pallottino, while recognising the connexion between these paintings and the Caeretan hydriai,³⁸ considers that the former display 'a savagery combined with reminiscences of ancient rites which differentiates them from the East Greek tradition and emphasises their originality and singularity'.³⁹ My ignorance and the want of means to remedy it prevent me from doing more than note that a number of difficult problems need to be solved. A possible solution is that a Greek artist, whose vase-paintings show his native genius, was sufficiently affected by his subject matter to display an Etruscan feeling in tomb-paintings which illustrated Etruscan ritual.

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³¹ On the fringed linen *καλάρσις* of the Egyptians see Herodotus II 81; Pfuhl, *op. cit.* I 182.

³² Mingazzini's article (*Bollettino d'Arte*, 2nd Ser. III, 1924) has not been available to me; his views are rejected by Webster (*op. cit.* 203 f.). Beazley believes that the female figures on Santangelo's hydriai A and B once had white paint on their flesh (Santangelo, *op. cit.* 43). See also R. M. Cook, *op. cit.* 147, for the absence of polychromy in Ionia proper.

³³ See Santangelo, *op. cit.* 33 ff. for a fuller discussion and references, especially p. 37 for references to the Hellenism of Caere.

³⁴ I cannot accept Devambez's view that the scene on the shoulder of the Tityos hydria represents a ritual dance in honour of Artemis of the Ephesians. Nor am I wholly satisfied by comparisons between the Caeretan hydriai and the sculptures of the archaic temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

³⁵ Pallottino, *Etruscan Painting*, 37 ff.

³⁶ Pallottino, *op. cit.*, pl. on p. 39.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. on p. 41.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

THREE ATTIC VASES IN THE MUSEUM OF VALLETTA¹

ON Pl. II-III and figs. 1-4, p. 8, I reproduce photographs of three Attic vases in the Museum of Valletta already published by Albert Mayr in *Sitzgsb. d. philos.-philol. u. d. hist. Kl. der Kgl. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1905, Heft III, pl. II, 1, 4 and 5.²

The first vase (Pl. II) is a late black-figured skyphos, height 165 mm.; diameter 222 mm. The obverse represents a chariot with two Amazons; the subject on the reverse is similar, but the second Amazon is here omitted. On both sides the scene is flanked by two sphinxes looking towards the handles. The vase belongs to the group of the CHC skyphoi, on which see Ure, *Sixth and Fifth*, p. 61, 26. 98-100 and Beazley, *Some Attic Vases In the Cyprus Museum*, pp. 22-3. For a list of vases of this group see Ure, *CVI, Reading*, p. 18.

The two other vases are red-figured bell-kraters of the early fourth century. The height of that reproduced on Pl. III a and figs. 1, 3 is 333 mm., its diameter 336 mm. On its obverse a goddess rises from the earth in an ogive-shaped mound and is being received by three satyrs and Hermes;³ on the reverse are three draped youths. The vase belongs to the painter of Louvre G508, on whom see Beazley, *ARV*, pp. 868-9. The closest parallel I can find is the vase San Francisco, de Young Mus. 253. 24876, *CV*, pl. 22, 2, and pl. 24, 1, attributed to the same artist by H. R. W. Smith.

For the identification of the rising figure on the obverse we have to choose between Pandora, Persephone, and Aphrodite. Of the first there are three unquestionable representations in fifth-century Attic red-figure,⁴ but in these, whether she appears in the pure Hesiodic tradition or coming out of the earth, she is in the company not only of Hermes but also of other deities clearly involved in her making or attiring or at least responsible for her apparition,⁵ so I am inclined to rule her out.

The rising of Persephone and the birth of Aphrodite are frequently represented on Attic red-figured vases of the fifth century, but to distinguish between the two is often difficult.⁶ On our vase we should have Aphrodite rather than Persephone because of her naked bosom, which better suits the goddess of love. The half-naked type of Aphrodite is introduced on Attic red-figured vases in the early fourth century by the Jena painter.⁷ Persephone, on the other hand, in the undisputed representations of her in the fifth century, is fully clothed,⁸ and in the fourth she and Pandora give way to the goddess of love, who is now more frequently represented.⁹

In my summary description of the obverse I said that the goddess rises from the earth; this would lead us to accept the existence of a belief in the fourth century in a chthonic Aphrodite.¹⁰

The date of our vase being late, the satyrs would suggest that the painter had in mind not a special satyr-play but only general reminiscences of such plays, if indeed he is thinking of the drama at all.¹¹

Our second bell-krater is reproduced on Pl. III, b and figs. 2, 4. The height is 336 mm., the diameter 343 mm. The obverse represents a group of three maenads and two satyrs, the reverse a Nike between two draped youths. The style is that of the Telos painter, on whom see Beazley, *ARV*, pp. 875-6. Particularly close to our vase are London F76, *ARV*, 876, 7, and London F4, *ARV*, 875, 1.

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¹ My thanks are due to Dr. J. G. Baldacchino, who sent me photographs of these vases and allowed me to publish them, and to Mr. D. B. Harden, who first mentioned them to me. The attribution of the black-figured skyphos is by Professor Sir John Beazley, to whom I am very grateful for permission to study his photographs of unpublished vases by the two painters to whom the red-figured bell-kraters are attributed. He and Professor T. B. L. Webster read my manuscript and suggested various corrections which I have adopted.

² The vases were first mentioned by Jean Houel in *Voyage Pittoresque des Isles de Sicile, de Lipari et de Malte* (Paris, 1787), vol. 4, p. 94, and first published by A. A. Caruana in his *Ancient Pottery from the Ancient Pagan Tombs and Christian Cemeteries in the Islands of Malta* (Malta, 1899), pl. XII, 1-3; Caruana says that they were found in a tomb near Saura Hospital outside Rabat.

³ The enclosure is surrounded by a row of dots, and I could not find any parallels to its shape in any other Attic red-figured vase representing such a subject.

⁴ See the vases mentioned by Beazley in his list of mythological subjects in *ARV* under *Pandora* and *Anesidora*. Beazley believes that the rising woman on London E467, *ARV*, 420, 21, is Pandora, and so does Metzger (*Les représentations dans la*

céramique attique du IV^e siècle, p. 73), but Brommer interprets her as Aphrodite because of Ares' presence (*Satyroi*, p. 14; *Pan* in *Marburger Jb. für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1949-50, pp. 23-4), and with him Rumpf agrees (*Anadyomene*, *Jb.* 1950-51, p. 171).

⁵ See Beazley, *Oxford CV*, text to pl. 21, 1-2, and Buschor, *Feldmäuse* (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie* 1937), pp. 22-8.

⁶ See *Persephone* and *Aphrodite* in Beazley, *ARV*, 984, second column, and 979, first column; also Rumpf, *Anadyomene*, *Jb.* 1950-51, 170 last paragraph.

⁷ See Rumpf, *op. cit.* 172-3.

⁸ See Ferrara T 579, Beazley, *ARV*, 428, 1 above, and New York 28. 57. 23, Beazley, *ARV*, 651, 1.

⁹ See Metzger, *op. cit.* p. 78.

¹⁰ See Buschor, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Rumpf, *op. cit.* p. 168; Metzger, *op. cit.* pp. 72 ff. On the bell-krater Berlin F 2646 (*Mon.* XII, 4; Brommer, *Pan* in *Marburger Jb. für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1949-50, p. 36, fig. 48) I am also inclined to believe that the goddess rises from the earth, not from the sea as Buschor thinks (*op. cit.* p. 31 top).

¹¹ See Buschor, *op. cit.* p. 31, also Brommer, *Satyrspele*, pp. 8, 15-16, and 21.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

FIGS. 1 AND 3.—BELL-KRATER BY THE PAINTER OF LOUVRE G508 IN THE MUSEUM OF VALLETTA (see also Pl. III, *a*).
 FIGS. 2 AND 4.—BELL-KRATER BY THE TELOS PAINTER IN THE MUSEUM OF VALLETTA (see also Pl. III, *b*).

THE MASK OF THE UNDERWORLD DAEMON—SOME REMARKS ON THE PERSEUS-GORGON STORY *

At the VIIth Congress for the History of Religions, held at Amsterdam in 1950, the central question was posed whether a mythical-ritual pattern could be discerned in various ancient and modern civilisations. Reading the Congress Report, one does not get the impression that many final and far-reaching conclusions have been reached. Various conflicting views were brought forward in the section-meetings. But meanwhile the discussion goes on. And it may be not without interest to inquire into some individual cases where a ritual background behind some famous myth can be reconstructed, if not beyond all doubt, at least with a high degree of probability. In the following pages such an attempt is made in the case of the Seriphian Perseus-legend.

The present writer believes that there is a clue to the understanding of this story, which has been overlooked hitherto, namely its connexion with hot springs. A certain number of cults, myths, and legends were connected with such springs in the ancient Greek world; that they all show in origin a chthonic aspect is self-evident. But to dwell upon all of them would fall beyond the scope of this article. Let us for the present moment turn our attention to the thermal springs of that tiny piece of rock in the Aegean round which a major part of the Perseus-story centres.

Seriphos is one of the least important islands of the Cyclades, lying between Kythnos and Siphnos. It is a stony island: the ancients called it *τρηχεῖα* or *πετρώδης*, and in spite of the ever-strenuous efforts of the inhabitants, the soil does not bring forth many fruits; it has a certain importance because of the mines. Indeed, there is some evidence that these mines were used long before classical times,¹ but as no one of the classical writers mentions them, it seems probable that no exploitation took place in the historical period. In fact, the unimportance of the island made the Seriphians often an object of scorn and joke; the anecdote of Themistocles and the Seriphian is well known.² J. T. Bent³ gives an account of a journey to Seriphos, a description of the island and especially of the local folklore. He mentions hot springs near the chapel of St. Isidore,⁴ and says that a yearly festival is still held there. He also tells us that there exists a vivid superstitious belief in the Nereids among the inhabitants, who say that 'warm springs flow from their breasts'.

It is, meanwhile, a remarkable thing that such an unimportant island should be the centre of the famous Perseus-Gorgon legend. The story of it runs as follows:⁵ Danae is put in a coffer with her little son Perseus by her father Acrisius, and thrown into the sea; they are driven by the waves towards Seriphos, where the coffer is caught by Dictys, the son of Peristhenes, in his nets. He receives the mother with her child, and keeps them in his house. When Perseus has grown up, Dictys' brother Polydectes, King of Seriphos, falls in love with Danae, but being afraid of her son, he contrives a plan to send him on a dangerous expedition. As his contribution to an *Eranos* held by Polydectes, Perseus boasts that he could bring the Gorgon-head: the king seizes the opportunity and sends him out to fetch it. The hero goes on his way, is helped by Hermes and Athena, and overcomes manifold difficulties. First he comes to the Graiai, daughters of Phorcys, named Pemphredo, Enyo, and Deino;⁶ they have but one tooth and one eye in common, which Perseus takes away, and returns only on condition that they show him the way to the Nymphs; this they do, and from these Nymphs the hero receives the cap of Hades, which makes invisible, the winged sandals, and the pouch (*κιβισίς*); with the help of these objects⁷ he overcomes the Gorgons and cuts off the head of the mortal Gorgon Medusa.⁸ Then he returns to Seriphos, where he asks Polydectes to assemble the whole people, whereupon he takes the Gorgon-head from the pouch and turns them all into stones. With this frightful scene⁹ the story, as far as it concerns Seriphos, ends.

* *Introductory note.* This article is a slightly altered version of a chapter from my dissertation on cults, myths, and legends connected with hot springs in the Greek world, submitted to the University of Cambridge. I have to thank Professor W. K. Guthrie for much good advice.

Note on some abbreviations: Ross, *Inscr.*: L. Ross, *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres*, 3 vols., Stuttgart, 1840-45; *Cat. Br. Mus.*: A catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum; Frazer, *Paus.*: J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias' description of Greece*, translated with a commentary, 6 vols., London, 1898. Nilsson, *GF*: M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, Leipzig, 1906. *The Herdsman*: The author's *The Herdsman of the Dead*, Utrecht, 1952.

¹ See Büchner, *RE* II A, 1729 sqq.

² Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 329 c; Plut. *Them.* 18.

³ *The Cyclades*, Chapter I.

⁴ Also observed by Ross, *Inscr.* I, 137, cf. the same writer's *Ἀσπὶς Περιόδ.* II (1837), 167 sqq. (I have not seen the latter quotation.)

⁵ The best tradition is in Pherecydes, Jacoby, 3 F 10-11

(Müller, fr. 26, vol. i p. 75), ap. schol. Apoll. Rhod. IV 1091, 1515; cf. also Pind., *Pyth.* X, 44 sq.; a good account also in Apollod. II, 4, 1-3. Only a very broad outline can be given here; fuller treatments, with details of variants, etc., in Roscher and *RE* s.v. 'Perseus'; Robert, *Griech. Heldens.* I, 222 sqq.; a useful collection of the main literary sources and the principal representations in art will be found in J. M. Woodward, *Perseus*, Cambridge, 1937; cf. also E. S. Hartland, quoted *infra* note 13.

⁶ According to Apollod., they are sisters of the Gorgons, cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 270 sqq.; Tz., Schol. Lycophr. 838. According to others, they are guardians of the Gorgons.

⁷ And other weapons, which according to other traditions he gets from Hephaestus, Hermes, and Athena.

⁸ Thereupon Pegasus and Chrysaor are born from the Gorgon's blood; this is told by Apollod., but it is found as early as Hesiod, l.c.

⁹ The oldest evidence is a b.f. vase, ed. by Kretschmer, *Jdl* VII (1892), 38.

Perseus now returns to the Argolid, and from various traditions we hear how he gets his revenge against Acrisius, and how he founded Mycenae, etc.

It is worth remembering that the Gorgons were localised near the mythical entrance to the underworld, just like such infernal beings as Geryon. They lived, according to Hesiod: ¹⁰

... πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο
ἐσχατῇ πρὸς νυκτός, ἴν' Ἑσπερίδες λιγύφωνοι,

that is, on the dwelling-place in the extreme West, where the sun sets; and just as Geryon, the 'roaring', has a suitable name for a daemon of the Underworld, the names of the three sisters are not less suited to such a function; even if we set aside Euryale,¹¹ whose name might be derived from the pursuit of Perseus, the two others, the 'powerful one' and the 'ruling one', are significant enough.¹²

It need hardly be stressed that the story, as it stands, contains many folk-tale elements; ¹³ in particular, the overcoming of many previous difficulties before the hero arrives on the scene of his main task is a curious folk-tale feature; equally the invisibility, the winged sandals, etc. On the other hand, the elements of real heroic legend (the German 'Heldensage') are conspicuous too; ¹⁴ there remains the question, whether the element of myth is also present, in other words, whether we can distinguish a cult-pattern underlying the forms of the story.

The first question we have to ask is, therefore, what could be the reason for localising the story on Seriphos. Hero-cults of Perseus are attested by Pausanias abundantly near Argos-Mycenae and also on Seriphos and perhaps at Athens; ¹⁵ leaving Athens out of account as uncertain, we have the two former places left as centres of Perseus cult. Accordingly, we find Perseus with the Gorgon-head on coins (late specimens, however) of Argos ¹⁶ and rather earlier on those of Seriphos.¹⁷ One glance at the traditional story in Pherecydes and Apollodorus shows us that Perseus was born at Argos, grew up on Seriphos, returned there after his great heroic adventure, and afterwards went back to Argos again. Moreover, we see that the Gorgon-head, frequently used in the story as far as it centres round Seriphos, is given to Athena before the hero returns to his homeland, and plays no rôle in the sequel: Acrisius is overcome in a pentathlon and slain with a discus. As far as the legend is concerned, the whole Gorgoneion story is something particular to Seriphos, and has nothing to do with Argos. But what about the Argive coins showing Perseus with the Gorgon-head? They are so late that they cannot be used as a proof; they were made long after the story was established. Nevertheless, for Perseus himself we have abundant proof that he was a heroic figure deeply rooted in the Argive tradition; the Perseus-cult at Argos, Mycenae, the foundation legend, his genealogy, and above all the cult attested in a very archaic inscription from Mycenae ¹⁸ are evidence enough for that.¹⁹ To sum up the facts: Perseus had hero cults in the Argolid, where he is apparently originally at home; moreover, there was a cult on Seriphos, while the legend localises the Gorgon story there, and not at Argos; the Gorgoneion occurs on the Seriphian coins as early as 300 B.C., on the Argive coins much later.

How, then, to explain the Seriphian legend? Nilsson (*cf.* note 18), after calling Perseus 'the most prominent hero of Mycenae in the earlier mythical generation', and saying that the folk-tale of the slaying of the monster Gorgo was in Mycenaean times already connected with the birth story, gives as his opinion: 'The episode taking place on the island of Seriphos seems to be of a rather late date and may be passed over here'; and a little later: 'There was a heroon said to be that of Perseus on the road from Mycenae to Argos, but that may be late, as was certainly the altar on Seriphos'. Quod est demonstrandum! Kuhnert ²⁰ gives a more detailed argument: 'Die Landung

¹⁰ Hesiod, *l.c.*, especially 274 *sqq.* This is our most ancient source of knowledge about the story of Perseus and the Gorgon; in Homer (*Iliad* XIV, 319 *sq.*) we find just a reference to Danae and Perseus, but his deeds are not yet recorded. The connexion between Gorgon- and Geryon-story is not one of localisation only, but Medusa's son Chrysaor is the father of Geryoneus. For the Gorgoneion apart from Perseus in Homer, *cf. infra* note 49. For Geryon, the West and hot springs, *cf. The Herdsman*, Chapter II.

¹¹ The 'wide-leaping'; the translation is, however, controversial; *cf.* Robert, *l.c.* 224.

¹² Another reference to the legend in Hesiod is *Aspis* 216 *sqq.* On the shield of Heracles we see Perseus with the winged sandals, the Gorgon-head, the pouch, and the Hades-cap. The two sisters of Medusa try to catch him as he flees.

¹³ This has been observed before, *cf.* Robert, *l.c.* 224; Kuhnert, Roscher III, 1989; and especially E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, London, 1894-96, who gives a whole complex of folk-tales from many countries, connected in some way or another with the Perseus story; some additions by A. H. Krappe, *Neuphilol. Mitt.* XXXIV (1933), 225 *sqq.*

¹⁴ Kuhnert, *l.c.* calls the *Eratos* of Polydeutes a 'genuine epic motive'.

¹⁵ Paus. II, 16, 3 (Perseus as founder of Mycenae, *cf.* Apollod. II, 4, 4); II, 16, 6 (a spring called Perseia in the ruins of

Mycenae); and especially II, 18, 1: 'Ἐκ Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐς Ἀργὸς ἰσχυμένους ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Πελοπίδης παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἵσταν ἄρῳ. ἔχει μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα τιμὰς παρὰ τῶν προσχωρίων, μεγίστας δὲ ἐν τῇ Σερίφῳ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, <οἷς> Πελοπίδης τίμενος, καὶ Δίκτυος καὶ Κλυμένης βαυβὺς σωτήρων καλουμένων Πελοπίδης. The text is corrupt; <οἷς> is the reading of Spiro's Teubner-text, but as there is no other evidence for a Perseus-cult at Athens, K. O. Müller proposed to read ἐν τῇ Σερίφῳ οὐ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Πελοπίδης τίμενος κτλ. See Frazer, *Paus.* I, 372.

¹⁶ Frazer, *Paus.* III, 186: 'probably copied from a statue'.

¹⁷ *I.e.* some showing Perseus, others the Gorgon-head; *Cat. Br. Mus. Aegean Islands* 119 *sqq.*; they date from 300 B.C. and later.

¹⁸ *IG* IV, 493, mentioning ἱερουμένους τὴν ἐς Περσὶ, a reference to what was probably a very old cult. See Nilsson, *Mycen. Origin of Gr. Myth.* 40 *sq.*

¹⁹ Kuhnert, *l.c.* 2023 *sq.* calls him a pre-Doric hero of Mycenae and Argos, taken over by the Dorians; at the end of this article we shall see that there is linguistic evidence in support of this view of a pre-Doric (I would rather say pre-Greek) character.

²⁰ *L.c.* 2027. See also A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* I, 406, note 2, who stresses the importance of Seriphos for the dispersion of the legend. He goes even so far as to assume that the whole tale came from Seriphos to the Argolid.

der Truhe mit Danae und Perseus an dem Felseneiland Seriphos ist ein gebräuchliches Bild für die Übertragung eines Kultes, das in ähnlicher Form in Apollo- und Dionysos-Sagen wiederkehrt; Argeier, die auf dem Wege nach Rhodos an der Insel vorüber mussten, haben den Seriphiern die Verehrung der Danae und des Perseus vermittelt.' It is hardly conceivable that the cult and myth were 'dropped on the way' like that. It would be possible, of course, although highly hypothetical, to develop a theory that the island was a half-way house on the trade-route from Argos to Rhodes, and that in the long run Argive cults were imported there; but even so, it would be very much more understandable if we could point to certain circumstances, which made it possible or easy for the local people to 'take over' a cult or mythical pattern, and develop it locally; and in such a case it might be even more interesting and relevant to discover those peculiar circumstances than to ascertain the 'dropping'.

Therefore we ask: Is there some peculiar feature about Seriphos, which might have been the basis for a localisation of the Perseus-Gorgon story, although Perseus is an Argive hero, and a connexion between Argos and Seriphos, comparable with the relations between metropolis and colony, is absent? So much the better if this feature would be primarily concerned with the Gorgon, for, as we saw, this element in the story seems to belong to Seriphos in particular.²¹

Now I have stated in the beginning of this article that Seriphos has hot springs, and that even in modern times a yearly festival near these springs has been recorded by J. T. Bent. In this connexion it is remarkable that at very many places with thermal springs, representations of the Gorgoneion occur in the archaeological finds. This evidence should, however, be handled carefully. Not very long ago, the late M. P. Charlesworth²² warned us, very rightly I think, against uncritical conclusions about the transmission of ideas from the occurrence of identical art symbols. Moreover, one might say that it is no wonder if a considerable number of pictures of the Gorgoneion occur near hot springs, for there are very many of them in general, so why not accidentally near the θερμά λουτρά?

But looking more closely into this vast collection of Gorgon-pictures,²³ we can divide it into three groups: (a) vase-paintings; (b) larger pieces, such as reliefs, etc.; (c) coins. Now the vase-paintings can be discarded here; they never prove anything about local cults. The larger representations are relevant in certain circumstances, especially when they are temple sculptures or paintings, or stelae, and in any case are of more importance than the vase-paintings, not being mass-produced articles for export depicting popular scenes. But the most important of all are the coins. To a very large extent they represent scenes or pictures drawn from local cults and myths. Of course, it sometimes happens that a colonial city merely takes over symbols from the mother-city, and occasionally other borrowings take place, but in most cases it is fairly easy to distinguish this phenomenon. As regards the Gorgoneion, we have especially to be on our guard against cases where it is merely an attribute of Athena.²⁴ But after taking all these precautions we can reach the following results: The Gorgoneion appears at Seriphos (cf. note 17), Himera,²⁵ Segesta,²⁶ Selinus²⁷ (i.e. all three of the principal Sicilian sites of hot springs!), Melos,²⁸ Iconium in Lycaonia,²⁹ Methymna and other places on Lesbos,³⁰ Neandria in the Troad,³¹ Aegae in Cilicia(?),³² Apollonia ad Rhyndacum and Parium in Mysia.³³ Dubious cases are: Thermon in Aetolia,³⁴ and Bath (Aquae Sulis) in Britain.³⁵

It may be interesting to quote some comparative figures. In the Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, which covers by far the greater part of the sites, although, e.g., the Gorgoneia on the coins of Melos and Himera are not recorded in it,³⁶ I noted twenty-seven Greek cities with Gorgoneion coins; among these are Athens and Corinth with their dependent cities, of which Athens had the symbol as an attribute of Athena, and in the case of Corinth one might be inclined to attach importance to the existence of hot springs on the Isthmus, which I have not done. Even so, if we add to the

²¹ It is frequently held that the stony character of the island is a sufficient reason (cf. Robert, *l.c.* 234); but there are other stony islands as well on the route from Argos to Rhodes; why, then, especially Seriphos? Moreover, this would imply that the story existed already before the people localised it there. But no trace points to variants, let alone old variants, in which the turning of the hero's enemies to stone occurs elsewhere.

²² *AJP* LXX (1949), 331 sq.

²³ A catalogue in J. Six, *De Gorgone*, Amsterdam, 1885; A. Furtwängler, *Roscher* I, 1701 sqq.

²⁴ Cf. Furtwängler, *l.c.*, 1719.

²⁵ Coins: Grose, *Cat. McClean Coll. of Greek Coins in the Fitzw. Mus.* I, 272; Head, *HN*² 146.

²⁶ Coins: Grose, *l.c.* 302; *Cat. Br. Mus. Sicily* 135, Head, *HN*² 166.

²⁷ Metope of the famous temple C, cf. Benndorf, *Metopen v. Selinus* 44.

²⁸ Coins: Seltman, *Greek Coins*, 174, cf. n. 36 below. Terra-cotta-relief: Six, *l.c.* 55; Furtwängler 1719.

²⁹ Coins: Head, *HN*² 713 sq., Hasluck, *BSA* XVIII, 267. Stele with Gorgon mentioned by Eust. in Dion. 837, Malalas, *Chron.* O 42 (= ed. in *Corpus Scr. Hist. Byz.* p. 36), connected with local legend. For the warm 'spring of Plato' (this 'Plato' being a medieval magician) there cf. *The Herdsman*, p.

82. Curiously enough, a tale connected with the Gorgon's head was still found near Iconium in medieval times. See Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus* III, 139.

³⁰ Coins: *Cat. Br. Mus. Troas, etc.* LXIII, 151, 157, 177.

³¹ Bronze relief from Neandria near the most famous hot springs of the Troad; Furtwängler, *l.c.* 1718.

³² Coin: *Cat. Br. Mus. Lycaonia, etc.* XIII; uncertain.

³³ The oldest coins of both cities all with the Gorgoneion: *Cat. Br. Mus. Mysia* 8 sq., 94 sqq.; the country around there is full of hot springs, cf. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* 141 and his map 'Environments of Cyzicus'. The attribution of the coins to Apollonia by Six, *l.c.* 37 sqq. is generally approved.

³⁴ The famous metopes of the temple of Apollo Thermios: 'Ep. 'Apx. 1903, pl. 4; but again the existence of hot springs is not proved; I hope to return to this question in another publication.

³⁵ The pediment of the temple of Sul-Minerva with the male bearded Gorgon-head; but it is doubtful whether this has any connexion with the Greek Gorgon at all, and even so, it may be merely an attribute of Athena-Minerva.

³⁶ *I.e.* those of Himera are there wrongly assigned to Camarina. For the Melos gorgoneion coin, see *Catalogue of the Jameson Collection* pl. LXVI no. 1295.

list Melos and Himera, out of these twenty-nine there are eleven where hot springs occur in the neighbourhood. Certainly a high percentage.³⁷

In view of these facts I venture to draw the conclusion that the occurrence of the Gorgon or more usually the Gorgoneion on coins or major pieces of art of cities near hot springs is too frequent to be explained as a mere coincidence, and that there is a considerable chance that these representations are in many cases an echo of local cults.

After this, returning to Seriphos, we ask: Is the Gorgon-head on the coins of this island merely an echo of the established Perseus legend, or has it an independent significance? In other words, was the Gorgon there before Perseus? J. T. Bent³⁸ informs us that the inhabitants of Seriphos brought him ancient coins with the Medusa, saying that it was a picture of 'the first queen of the island'. Did these peasants, in their simplicity, grasp something of the truth? In order to answer this question, we have to go further and ask: What is the original meaning of the Gorgoneion?

Both in ancient and in modern times, many theories have been proposed in answer to this question.³⁹ I do not intend to deal with all of them separately; such an inquiry would perhaps carry us too far afield; and moreover, a certain *consensus* of opinion seems to exist at the present time, which may serve as a good starting-point for a further substantiation from the point of view of the cults, etc., connected with hot springs.⁴⁰ I shall be very brief, therefore, about the theories. Ancient explanations are: 1. The Gorgons are Libyan women. This line has been followed up by A. B. Cook.⁴¹ 2. The Gorgoneion is the face in the moon. Gädechens⁴² has accepted this. 3. It is a thunder-cloud. The principal champion of this view is Roscher. 4. The Gorgon is a wild animal.⁴³ The modern explanations in accordance with this view (*e.g.* gorilla), given by Elworthy, Zell, and others, have never made much headway. Others again have entirely discarded the ancient theories, and have followed the line of anthropological research. A new and original contribution has been made by C. Hopkins,⁴⁴ and I shall have to deal with his article in more detail, because on the one hand, it is very convincing, and on the other hand, my argument would be seriously weakened if all the implications of Hopkins' theory proved to be true.

He begins by pointing out that representations of the Gorgon in art do not occur until after the geometric period, and that then the head alone comes first, just as also in Homer only the head is mentioned; the body does not appear until the Thermon metopes (*ca.* 640-620). He rejects Nilsson's view that the Gorgon is entirely a folktale motif, which eludes the question of origin, while he thinks that the enormous variety of other explanations is due to the fact that in the seventh century the representations of the Gorgon were tentative, and 'no commonly recognised form of the story in legend and art existed'.⁴⁵ Then he proceeds to point out that in the same seventh century the influence of Assyrian on Greek art became important; and in this Assyrian art there was a frequently recurring motif of a hero slaying a demon, namely the story of Gilgamesh and Humbaba, which had 'a vogue in Syria'. After this, Hopkins shows us a series of scenes representing the slaying of Humbaba and cognate stories, and faces of Babylonian demons like Humbaba, together with scenes of Perseus with the Gorgon; the resemblance is striking. A link is provided by a Cyprian cylinder, which holds a middle position between Assyrian and Greek art. After a digression on the Egyptian Bes-statues, the obvious conclusion follows: ⁴⁶ 'The full figure portrayal of the Gorgon, introduced into Greek art shortly after the middle of the seventh century, came over directly and with very slight modification from an Assyrian-Babylonian type of demon or giant.' I think this is an important and interesting discovery, and the argument seems convincing enough, especially because Cyprus is indeed the home of some of the oldest Gorgon representations, and the route Mesopotamia-Syria-Cyprus-Greece was an easy and often used one. The hazardous part of the article follows after this conclusion, namely when Hopkins hints at the possibility that the whole Perseus-Gorgon story is derived from the Gilgamesh saga. Similar theories have been put forward in the case of Herakles, who has also been compared with Gilgamesh,⁴⁷ and this question needs an answer on principle. Of course, the artists who tried to find a form for their pictures of the story had a tendency to borrow from existing representations of similar stories in 'foreign' art; Oriental influence on Greek art was immense, and was probably deeper even than we can realise at the moment; but the tradition of mythological forms is a totally different matter. It should not be forgotten that the resemblance between the Gilgamesh and the Perseus stories is quite superficial, the common point being hardly more than the motif of a hero slaying a monster, and where on earth does such a story *not* occur? As a mythical form the figure of Gilgamesh is still more like Herakles than like Perseus, and even in the former case a dependence cannot be proved conclusively.

³⁷ For the rôle of wells and springs in the folk-tales related to the Perseus story cf. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus* II, 175 sqq.

³⁸ *The Cyclades*, p. 2.

³⁹ Summaries of them will be found in Six, *l.c.* 91 sqq.; Roscher in his *Lex.* I, 1698 sqq. (*cf.* the same author's *Die Gorgonen und Versandtes* (1879); Ziegler, *RE* VII, 1642 sqq.; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* III, 845 sqq.

⁴⁰ Six, *l.c.* ⁴¹ *l.c.* 847.

⁴² Following many others. See Ziegler, *l.c.* 1645 sq.

⁴³ Ziegler, *l.c.* 1643.

⁴⁴ *AJA* 1934, 341 sqq.

⁴⁵ Observe that the inferences from art-forms to forms of the legend begin here already. The only thing that can be said is that apparently the art-type was not fixed.

⁴⁶ *l.c.* 356.

⁴⁷ Especially by B. Schweitzer, *Herakles*, cf. Pfister, *Rel. Gr. u. Röm.* 156. Cf. also: G. R. Levy, 'The Oriental Origin of Herakles', *JHS* LIV (1934), 40 sqq.

Wherever it is possible to derive Greek mythical patterns from Greek ritual we should always prefer such an explanation, taking into account, however, that such Greek cult-forms may go back to pre-Greek times, and so ultimately to that general Mediterranean foundation from which again many Oriental forms may be derived.

Returning now to the various explanations of the Gorgon, there are a number of points on which many or all scholars agree. The first of these is that there was apparently a Gorgon-head before the development of the type with full body. This can be observed in the oldest art-representations and in Homer. In other words, the Gorgoneion precedes the Gorgon. Then, the most striking features of this Gorgoneion are the glaring eyes and the protruding tongue. These characteristics have been compared with identical hideous faces among many primitive peoples, which are derived from masks with an apotropaic function.⁴⁸ And thirdly it is agreed that among the references to the Gorgoneion in Homer, who is, after all, our oldest source, the passage from the *Nekyia* should be taken into account specially, where Odysseus says that he would have liked to stay longer in Hades, but that he was frightened by the idea that Persephone would send up the grisly Gorgon-head from the underworld.⁴⁹

Any theory based solely, or at any rate principally, upon the solid foundation of these fairly generally accepted points should deserve our special attention. Such a theory was proposed by Miss J. E. Harrison, who explained the Gorgoneion as an apotropaic mask, appearing in the oldest literature as an 'underworld bogey'.⁵⁰ She stresses the three basic facts, mentioned above, and points to the use of hideous apotropaic dance-masks among savage peoples; many specimens of such masks may be seen in most anthropological museums. Similar things must have been used, in her view, by the early Greeks. And then she makes an interesting point. Although precise evidence fails us here, so she says, the gorgoneion must have been used by these primitive Greeks as a mask in ritual dances.

But is there really no precise evidence? It may be worth trying to verify Miss Harrison's inference. We shall not be able to understand what this means before we are quite clear about the function of the mask. The Gorgoneion as we find it on coins, vase-paintings, shields, etc., is a relic; if it is true that it is a symbol of what once was a ritual mask, we have to assume that it was *worn* in such ritual; and worn for a purpose. Now the purpose of the mask in ritual, dance, and drama, wherever it is found, is to *represent* something in the most literal sense of the word. The wearer of the mask in ritual represents the deity, *i.e.* virtually *is* the deity, and the actions he does while wearing the mask are the actions of the godhead; the masked dance, therefore, introduces in a hieratic form the event that the people want to celebrate, the event of the deity appearing on earth and performing actions.⁵¹ Therefore, when a mask is used in *chthonic* ritual, the wearer of the mask *enacts* the appearance of a daemon from the underworld, and when the mask is apotropaic, this can only mean that the appearing chthonian daemon scares away, frightens, stiffens with fear, or, in mythical terms, 'petrifies' the other ghosts or living creatures present. This is entirely in accordance with the scene from the *Nekyia*.

Nevertheless, all this will remain highly theoretical and speculative if we cannot substantiate it with examples from Greek ritual which would prove that such representative ritual masks were actually used. There are not very many instances of the use of religious masks in Greece, apart from the theatre. Miss Harrison quotes two.⁵² The first is about a goddess Praxidike,⁵³ whose images were heads and her sacrifices 'the same' (*ὁμοίως*); there was a multiple form of her at Haliartus, as Pausanias⁵⁴ tells us, where the Praxidikai were oath-goddesses. The oath recurs in the second example which Miss Harrison gives, the cult of Demeter Kidaria at Pheneus in Arcadia; our source is again Pausanias.⁵⁵ There was a curious structure called Petroma, and on this place the Pheneates used to take oaths; in it was a mask of Demeter Kidaria, which the priest puts on, and then he beats the underground folk with rods. Here the priest clearly represents the goddess by wearing a mask. Pheneus was a centre of chthonic religion; in the neighbourhood was the Styx. There was a Hades entrance nearby;⁵⁶ the saga told how Herakles performed engineering works

⁴⁸ This was observed already by Furtwängler, *Roscher* I, 1704 sq.: 'Durch die schreckbare Maske eines Dämons suchte man die anderen bösen Geister zu vertreiben.'

⁴⁹ Hom. *Od.* XI, 633 sqq.

ὅμη δὲ χλωρόν βίος ἦρει
μή μοι Γοργεῖν (αἰὶ γοργεῖν) κεφαλὴν δεινὰ πελώρου
ἔξ 'Αἴδου πύμπειν ἀγαυὴ Περσεφόνη.

It is not quite clear to me why Nilsson, *Gesch. Gr. Rel.* I, 211, calls this passage 'late'; cf. Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.* 140 sq. At any rate it could hardly be later than Hesiod (quoted note 10).

⁵⁰ *Prolegomena* 187 sqq. See especially her excellent summary in Hastings' *ERE* VI, 330 sqq.

⁵¹ Cf. G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, pp. 373 sq.

⁵² *Prolegomena* 188; there were more, however: see W. Wrede, 'Der Maskengott', *AM* LIII (1928), 66 sqq., especially p. 87.

⁵³ Photius and Hesych. *s.v.*

⁵⁴ Paus. IX, 33, 3 (Miss Harrison's reference is wrong): 'Ἀλιαρτίους δὲ ἴσθιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ θεῶν ἱερὸν δὲ Πραξιδικῆς καλοῦσιν ἱσταῖθα δυνάμει μιν, ποιοῦνται δὲ οὐκ ἐπιδρομὴν τὸν ὄρκον. Cf. also Paus. III, 22, 2: cult of the same goddesses at Gythium. Persephone is called *Praxidike* in Hymn. Orph. XXIX, 5 (ed. Abel).

⁵⁵ Paus. VIII, 15, 1-3: παρὰ δὲ τῆς Ἐλευσίης τὸ ἱερὸν πεποῖται Πέτρωμα καλούμενον, λίθοι δύο ἡρμοσμένοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους μεγάλοι . . . Φενεατῶν δὲ οἶδα τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ δυνάμεις ὑπὲρ μεγίστων τῷ Πετρώματι. καὶ ἐπιθήμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιφερὲς ἴσθιν, ἔχον ἐντὸς Δήμητρος πρόσωπον Κιδαρίας: τοῦτο δὲ ἱερεὺς περιβέμενος τὰ πρόσωπον ἐν τῇ μείζονι καλουμένη τελετῇ βάβδους κατὰ λόγον δὴ τὰ τοὺς ὑποχθονίους ποιεῖν. For the meaning of the beating of the soil see Frazer's note *ad loc.* (Frazer, *Paus.* IV, 239): it was a fertility ritual.

⁵⁶ Ganschinietz, *RE* X, 2386, cf. Lawson, *Anc. Gr. Rel. Mod. Gr. Folk.* 85.

near the city.⁵⁷ Immediately after the passage quoted above, Pausanias⁵⁸ tells us how Herakles' brother Iphikles, wounded in the contest against the Molione, was tended at Pheneus by a Pheneate called Boupagos and his wife: in another publication⁵⁹ I had occasion to point out that Boupagos was a cult-name of Herakles himself, occurring near hot springs. Another story calls Boupagos an eponymous hero of a river near Heraea,⁶⁰ who tried to violate Artemis and was shot by her.

Other examples of masks, and especially of masked ritual dances, will be given presently. From the instances quoted above, especially that of Pheneus, we have some idea already of the use of a mask in Greek ritual, especially chthonic ritual; we saw how at Pheneus the priest enacts the appearance of the chthonic goddess Demeter, and represents her. The oath is a sign of the fearfulness of the place.⁶¹ We have to imagine much the same atmosphere around the primitive use of the Gorgoneion as a mask, more exactly as an apotropaic underworld mask. But now, returning to Seriphos, we ask once more how to explain the fact that the exploits of the Argive hero Perseus with the Gorgon-head came to be localised on this small island in the Aegean. I think the solution is that at the bottom of the story lies an aetiological myth.

I have stressed already the frequent occurrence of the Gorgon or Gorgoneion near hot springs. This, of course, is in accordance with the fact that the Gorgoneion is an underworld phenomenon,⁶² and that the cults of the hot springs have always something underworldly about them. But if the Gorgoneion is a mask, it must originally have been used as a mask, and the natural conclusion is that there must have been certain rites in which it was used and which were performed near hot springs. And this would explain the story of Perseus on Seriphos, where, as we saw, hot springs occur, near which there exists, even in modern times, a yearly festival. Assuming this, and using the story of Perseus as a pattern, we can describe the hypothetical ritual as follows: The 'priest' or 'leader of the rite' comes forward in the festive assembly of the community (i.e. the mythical hero in the mythical *eranos* of Polydectes), and is commissioned to fetch the mask of the underworld daemon from Hades (i.e. the mythical expedition to the Western dwelling-place of the Gorgons). He then appears in the (dancing?) circle of the people, with the mask as the personification of the daemon himself. They are all stiffened with terror.⁶³

This is, of course, a mere hypothesis, but it has a basis of fact; still this basis would be too narrow if we could not point to some parallel, which would clearly show us the masked dance in a clearly rather primitive form, and which would give a decisive substantiation to our theory. For this we have to turn to Letrini. This town, the modern Pyrgos, not far from Olympia, situated near the west coast of the Peloponnese, is of great interest for the student of cults connected with hot springs. Indeed, such springs are found immediately to the North of modern Pyrgos, on some heights nowadays called Skourochorio,⁶⁴ but as other thermal waters of outstanding medical virtue and easily accessible are found in the immediate neighbourhood, at Cyllene and Kaiapha, the springs of Skourochorio have apparently fallen into oblivion. But nevertheless, if the neighbouring Olympia formed a centre of the higher Greek religion, Letrini must have been an outstanding centre of popular religion in ancient Greece. Walking, as I did, on a pilgrimage to the principal centres of hot springs in Greece in 1949, along the small cart-track from Pyrgos to Agoulénitza, one comes after less than half an hour to a ford across the mouth of the Alpheus.⁶⁵ Strabo⁶⁶ has given a famous description of this area. There is the temple of Artemis Alpheonia and sanctuaries of all sorts of gods and goddesses, a brilliant scene, which through its vividness has always attracted the attention of students of Greek religion when trying to recall the environment of Greek religious life.⁶⁷ The cult of Artemis Alpheonia is certainly not connected with the hot springs of Skourochorio; this is geographically impossible. And yet it does not stand outside the cults of the hot springs altogether. For there are, apart from the environment of Thermopylae, no regions in Greece where hot springs occur so frequently as on the Western coast of the Peloponnese: Cyllene, Chelonatas, Letrini, Lepreum, and the 'Anigris' cave (modern Kaiapha) are the best known, but there are still others.⁶⁸ On the other hand, this countryside was the home of Artemis Limnatis, the 'Lady of the Lake', as Farnell has called her,⁶⁹ an appropriate title for a deity who is often found presiding

⁵⁷ Bölte, *RE* XIX, 1971 sqq. This element occurs more often near Hades entrances, cf. *The Herdsman*, pp. 30, 82.

⁵⁸ VIII, 14, 9. ⁵⁹ *Mnemosyne* IV, 6 (1953), 288 ff.

⁶⁰ With hot springs; cf. Philippson, *Peloponnes* 97; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 112. The story in Paus. VIII, 27, 17.

⁶¹ Oaths were often taken very solemnly by the gods of the underworld or by the Styx; cf. the author's article on the Sicel Palici in *Mnemosyne* IV, 5 (1952), 116 sqq.

⁶² This is beyond doubt; the Homeric Necyia and the later localization in the West are evidence enough for that.

⁶³ On petrification through horror in popular beliefs, superstition, and customs see Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus* III, 120 sqq.

⁶⁴ They do not attract attention nowadays; on a visit to Pyrgos I could find no one who could tell me where exactly the site was, although everybody knows Skourochorio, as the railway line from Patras to Pyrgos passes just East of these hills;

but the hot springs are mentioned by Curtius, *Pelop.* II, 73; Boblaye, *Recherches* 130 sq.; Pouqueville, *Voyage* V, 383.

⁶⁵ No doubt the 'Alpheioi pēpos' of Hom. *Hymn.* in *Herm.* 398.

⁶⁶ Strabo VIII, 3, 12, p. 343: πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἑκβολῇ τὸ τῆς Ἀλφειωνίας Ἀρτεμῖδος ἢ Ἀλφειούσης ἁλός ἱερόν . . . ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κατ' ἑτος συντίθεται πανηγυρίς (N.B. Artemis and Alpheus had a common altar in Olympia; Paus. V, 14, 6; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 5, 10), καθάπερ καὶ τῇ Ἐλαφίᾳ καὶ τῇ Δαρφνίᾳ. μεστὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ πᾶσα Ἀρτεμιῶν καὶ Ἀφροδιταίων καὶ Νυμφαίων ἐν ἁλᾶσιν ἀνθίων πλεῖς τὸ πολὺ διὰ τὴν εὐδρίαν, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῆα ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, Ποσειδίᾳ δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀκταῖς.

⁶⁷ E.g. Nilsson, *Greek Piety* 9.

⁶⁸ E.g. near Heraea, about which see *supra*, note 60, and probably at Heraclaea near Olympia (this spring is nowadays cold); cf. Paus. VI, 22, 7; Strabo VIII, 3, 22, p. 356; Frazer, *Paus.* IV, 100; Curtius-Adler, *Olympia and Umgegend* 9.

⁶⁹ Farnell, *Cults* II, 427; cf. Nilsson, *GF* 210 sqq.

over lakes, waters, brooks, and springs. As Artemis Eurynome she was worshipped at the hot springs of Phigalia.⁷⁰ And in this way she, the dominating deity of this region, is the dominating figure in the whole complex of popular cults which centres around these places where hot springs rise from the ground. So the cult of Artemis Alpheonia formed part of that primitive religious substratum which we find in so many places in the Peloponnese, and which in this backward region of the West coast persisted to the times of Strabo and Pausanias.

For Pausanias, too, gives us information about Artemis Alpheonia. He tells us how Alpheus fell in love with her and attempted violence against her when she was dancing with her nymph-attendants; but Artemis, aware of his plans, smeared her face and the faces of the nymphs with mud, so that he did not know her from the others, and went away frustrated.⁷¹ Frazer⁷² remarks that this myth might point to a practice of smearing the faces with mud in ritual. I think there is no doubt. The story certainly sounds like an aetiological myth. Frazer quotes some parallels in Greece and elsewhere; the story of the Titans smearing their faces with gypsum in order not to be recognised by Dionysus is well known.⁷³ But if this is true, the ritual dance must correspond to the 'Aition', i.e. the dancers with their mud-smeared faces actually represented the goddess and her attendants, and therefore, in smearing mud on their faces they enhanced their personalities; this is nothing else but a primitive form of a masked dance.

But to this same complex of primitive Greek cults in the Peloponnese belonged also the worship of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Now this offers an interesting parallel. For Bosanquet⁷⁴ has published a series of terra-cotta masks found in her temple; the striking thing from our point of view about them is, above all, that the first two types⁷⁵ hold a clear middle position between the archaic type of Gorgon-head and the theatre-mask. They belong to the first half of the sixth century B.C. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge⁷⁶ writes about them: 'They were doubtless votive copies of the actual masks worn by the performers of some ritual dance in honour of Artemis Orthia.' There could not be clearer evidence that the use of the Gorgoneion and the ritual dance at Sparta and Letrini are in principle the same.

But this being the case, we have still to ask, what was the meaning of the rape of Artemis in the myth. The obvious conclusion from the appearance of a violator in the myth would be that a person of the same kind played a rôle in the ritual too. Alpheus could not find his victim and went away again. Although there is no direct evidence, it seems probable to me that he was in fact frightened away by those ugly faces.⁷⁷

Once more we return to Seriphos. Having established the relation between the Gorgoneion and the underworld religion, having considered that the Gorgon-head was originally an apotropaic mask, worn in ritual dances, and having treated the story of Perseus on Seriphos as an aetiological myth explaining such a masked ritual, we seem to have found a reason why the Argives could have 'dropped' a cult of Perseus and his legend on the island; this reason being that some sort of cult with a masked ritual existed on Seriphos, presumably connected with the hot springs there. But then these Argives must have been able to recognise in this cult something familiar, the central figure of the cult must have been identifiable with the Argive hero. So this still presupposes that Perseus had something to do with masks originally. If we can find evidence for this, we can safely assume that the localisation on the island and the further development of the myth, as we find it in Pindar, Pherecydes, and later, and as it is presupposed in the black-figured vase painting (cf. note 9), came about. I shall try to demonstrate that there is such evidence.

An Etruscan tomb-fresco at Corneto shows an interesting scene. It is a picture of a sort of gladiatorial games, no doubt performed at the funeral of the man buried here. One of the captives used in these games is held on a rope by a masked figure, above and beside whom is written the word 'persu'. We owe the interpretation of the scene to F. Altheim,⁷⁸ who, following Deecke, Friedländer, and Skutsch, takes the Latin 'persona' to be derived from this Etruscan word. This etymology is now fairly well accepted.⁷⁹ Then, examining the tomb-picture more closely, Altheim

⁷⁰ Paus. VIII, 41, 5, cf. *The Herdsman*, p. 81.

⁷¹ Paus. VI, 22, 8 sq. Εἰ δὲ ἔθελον ἐς Ἥλιον διὰ τοῦ πεδίου θελήσεις, σταδίου μὲν ἴσους καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς Λετρίνους ἔξεις, . . . τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλισμα ἦν οἱ Λετρίνοι, καὶ Λετρεὺς δὲ Πέλοπος ἐγγόνει σπλιν οἰκιστής. (There was also a tradition about the bones of Pelops being preserved at Letrini, cf. Lycophr. *Alex.* 54, and Schol. Tzetzac in vs. 158). ἐπ' ἑμῶς δὲ οἰκησάτω τε λείπετο ὀλίγα καὶ Ἀλφειάδας Ἀρτέμιδος ἀγαλμα ἐν ναφί. γενέσθαι δὲ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τῇ θεῷ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιούτῳ: ἱερᾶσθαι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ἱερᾶσθαι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ γένῳ μὴ γενήσεσθαι οἱ διὰ πειθοῦς καὶ θεήσεως τὸν γάμον, ἐπιταλᾶν ὡς βιασόμενον τὴν θεόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς παννυχίδα ἐς Λετρίνους ἄγειν ὑπὸ αὐτῆς τε ἀγομένην τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ νυμφῶν αἷς παίζουσα συνῆναι τὴν θεῶν—ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ἔχειν—ἀλείφασθαι τὸ πρόσωπον πηλῷ καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ ὅσας τῶν νυμφῶν παρήσαν, καὶ τὸν Ἀλφειόν ὡς εἰσέλθαι, οὐκ ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων διακρίνει τὴν Ἀρτέμιν. ἅτε δὲ οὐ διαγογνῶσκοντα ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ ἀπράκτῳ τῷ ἔγχεϊρματι.

⁷² In his note *ad loc.* (Frazer, *Paus.* IV, 101); cf. Nilsson, *GF*

214 sqq.; Farnell, *Cults* II, 428.

⁷³ Nonnus, *Dion.* VI, 169 sqq.; Harpocr. s.v. ἀπομύττων, clearly pointing to an existing practice in mystic ritual.

⁷⁴ *BSA* XII (1905-6), 340 sqq.

⁷⁵ They will be found on Plates X and XI attached to Bosanquet's article.

⁷⁶ *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*, 254. For dances in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, cf. also Plut. *Thes.* 31.

⁷⁷ We may compare the well-known story in Herodotus (VIII, 27), where the Phocians attack the Thessalians by night, smeared with gypsum, a story, which so strikingly resembles the ritual described by Harpocration (cf. note 73). The Thessalians fall into a panic, thinking it a supernatural phenomenon (ἄλλο τι τέρας).

⁷⁸ *Archiv f. Rel. Wiss.* XXVII (1929), 35 sqq.

⁷⁹ Altheim's further conclusion that 'persona' is a diminutive of *persu* has met with more opposition; but this is not immediately relevant for us.

points out that the figure called *persu* is a sort of manager of funeral performances;⁸⁰ but the most important observation is that the word *persu* is not written beside or above the mask itself, but clearly indicates the whole figure. This leads immediately to the conclusion that the word does not mean 'mask', but 'wearer of a mask', 'masked person in a funeral performance'. But then again, we come to the question, what was the function of the mask? If the mask is what we have said, a means to represent and to re-enact, it can, at funeral games, hardly mean anything else but a representation of the spirits of the dead, and the re-enactment of their appearance.⁸¹ But then the mask in the Etruscan tomb-fresco must have a chthonic character, and the masked person as well. This point is elucidated by Altheim through an analysis of the etymology of the Etruscan word. He notes that Greek Persephone corresponds with Etruscan *persipnai* and Greek Perseus with Etruscan *perse*, *perse*; there is a constant element apparently which appears in Greek as 'perse-' and in Etruscan as 'perse-'. We find it in other Greek names such as *Peres* (one of the Titans), *Perso* (one of the Graiai⁸²), *Perse* (a name of Hecate), etc.⁸³ Now all these names have one thing in common, namely a connexion with the underworld; Perseus, whose name is one of them, is therefore in Altheim's view equally an underworld figure;⁸⁴ another result of these reasonings is that the relation between the Greek names and the Etruscan root *perse*-, occurring in *persu*, and recurring in a number of Etruscan gentilicia,⁸⁵ points to a pre-Greek origin.⁸⁶

Now our picture seems to become complete. Altheim has helped us to find a pre-Greek root *perse*-, which recurs in Etruria to indicate a person of chthonic character, wearing a mask. On the other hand, we found Perseus to be an Argive hero, originating probably (not certainly) in Mycenaean times, and whose name, like so many names related to the Mycenaean period, may well be of a pre-Greek origin. He was connected with a masked dance-ritual, which we traced back to Seriphos, and parallels to which we found in the Peloponnese. The chthonic mask used in this ritual was the Gorgoneion. On the other hand, we found that in the Odyssey this Gorgoneion was a weapon of terror in the hand of Persephone, who bears in her name the same root. She, of course, is a real underworld figure. Was Perseus one, too? I would rather put it otherwise: By virtue of his name and of the myth in which he is the hero, he is the bearer (or even wearer) of the mask of the underworld daemon.

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⁸⁰ Also that his costume reminds us of the Roman Atellana and Mimus: significantly enough the Atellana was always played by masked actors.

⁸¹ So van der Leeuw, *l.c.* (see note 51).

⁸² According to an uncommon tradition reconstructed by Robert, *Griech. Helden*, I, 226, note 6.

⁸³ This root *pers(e)*- of the name Perseus is commonly derived from *πέρω*, to destroy (so e.g. Robert, *l.c.* 245). But Perseus is not a 'destroyer', and although it sometimes means 'to kill', this meaning applies in most of the cases to a whole population, an army, etc. (Liddell and Scott² s.v.). Only once it seems to mean 'to kill' a single person, Pind. *Pyth.* IX, 80, and this

instance is promptly referred to by Robert, *l.c.* note 4; but this poetical usage on one occasion does not justify a derivation of Perseus' name from his 'killing' of the Medusa; therefore I think Altheim is right in following Wilamowitz (*Pindaros* 148, note 1) and rejecting this view.

⁸⁴ This could be supported by a reference to Eurymedon as a name of Perseus in Apoll. Rhod. IV, 1514, cf. Eurynomos, Eurynome, Eurydice, etc.

⁸⁵ Which proves that it is not borrowed from the Greek.
⁸⁶ Cf. also R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (published since this article was written), pp. 114 n. 5, 429 n. 1, 446 n. 4.

ANAPSEPHISIS IN FIFTH-CENTURY ATHENS

ἀναψηφίζειν is to put to the vote for the second time an issue on which a decision has already been taken. Until recently known only from Thuc. vi 14 in pre-Aristotelian prose, the word is now shown by *SEG* X 38B 11–14 (*v. infra*) to have been not a literary coinage but a recognised procedural term. The noun *ἀναψηφισις is not yet recorded; but since a convenient way of referring to this rather complex conception is needed, I suggest that ‘anapsephisis’ should be used. I include in this conception the putting of the issue either in exactly the same terms as on the first occasion or in the form λῦσαι τὸ ψήφισμα ὃ εἶπε . . . περὶ . . .

The purpose of this paper is to inquire whether anapsephisis in fifth-century Athens was explicitly forbidden by law or could reasonably be regarded as contravening the law. No ancient source, literary or documentary, gives us plain testimony on this point. Enactments sometimes included severe sanctions against their own reconsideration or annulment,¹ but such special provisions are equally compatible with the existence and with the non-existence of a general law against anapsephisis. The clause λῦσαι δὲ [-²-]αι τὸ ψήφισμα[μα - - - - - τ]ο(ῦ) ἐκπλο(υ) τῶν ἐχσε[κοντα νεῶ]ν in *IG* I² 99. 25–6 must be interpreted in the light of the provision in the previous decree² (98. 19–20) περὶ δὲ το(ῦ) ἐκπλο(υ) τῶν νεῶν [- - - ἐ]πανορθο(ῦ)σθαι ἐν τοῖς δέμοις. In *SEG* X 38B 11–14 the implication of the provision τὰ χυνηγεγραμμένα μὲν εἰ(ν)αι ἀναψηφίσαι[ι] ἑὰμ μὲν ἑκατὸν παρῶσιν τῶν δέμοις is that in ordinary circumstances anapsephisis was permissible, but this document records the enactment of a deme, not of the state.

As the documents yield nothing decisive, the problem turns essentially on two passages of Thucydides. In 427 the assembly reopened and reversed the decision it had just taken on the destruction of Mytilene (iii 36. 4–49. 2). In 415 Nicias demanded anapsephisis of the decision to send the expedition against Syracuse, and Thucydides represents him as appealing to the epistates of the prytanies in these words (vi 14): καὶ, σὺ ὦ πρύτανι, ταῦτα, εἴπερ ἡγεί σοι προσήκειν κήδεσθαι τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ βούλει γενέσθαι πολίτης ἀγαθός, ἐπιψήφισε καὶ γνώμας προτίθει αὐθις Ἀθηναίοις, νομίσας, εἰ ὀρθῶς τὸ ἀναψηφίσαι, τὸ μὲν λύειν τοὺς νόμους μὴ μετὰ τοσῶνδ’ ἂν μαρτύρων αἰτίαν σchein, τῆς δὲ πόλεως (κακῶς) βουλευσάσης Ιατρὸς ἂν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ καλῶς ἀρξαι τοῦτ’ εἶναι, ὅς ἂν τὴν πατρίδα ὠφελήσῃ ὡς πλείστα ἢ ἐκὼν εἶναι μηδὲν βλάβη. If the assembly in 427 was acting in conformity with its own laws, and if Nicias’ words imply that he was asking the epistates to break the law, we are faced with a contradiction. Editors in general have made these two assumptions, but have seldom made any serious attempt to resolve the contradiction. Classen, on the other hand, tentatively suggested that a general law against anapsephisis was enacted between 427 and 415; a highly logical suggestion which should either be accepted without more ado or shown to be unnecessary. A full reconsideration of the evidence will, I believe, show that Classen’s hypothesis is not only unnecessary but untenable.

To begin with 427. The relation between the sovereign body and its own laws in fifth-century Athens was somewhat different from the comparable relation in a modern democracy, and the possibility that the assembly ignored the law in 427 cannot be ruled out *a priori*. The earliest occasion on which we know this principle of sovereignty to have been consciously invoked was the Arginusae trial in 406 (Xen. *Hell.* i 7. 12). Whether or not it was involved in the debate of 427 can be discovered, if at all, only from the arguments used in that debate.

In the speeches of Cleon and Diodotus, as presented by Thucydides, the point at issue is self-interest; the only passage in which the question of legality might seem to be raised is iii 37. 3–4: πάντων δὲ δεινότατον, εἰ βέβαιον ἡμῖν μηδὲν καθεστήσει ὧν ἂν δόξῃ περὶ μηδὲ γνωσόμεθα ὅτι χεῖροσι νόμοις ἀκινήτοις χρωμένῃ πόλις κρείσσων ἐστίν ἢ καλῶς ἔχουσιν ἀκύροις . . . οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε νόμων σοφώτεροι βούλονται φαίνεσθαι τῶν τε αἰεὶ λεγομένων ἐς τὸ κοινὸν περιγίγνεσθαι . . . οἱ δ’ ἀπιστοῦντες τῇ ἐξ αὐτῶν ξυνέσει ἀμαθέστεροι μὲν τῶν νόμων ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι ἀδυνατώτεροι δὲ τοῦ καλῶς εἰπόντος μέμψασθαι λόγον. Cleon’s implication is that to annul the previous decree is the opposite of νόμοις ἀκινήτοις χρῆσθαι, *i.e.* it is κινεῖν τοὺς νόμους; but *why* it should be so is not obvious. The point may be that anapsephisis, though not illegal, is contrary to custom; we may compare vi 18. 7, τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσφαλέστατα τοὺς οἰκεῖν οἱ ἂν τοῖς παρόνσιν ἦθεσι καὶ νόμοις, ἣν καὶ χεῖρω ἤ, ἥκιστα διαφόρως πολιτεύωσιν, which rounds off Alcibiades’ arguments for preserving the traditional character of Athenian foreign policy. Secondly, the implication of νόμοις ἀκινήτοις χρῆσθαι may be that the previous decree is itself part of οἱ νόμοι. At first sight the constant distinction between νόμος and ψήφισμα in political and documentary language militates against this possibility. In the fourth century the distinction

¹ *E.g.* *IG* I² 45. 20–6, 58. 1–5, 71. 70–2.

² I hope to discuss *IG* I² 98–9 in detail elsewhere; on grounds of content, there is no doubt that 98 (frs. *b* and *c*) is one decree and 99 (frs. *a* and *d* + *g*) another, and it now appears that they

are different stelae, since *c*, which has a portion of smooth back preserved, is 8 mm. thinner than *g*, whose back may not be original, and *a* has a portion of top edge preserved. I owe these facts to Mr. D. M. Lewis.

rested, *inter alia*, on different methods of enactment. In the fifth it rested rather on difference of content;³ since νόμος was used in the senses 'custom', 'habit', etc., an enactment which created an observance was νόμος, while one which provided only for a particular occasion was ψήφισμα. It may therefore happen that one and the same enactment may be called either νόμος, if one looks at its content, or ψήφισμα, if one looks at the way it was made. The Decree of Isotimides is consistently referred to by Andocides, with an eye on its method of enactment, as ψήφισμα (e.g. And. i 8); in fact, his whole *a fortiori* argument for its invalidity rests on the distinction between νόμος and ψήφισμα (*ibid.* 86). His opponent, on the other hand, naturally prefers the more impressive term: [Lys.] vi 29, ὑμεῖς δ' αὐτὸν ἐξηλάσατε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς θεοῖς βεβαιοῦντες τοὺς νόμους οὓς ἐψηφίσασθε; 52, παρελθὼν τὸν νόμον ὃν ὑμεῖς ἔθεσθε. Similarly, where Thucydides speaks of τὸ Μεγαρικὸν ψήφισμα (i 139. 1, 139. 2, 140. 3, 140. 4), Aristophanes, in a passage where grandiloquence is very much in point (*Ach.* 530-2), says: ἡστραπτ', ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐτίθει νόμους ὥσπερ σκόλια γεγραμμένους. In these examples the description of a decree as νόμος is partially justified by reference to its content, and not simply by the emotive colour which the speaker wants to give to his description. But that cannot be said of Soph. *Ant.* 449, where Creon says καὶ δῆτ' ἐτόλμας τοῦσδ' ὑπερβαίνειν νόμους; and the whole context (especially 447, 550-2) makes it clear that he means not 'my authority' or 'my law' (in the abstract) but 'my command (that Polynices should not be buried)'. This suggests that an orator in defending a decree might invest it with solemnity by including it in οἱ νόμοι, while in attacking it he would be careful to refer to it as ψήφισμα.

Thirdly, Cleon's implication may be that anapsephisis is actually illegal. If it is, it is hard to understand why he so completely subordinates this important aspect of his case to the argument from self-interest. The factors which determine the line of argument adopted by a particular speaker on a particular occasion are always more complex than the historian can hope to know, and Cleon *may* have had subtle reasons for arguing as he did; but a failure to exploit the fact or the semblance of illegality on the part of his opponents is not characteristic of Cleon as we know him from Comedy and other sources. I assume that Thucydides' account of the debate, which took place before his exile, is in all essentials truthful. To deny this is to say not that he invented in order to supplement inadequate evidence but that he rejected good evidence in favour of invention; and if we are to believe that we must be given better reason to do so than anyone has yet devised.

The upshot of the argument so far is that there is no need to believe that anapsephisis was illegal in 427, and some reason to believe that it was not illegal.

Turning now to 415 and Thuc. vi 14: the crux of the matter is the translation of λύειν τοὺς νόμους. There is no problem in the plural τοὺς νόμους. In expressions of the type 'according to law', 'break the law', etc., either ὁ νόμος, 'the relevant law', 'the law concerned', or οἱ νόμοι, as in English 'the law', may be used; cf. Isoc. xviii 2-3, [Dem.] liii 11. Nor can there be any real doubt about the syntax of the clause. Thucydidean usage requires us to interpret it as οὐκ ἂν σχοίης αἰτίαν λύειν τοὺς νόμους. τὸ λύειν with αἰτίαν σχεῖν, rather than λύειν or τοῦ λύειν (*coni.* Classen), is abnormal, but, as G. Behrendt rightly saw,⁴ the μέν/δέ antithesis is responsible; cf. vi 17. 8 τὸ μὲν ἐσβάλλειν . . . ἱκανοὶ εἰσι, τῷ δὲ ναυτικῷ οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο βλάπτειν. In translation, two possibilities may be eliminated by consideration of the words μετὰ τοσῶνδ' ἂν μαρτύρων, to which editors have not attached enough importance. If I am asking a man to break the law, I cannot encourage him by pointing to the multitude of his witnesses. Similarly, if I am asking a man to repeal an enactment, I cannot tell him that because of the multitude of witnesses he will not be held to have done what I am asking him to do. These considerations show that λύειν τοὺς νόμους cannot mean 'repeal enactments', and that if it means 'break the law' anapsephisis was not *per se* illegal. The conclusion is surprising, but I do not see how it can be avoided; it certainly cannot be avoided by taking μάρτυρες to mean 'men who will demand (or vote for) your acquittal', or by laying the emphasis on the second person and translating 'you will not be blamed for the infringement of the law (for I and my supporters are clearly responsible)'. The former alternative is ruled out by consideration of μάρτυρες elsewhere in early Attic prose; they are not *fautores*, but witnesses to the facts. The latter alternative is ruled out both by Athenian conceptions of political responsibility, which in no way excused an official who yielded to an unjustified demand, and by the structure of the sentence, where the emphasis is laid on the antithesis τὸ μὲν λύειν τοὺς νόμους . . . τῆς δὲ πόλεως, 'never mind about τὸ λύειν—think of Athens!'

A third possibility is that although not *per se* illegal the anapsephisis which Nicias demands might be held to contravene some other and more general law; the point of μετὰ τοσῶνδ' ἂν μαρτύρων would then be that although there might be a *prima facie* case against the epistates, this case would be overthrown by testimony on the actual circumstances of his act. It appears from the words of the Decree of Cannonus quoted in Xen. *Hell.* i 7. 20 that the Athenian legal code (at least by 406) contained a grim equivalent of Section 40 of the Army Act, and if δῆμου ἄδικία was a recognised offence in 415 the epistates might be held to have committed it. Again, he might be

³ We should not forget that the attribution of a large part of the legal code to Solon necessarily made the associations of the word νόμος somewhat different from those of ψήφισμα.

⁴ *Ueber den Gebrauch des Infinitivs mit Artikel bei Thukydides* (Berlin, 1886), pp. 8-9.

prosecuted for putting to the vote a proposal which on that particular occasion was strictly speaking ἀπροβούλευτος. Since the decision demanded was the very decision out of which the business on the present occasion arose, an exceedingly complicated legal argument could have arisen on the question whether this decision was now ἀπροβούλευτος. Again, he might have been prosecuted for having acted as an official frivolously or treacherously against the interests of the state; τὸ καλῶς ἄρξαι in the last clause of the chapter might be held to point to this interpretation. Such an interpretation of Nicias' words is historically quite acceptable, and linguistically it is acceptable provided that λύειν τοὺς νόμους means 'break the law'. The possibility of this translation has not, so far as I know, been questioned, given the common expressions λύειν τὰς συνθήκας, λύειν τὴν εἰρήνην, etc.; and yet, as we shall see, it must be regarded with the greatest suspicion.

The predominant sense of λύειν (νόμον, ψήφισμα, etc.) is, of course, 'annul', as in Thuc. vi 15. 1. An enactment or command λύεται by the body or person who originally made it. The sovereign body λύει one of its own enactments either explicitly, by taking a formal decision to cease conforming with it (e.g. Dem. xx 79, xxiv 18, 34, 38, 93, etc.) or implicitly, by making a fresh enactment not reconcilable with it (e.g. [Dem.] xvii 12). An individual λύει, an enactment either by proposing its formal annulment (e.g. Dem. xx 96) or by proposing an irreconcilable enactment (e.g. Dem. xx 26, xxiv 142).

The passages in which λύειν (νόμον) appears at first sight to mean 'break', 'contravene', are these:

(a) Hdt. iii 31. 1-5. When Cambyses wanted to marry his sister, he asked the Royal Judges whether there was any law which said that a man (κελεύων . . . τὸν βουλόμενον) could marry his sister. Such marriage was unsupported by Persian custom (οὐδαμῶς γὰρ ἐώθεσαν . . . οὐκ ἐωθότα ἐπενόεε ποιήσιν). The Judges knew of no such law, but saved the situation by referring to the law which permitted the King to do as he wished; οὕτω οὐτε τὸν νόμον ἔλυσαν δέισαντες Καμβύσεα, ἵνα τε μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλωνται τὸν νόμον περιτέλλοντες, παρεξεῦρον ἄλλον νόμον κτλ.

(b) Hdt. vi 106. 3. When the Athenian messenger came to ask for Spartan help against the Persians at Marathon, τοῖσι δὲ ἕαδε μὲν βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀδύνατα δὲ σφι ἦν τὸ παραντίκα ποιέειν ταῦτα οὐ βουλομένοισι λύειν τὸν νόμον: ἦν γὰρ Ἰσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη κτλ.

(c) Isoc. ix 63. The sustained revolt of Evagoras so tired the Persians that although they had never been accustomed to stop fighting against a rebel until he was captured they now welcomed peace, λύσαντες τὸν μὲν νόμον τοῦτον, οὐδὲν δὲ κινήσαντες τῆς Εὐαγόρου τυραννίδος.

(d) Eur. *I.A.* 1268. Agamemnon says to Clytemnestra: 'I cannot turn back . . . the Greeks yearn to take Troy, and they will kill me and you and our family θέσφατ' εἰ λύσω θεᾶς', i.e. 'if I do not sacrifice Iphigeneia'.

To take (d) first: strictly speaking, Artemis did not command Agamemnon to sacrifice Iphigeneia, but gave him a choice either to sacrifice and go on to Troy, or not to sacrifice and so disband the expedition; it is around Agamemnon's dilemma that the tragedy revolves. To press this point, however, would be something of a sophistry, and there can be little doubt that the writer of 1268 meant us to understand 'if I fail to do what the goddess has told me to do'. But is the line original? To point out—however truly—that *I.A.* is a notoriously interpolated play is not a commendable way of overruling an inconvenient line, but as it happens there is evidence more pertinent than this general consideration. Later in the play (1484-6) Iphigeneia, speaking of her own decision to be sacrificed, says ὡς ἐμοῖσιν, εἰ χρεῶν, αἵμασι θύμασι θέσφατ' ἐξαλείψω. When we recall the extent to which λύειν νόμον and ἐξαλείφειν νόμον are synonymous in the orators, it seems astonishing that the same writer in the same play can refer to an action as θέσφατα λύειν, and to the opposite of that action as θέσφατ' ἐξαλείφειν; and our suspicions are reinforced by the similar expression in Soph. *O.T.* 406-7 ὅπως τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μαντεῖ' ἄριστα λύσομεν, τόδε σκοπεῖν, i.e. 'find out how best to perform the difficult task which the oracle has set us'. It thus appears that there are good grounds for not taking *I.A.* 1268 into account in discussing the meaning of λύειν νόμον in the fifth century.⁵

Returning now to (a)-(c): in (b) we are concerned with a sovereign body contravening its own observance, and in (c) with the abandonment of a tradition; (a) is similar in that the Royal Judges were the ultimate authority on Persian law and custom. In all three cases contravention of the νόμος, or sanction of its contravention, meant that it would be no longer νόμος, a new precedent having been set by the authority on which it rested; it would no longer be true to say νόμος ἐστὶ Πέρσησι τῇσι ἀδελφεῇσι μὴ συνοικέειν or νόμος ἐστὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὴ στρατεύεσθαι Ἰσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη or νόμος ἐστὶ βασιλεῦσι τοῖς Περσῶν μὴ διαλλάττεσθαι τοῖς ἀποστάσι πρὶν ἂν κύριοι γένωνται τῶν σωμάτων. But if an individual citizen contravenes a law μὴ ἀποκτείνειν, it still remains true to say νόμος ἐστὶ μὴ ἀποκτείνειν.

It thus becomes possible to see why it is illegitimate to argue from λύειν τὰς συνθήκας to λύειν τοὺς νόμους. In any kind of agreement two parties undertake to do certain things, it being under-

⁵ For the different grounds on which 1264-75 or 1264-8 have been regarded as an interpolation, see England *ad loc.* Professor Page (*Actors' Interpolations*, pp. 185-6) does not find these grounds adequate, while recognising the conflict between

θέσφατ' εἰ λύσω θεᾶς and Soph. *O.T.* 407. For the use of λύνειν in post-Classical Greek we may compare λύνειν νόμον, 'contravene a law', in *Ev. Jo.* 7, 23 and λύνειν γραφήν, 'render scripture false', *id.* 10, 35.

stood that performance by either party is conditional on performance by the other. Non-performance by either party λύει the agreement, *i.e.* dissolves it by freeing the other party from obligation; similarly, if both parties agree beforehand that in certain circumstances, or on a certain date, they will release each other from obligation, then the agreement λύεται in those circumstances. For both usages we may compare the truce at Pylos, Thuc. iv 16. 2: ὅτι δ' ἂν τούτων παραβαίνωσιν ἑκάτεροι καὶ ὅτιοῦν, τότε λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς. ἐσπεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὰς μέχρι οὗ ἐπανέλθωσιν οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Λακεδαιμόνιων πρέσβεις . . . ἐλθόντων δὲ τὰς τε σπονδὰς λελύσθαι ταύτας. (Cf. also [Dem.] vii 22, 23, 36.) Again ὅποσοι δὲ ὅρκοι ὁμώμονται . . . λύω καὶ ἀφίημι in the Decree of Demophantus (And. i 98) means not 'I hereby contravene my oath' but 'I hereby declare that I will no longer be bound by my oath'. But the relation between sovereign and individual which is created by an enactment is not any kind of agreement or undertaking. From the individual's point of view, it is a command from above him; and if he contravenes it, he does not thereby invalidate or annul it.

What, then, is Nicias saying to the epistates? I confess I would like him to be saying 'do not be afraid that anapsephisis will involve you in prosecution as ἀδικήσας τὸν δῆμον; you have so many witnesses who will testify that the assembly *wanted* anapsephisis'. But ὅπη ἂν ὁ λόγος ὥσπερ πνεῦμα φέρη, ταύτη ἰτέον; and if, as seems to be the case, λύνει τοὺς νόμους is not used of an individual contravening the law, another explanation must be sought. τοὺς νόμους must refer to the established procedure of the assembly, determined in part by written law and in part by traditional practice. The prytaneis, and in particular the epistates, were in a position *vis à vis* this procedure quite unlike that of a speaker in the assembly; a speaker could conform or fail to conform, but the prytaneis could invalidate existing practice by lending their authority to the setting of a new precedent. Nicias' appeal, therefore, expanded and paraphrased, amounts to this: 'If you shrink from doing anything so unusual as anapsephisis, you must realise that you would not be accused of trying to put an end to any of the traditional procedure of the assembly; there are so many here who will be prepared to say in your defence that the circumstances were exceptional, the assembly being genuinely divided on the issue apparently decided four days ago. Our country has taken ill counsel, and you would be curing her.'

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THE ORDERS OF GODS IN GREECE AND EGYPT (ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS)

HERODOTUS has several references to the orders or companies of gods in Greece and Egypt, and they involve a comparison and a contrast.

They may be arranged, in translation, as follows:

(1) II, 4, 2. 'They say that the Egyptians first used the names of the twelve gods, and that the Greeks adopted them from them.'

(2) II, 7, 2 mentions 'the altar of the twelve gods at Athens'.

(3) II, 43, 2. 'Concerning Heracles I heard this account, that he was one of the twelve gods.'

(4) II, 43, 4. 'But to the Egyptians Heracles is an ancient god; and as they say themselves, there were seventeen thousand years to the reign of Amasis since the eight gods produced the twelve, of whom they consider Heracles to be one.'

(5) II, 46, 2. 'The Mendesians hold Pan to be one of the eight gods, and they say that these eight gods came into existence before the twelve.'

(6) II, 145, 1. 'Among the Greeks Heracles and Dionysus and Pan are considered to be the youngest of the gods, but among the Egyptians Pan is considered very ancient and one of the eight gods said to be the earliest, while Heracles is one of the second group, and Dionysus one of the third group, who were produced by the twelve.'

Following his frequent custom, Herodotus views the information he receives in the light of Greek tradition, and in so doing seeks resemblances and correlations. The Greek tradition known to him gave pre-eminence to twelve gods, and he refers to the Athenian altar of the twelve not only in II, 7, 2 but also in VI, 108, 4. According to Thucydides, vi, 54, 6, it was Pisistratus the son of Hippias who erected this altar; and an inscription¹ shows that it was used as a starting-point for measuring distances. Other references² indicate that processions used to march round it. Pindar³ alludes to the 'twelve sovereign gods' at Olympia. It is clear that the Greeks of the classical period regarded this group of gods as a 'kind of corporate body'.⁴ They were stated by Eudoxus, a pupil of Plato, and other later writers, to be Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Demeter, Apollo, Artemis, Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, Athena, Hephaestus, and Hestia. In the group of twelve sculptured on the east frieze of the Parthenon Hestia is absent, her place being taken by Dionysus; and the list probably varied from place to place according to the local prominence of different deities. Why were they twelve in number? Weinrich⁵ thinks their number derives from the twelve Ionian cities on the coast of Asia Minor. Schömann⁶ connected the number with the twelve months of the year, and this was an idea known at least to Plato.⁷

Herodotus finds a company of twelve gods in Egypt also, witness five of the passages quoted above. But in three of them—(4), (5), and (6)—he states that a group of eight gods existed before the twelve, and that the twelve were produced by the earlier group. There can be little doubt that the eight gods he has in mind are the Ogdoad of Hermopolis, a group well known in Egyptian religious literature, although commentators have not hitherto seen this.⁸ A. H. Sayce⁹ compares the Manethonian account of a primary order of seven gods, followed by a dynasty of eight heroes, and he notes the discrepancy in Herodotus' statements: 'the first dynasty contained seven, not eight gods; and the demigods were not twelve, but eight, according to Manetho. The secondary deities were not sprung from the primary.' It is admittedly difficult to find in the Egyptian sources a system which corresponds in all particulars to that described by Herodotus, but the Ogdoad of Hermopolis is represented as a primary order of gods. The doctrine concerning the Ogdoad probably arose in opposition to the doctrine of Heliopolis, which gave the sovereign place to the sun-god as the oldest of the gods and as a deity who had created himself. At Hermopolis, in Middle Egypt, a hare-goddess had been the original deity, but Thoth, the ibis-god whom the Greeks equated with Hermes (hence the name Hermopolis), became prominent there later. Before this a doctrine emanated from Hermopolis which taught that the sun originated not from its own power but as the result of the creative powers of four pairs of deities who had existed before the sun.

¹ C.I.G. (ed. Boeckh) i. 525 (quoted W. G. Waddell, *Herodotus Book II* (London, 1939), 124). [Cf. IG I² 761—Ed.]

² Pindar, fr. 63; Xenophon, *Hipparch.*, iii, 2 advises this route. ³ *Olymp.* X, 49.

⁴ W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods* (London, 1950), 110.

⁵ In Roscher's *Lexikon der Gr. u. Röm. Mythologie* s.v. Zwölf-götter.

⁶ *Griechische Alterthümer*⁴, II (Berlin, 1902), 142, n. 1 (end).

⁷ *Laus* 828. Cf. *Phaedrus* 246c.

⁸ H. G. Woods, G. Rawlinson, A. H. Sayce, F. Ll. Griffith, E. H. Blakeney, and W. G. Waddell either deny or do not mention the existence of an Egyptian group of eight. Wiedemann mentions cycles of eight or nine. How and Wells refer to Brugsch's explanation of the 'eight' as corresponding to the eight original cosmogonic deities, but without further elucidation. Godley talks of 'eight (or nine) gods' as forming the first order of the Egyptian pantheon.

⁹ *The Ancient Empire of the East* (London, 1883), 150, n. 6, and 151, n. 9.

The oldest of the eight was Nun, god of the primeval waters, and his wife Naunet was named after him, she being the goddess of the subterranean heaven. The other gods were Huh, god of the inundation, Kuk, god of darkness, and Amūn, who was the creative wind moving over the primeval waters, and whose name signified 'the hidden one'. Just as Nun had Naunet for wife, Huh had Hauhet, Kuk, Kauket, and Amūn, Amaunet, the wives being feminine counterparts in name and meaning. It was Kurt Sethe, in 1929, who set forth the Hermopolite doctrine in his *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (*Abh. Berl. Akad.*).¹⁰ As Herodotus says that the Egyptians hold the eight gods to be the earliest, it is likely that this was the doctrine which he encountered.¹¹

Further, an important point in the Hermopolite doctrine was that the sun-god was created by the Ogdoad. The sun-god, according to the teaching of Heliopolis, was himself the head of the Ennead, and so the Ennead could be represented as produced by the Ogdoad, just as Herodotus says that the twelve were produced by the eight. But how could the Ennead include twelve gods? Although originally a company of nine gods, it very early lost its numerical restriction to nine. The Pyramid Texts (1660a) refer to the 'Great Ennead' as consisting of Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris in Abydos, Osiris among the Westerners (—Khentamenthes?), Sēth, Horus, Rē, Khentyerty, and Wadjet. This makes up twelve, although Osiris, it should be noted, is included in two forms. Another reference (1655a) gives the names of nine only. But the allusion first cited shows that in this earliest body of Egyptian religious texts—they belong to the Vth and VIth dynasties—the term 'Ennead' is already a flexible one. The Enneads, unfortunately, have not been given detailed study by any Egyptologist, and an error of long standing has been the idea that there were three of them, an idea which has led some commentators¹² on Herodotus to talk of the three Enneads as the source of the mention of three divine groups. But the early writing of three groups of nine in Egyptian is a way of indicating the plural, and it points to the undoubted fact that different nomes and towns had different versions of the divine groups, just as the 'Twelve' varied among the Greeks.¹³ Perhaps it is to one such local group that Herodotus refers in talking of a third order.

How do the references to Pan, Dionysus, and Heracles fit into this scheme of Ogdoad, Ennead (expanded to twelve), and local group?

In II, 46, 2, and II, 145, 1, the Egyptian Pan is said by the Mendesians, and by the Egyptians in general, to be one of the eight gods. He is stated (II, 46, 2) to be represented with the head and legs of a goat, and to be called Mendes in Egyptian—that is, presumably, he bore the same name as the nome. Mendes as a god is previously mentioned in II, 42, 1, where it is said that those who possess a temple of his or belong to the Mendesian nome will sacrifice sheep but not goats. A comparison of these statements with remarks by other Greek writers shows that Herodotus is at one with them in describing the Mendesian god as a goat-god, as Wiedemann¹⁴ shows in a well-documented note. Here a strange puzzle confronts us: the Egyptian sources consistently show the animal as a ram. To explain the difference in tradition is not easy. Perhaps the goat was to the Greeks a more familiar symbol of fertility, and the Egyptian 'ram of Mendes' was certainly thought of in this way, as the quotations given by Wiedemann¹⁵ show. Mendes was in the East Delta, and according to Ball¹⁶ was on the site of the modern Tell el-Rub'. Its Egyptian name was Djedet, and when Herodotus states that both the goat and the god are called Mendes in Egyptian, he implies that the place-name is also similar. Assuming that the ram is the animal really referred to, and that Greek tradition had already replaced it by the goat for the reason suggested above,¹⁷ we may then see a possible basis for the remarks about the names: the Egyptian for 'ram' was *ba*, the god was called Ba-neb-Djedet ('the ram, the lord of Mendes'), so that the two names began at any rate in the same way.

Wiedemann¹⁸ seeks an Egyptian origin for the word Mendes as it stands, and he mentions the name of the god Min as a possible source. The god Min was an ithyphallic god of fertility, but his cult is not represented at Mendes. His animal is not the goat or the ram, but the bull. In spite of this Herodotus may have confused Ba-neb-Djedet with him. That the Greeks identified Pan and Min is shown by the name they gave to Khemmis in Upper Egypt, which was a centre of the cult of Min; they called it Panopolis.¹⁹

¹⁰ Cf. also his *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1930), 133-4 and J. Vandier, *La Religion Égyptienne* (Paris, 1949), 33-4. H. and H. A. Frankfort in *Before Philosophy* (Pelican Books, 1949), 18, consider the Ogdoad an example of 'speculative thought in mythological guise'.

¹¹ For a representation in Ptolemaic times (from Philae) of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad see G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization: Egypt and Chaldaea* (London, 1910), 148.

¹² E. H. Blakeney, *The Egypt of Herodotus*, 111; How and Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, I, 239; W. G. Waddell, 121.

¹³ See further the writer's forthcoming article on 'The Egyptian Enneads' in the *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*.

¹⁴ *Herodots Zweites Buch* (Leipzig, 1890), 216-19.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* 218. Cf. the god's role in *The Contendings of Horus and Sēth*.

¹⁶ *Egypt in the Classical Geographers* (Cairo, 1942), 26.

¹⁷ Sourdille, *Hérodote et la Religion de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1910), 166, following Meyer, makes the very unlikely suggestion that the Egyptian monuments erroneously show a ram instead of a goat. Cf. How and Wells, 189, 'Perhaps the monuments are wrong . . .'. If this is so, how can we explain the fact that the Egyptian texts invariably refer to the animal as a ram, as in the name Ba-neb-Djedet? A. W. Lawrence, by the way, *The History of Herodotus* (London, 1935), 169, wrongly gives the city-name as 'Banebjet'. He apparently takes over this error, and others, from Sourdille. There is an Assyrian form *Binjet* see Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material* (Berlin, 1910), 49.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.* 219.

¹⁹ Wilkinson in Rawlinson ad II, 42 (pp. 76-7, n. 7); Sayce, *op. cit.* 153; E. J. Baumgartel, 'Herodotus on Min', *Antiquity* XXI (1947), 146. How and Wells, 189, wrongly state that 'Min of Chemmis . . . is goat-headed'. So, too, Lawrence, p. 169.

Ba-neb-Djedet, the god of Mendes, was not a member of the Ogdoad, but the ram was prominently associated with Amūn, and Amūn was one of the Eight. Has Herodotus thought here of Amūn as the equivalent of Pan? In II, 42, however, he shows knowledge of the fact that Amūn (whom he calls Zeus) is depicted sometimes with a ram's head. It is more likely that Min, as elsewhere, is the equivalent of Pan, and that the reason for his location in Mendes is the strong fertility motif which is common to his cult and that of Ba-neb-Djedet. Min, it should be noted, although not a member of the Ogdoad, occupied an important position among the gods of the Old Kingdom.

Heracles was variously equated with the moon-god Khonsu, with forms of Horus,²⁰ and with Khnum and Shu.²¹ We cannot be sure what identification Herodotus had in mind, but it is worth noting that Shu is a deity who, with others, helps Rē to put down the rebels in the legend of 'The Destruction of Mankind';²² and in the legend of Onuris he is identified with Onuris himself, the warrior-god who champions the sun-god.²³ Further, Shu is a member of the Ennead, and so fits the pattern here suggested.

Dionysus is equated with Osiris in II, 42, and II, 144; and Osiris, together with Isis, is said, in II, 42, to be worshipped by the Egyptians generally. According to the Pyramid Texts, he is a member of the Ennead, and so one would expect Herodotus, on the view here suggested, to include him in the Twelve. At the same time, he would doubtless occur often in a local group of gods, and such an occurrence may explain his classification here in the third group.

These correlations have at least the advantage of reconciling Herodotus' main statements with what is known of Egyptian religion from the earlier sources; and where there are discrepancies a likely explanation is at hand.

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²⁰ See J. G. Milne (in an essay on *Graeco-Egyptian Religion*) in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, VI, 382b.

²¹ See Sourdille, *op. cit.* 173.

²² Erman-Blackman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*

(London, 1927), 47. Cf. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (2nd Series, London, 1841), II, 16-18.

²³ Vandier, *op. cit.* 66.

ARISTOTLE'S ACCOUNT OF BEES' 'DANCES'

VON FRISCH¹ has shown that hive bees communicate with one another by 'dancing', a discovery comparable with that of Ventris. Both the direction of food found and its distance are indicated with considerable precision. Aristotle (or perhaps pseudo-Aristotle) described this dance in *Hist. Animal.* IX, 624b. After noting that an individual bee visits a number of flowers of the same species in succession, which Darwin, von Frisch, and others have shown to be generally, but not universally, true, he continued:

ὅταν δ' εἰς τὸ σμήνος ἀφίκωνται, ἀποσειόνται, καὶ παρακολουθοῦσιν ἑκάστη τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρες. τὸ δὲ λαμβανόμενον οὐ ῥαδίον ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν· οὐδὲ τὴν ἐργασίαν ὄντινα τρόπον ποιοῦνται, οὐκ ᾔπται.

Bekker's² translation, due to J. C. Scaliger, revised by J. C. Schneider, is as follows:

eo cum sunt ingressae, excutunt et deponunt onus. semper etiam singulis ternae quaternaeque administrant. quid accipiunt non facile videre est; neque visum quo operantur modo.

D'Arcy Thompson in the Oxford translation followed Bekker closely. His rendering was:

On reaching the hive they throw off their load, and each bee on its return is accompanied by three or four companions. One cannot tell what is the substance they gather, nor the exact process of their work.

My own more literal and pedestrian translation is:

And when they have come into the hive they shake themselves, and three or four follow each of them. And it is not easy to see what is being taken; nor has the way in which they carry out the work been seen.

My only serious doubt is as to the translation of σμήνος. This can mean hive or swarm. In fact, the dances do not usually take place until the returning bee has reached a fairly dense crowd of other bees on the vertical face of a comb.

ἀποσειεῖν is to shake off, but the middle form ἀποσειόνται is also used by Aristotle (*Hist. Animal.* VI, 580b) for the post-copulatory movements of hens, which are certainly not shaking anything off themselves. Pollux the Lexicographer used ἀπόσεισις to describe a human dance. We can, I think, be fairly clear as to what Aristotle, Theophrastos, or his informant had seen. At least four different types of dance have been described (see Ribbands,³ or Haldane and Spurway⁴). I have discussed their implications for human logic and linguistics elsewhere.⁵ If a food source is found at a distance of less than 100 metres the dance varies in different bee races; in that studied by von Frisch it is a simple 'round dance'. At greater distances all races perform what von Frisch calls the Schwanztanz or waggle dance. It resembles some human folk-dances. A straight section, always in the same direction, is followed by a return in a curved path alternately to the right and left. While performing the straight part of the dance, the dancer waggles her abdomen. The direction of the dance indicates the direction of the food source. Von Frisch showed that the zenith indicates the direction of the sun, a direction 30° to the right of it indicates a direction 30° to the west of the sun, and so on. The number of oscillations during each straight run indicates the distance of the food source. There are two or three oscillations for the first 100 metres, and then one more for each additional 75 metres (Haldane and Spurway, *loc. cit.*). The wagging is very obvious to a human observer, whereas the dances without waggles, indicating short distances, are not so easily picked out, by myself at least. By the way, the human ἀπόσεισις, if it resembled the bees' waggle dance, must have resembled the modern 'danse du ventre', and Pollux includes it with three other 'unseemly' dances marked by 'rotating the loins' (τῇ τῆς ὀσφύος περιφορᾷ).

The statement that three or four bees follow the dancer is correct; 'administrant' is incorrect. A chain of followers is formed, and after a few rounds each has obtained the information necessary for her future flight, and flies off. Others may then join the queue. It is certainly hard to see what is transferred. In fact, a dancer may stop and give another worker a drop of 'nectar' (χύμη) regurgitated from her crop. I doubt if this process can be seen without a lens. In Ribbands' beautiful photograph the bees are represented 7 cm. in length, but the drop is invisible. Bees do not shake their load off. They transfer it carefully, either to other workers or to cells in the comb.

¹ K. von Frisch, *Bees, their Vision, Chemical Senses, and Language*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1950.

² H. Bekker, *Aristoteles Latine Interpretis Variis*, ed. Ac. Reg. Boruss., Berlin, 1831.

³ R. Ribbands, *The Behaviour and Social Life of Honeybees*, London, 1953.

⁴ J. B. S. Haldane and H. Spurway, *A Statistical Analysis of Communication in Apis mellifera, and a Comparison with Communication in Other Animals, Insectes Sociaux* I, 247-83.

⁵ J. B. S. Haldane, 'Animal ritual and human language', *Diogenes* 1953, IV, 61-73.

Aristotle went out of his way to say that nothing corresponding to Bekker's 'deponunt onus' was visible.

It is, I think, clear that the author of *περὶ τὰ ζῷα ἱστορίων* or his informant had watched the waggle dance. This shows that the dance is at least 2300 years old. It is, of course, probably very much older. But such data on animal 'language' are of great interest to biologists. For example, I have heard a male *Rana ridibunda* in Romney Marshes singing 'βρεκεκέκ κοάξ κοάξ'. The final consonant of the first 'word' was definitely κ, and the ξ was pronounced 'sh' or 'f', which may be relevant to its pronunciation in Attic. It is easy enough to observe these 'dances' to-day in a hive with a glass window, and to verify that they are performed by returning foragers by marking these with a spot of lacquer while feeding. It is unlikely that a Greek observer used either of these techniques.⁶ If he did not, a modern biologist must express his admiration for the accuracy of his observation. Since 132 years elapsed between the rediscovery of the dances in 1788 and von Frisch's first incomplete account of their communicatory function in 1920, we cannot blame Aristotle for his failure to consider non-human logic.

I believe (and I could give other examples) that, at least in his biological works, Aristotle has suffered from translators who believed that they knew what he meant. Sometimes, no doubt, they were right. But often a literal translation such as I have tried to give is nearer to the truth than is a freer rendering. English grammar makes it difficult to translate the gender of ἐκάστη, which is, of course, correct.

The moral is, perhaps, that Aristotle's biological works should be translated afresh in each generation, with a commentary by a committee of biologists. His explanations of biological facts are often faulty. His accounts of these facts fall into four classes. Some, including the account here discussed, have been confirmed and usually amplified. Of some we can say, 'The present-day representatives of the species which we believe that Aristotle was describing do not have the structure or behaviour which he stated. We believe that he was misinformed, or misinterpreted his observations.' For example, it is clear that he misinterpreted the pollen on returning bees as wax. In fact, pollen is used as food, whilst wax is secreted by the bees themselves. Of other statements we can only say, 'This has not yet been confirmed'; and it is a safe guess that some, at least, will be confirmed. A fourth class, perhaps the most interesting of all, includes some statements about the physiology and behaviour of domestic animals. Thus, according to *Hist. Animal.* VI 573b, a ewe usually bears two lambs, and sometimes three or four. This is not true of modern British breeds, among which single births are the rule and triplets quite exceptional. But there is a strong presumption that it was true of sheep in Greece in Aristotle's time. Again male asses which were destined to beget mules were transferred to mares to suckle (*Hist. Animal.* VI 577b). This no longer appears to be necessary, at least in Western Europe. But such a transfer is to-day used in bringing about hybridisation between stallions and female asses. It is likely that in two thousand years the instinctive behaviour of donkeys has changed, the males having become less discriminating. Rendel⁷ produced a similar change in the behaviour of female insects in my own laboratory, and Koopman produced the converse change in two other insect species. If domestic animals do not behave in an Aristotelian manner to-day, there is at least a *prima facie* case that their physiology or instincts have altered.

I must acknowledge my debt to Kraak,⁸ who pointed out the reference to the 'dance'. I venture however to prefer my own translation to his, which begins 'A bee when back at the hive shakes himself', a reversal of sex which might have surprised even Tiresias. I must also thank Professor T. B. L. Webster for much help.

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⁶ But Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* XI, 16, 49), after describing the emergence of bees from cells of the comb, continues *Spectatum hoc Romæ consularis cuiusdam suburbano, alvis cornu laternæ translucido factis*. The horn window may have been a Greek invention. I thank Mr. B. G. Whitfield of Eton College for drawing my attention to this passage.

⁷ J. M. Rendel, 'Genetics and Cytology of *Drosophila subobscura*. II. Normal and selective matings in *Drosophila subobscura*', *Jour. Genet.* (1945) XLVI, 287-302.

⁸ W. K. Kraak, 'First Attempts at Animal Ethology in Greek Biology (Theophrastus)', *Actes du VIIe Congrès International d'Histoire des Sciences*, Paris, Hermann, 1953.

LAW-MAKING AT ATHENS AT THE END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

FOR students of Athenian private and public law it is a painful, but undeniable fact that there is still grave uncertainty as to the precise methods by which statutes, one of the most important sources of law, were made at the most formative period of the history of the system from the middle of the fifth century B.C. onwards. There have been two fairly recent and conflicting attempts to clear up some of the main points, those of Kahrstedt¹ and of Mrs. Atkinson.² Neither treatment seems wholly satisfactory, and in particular neither seems to take any account of J. H. Oliver's publication³ of additions to the code or of Ferguson's paper⁴ on these same additions. It may therefore be worthwhile re-examining the evidence for one chapter at least of the story, the chapter covering roughly the twenty years beginning in 411 B.C.

I cannot avoid a word on sources, in the historical not the legal sense. In the literary field historians and political theorists are very unhelpful. The problem does not seem to have interested them. Here therefore we have to rely mainly on two other classes of authority, firstly, grammarians and lexicographers, who were interested in the archaisms of the laws of Drakon and Solon, secondly, and most fruitful of all, the orators. In the orators we must distinguish between the documents cited in the texts and the orators' own words. I do not discuss the validity of the cited documents, but must content myself with saying that with regard to the more important documents which are here relevant there is now fairly general agreement among scholars that they are genuine. Statements of the orators themselves must always be examined under the microscope and allowance made for possible distortions due to the speaker's desire to support the particular point which he is making.

The epigraphic evidence, on the other hand—discounting for a moment its fragmentary character—would at first sight seem to give us more unequivocal evidence, solid first-hand stuff, unencumbered by subjective bias of author or editor. But this is not quite so. It is often as important as it is difficult to determine what was the precise aim of having a document engraved on stone. We should wish to know—and we must in each case make the best guess we can—whether the particular stone we are considering was: (a) the effective document for official legal use, or (b) a copy of the official document engraved for publicity, the document itself being kept in some Record Office, or (c) a document in draft, as it were, before it became a fully effective *nomos* or *psephisma*, as the case might be; in which case again it could either have been the official copy—what in modern drafting jargon is called the 'key' copy—or merely a copy of the 'key' copy, put up in a public place for greater convenience of consulting by the general public. It might seem strange to engrave documents of type (c) on stone and indeed *leukomata*,⁵ white surfaces with writing on them, were often used for this purpose. But we ought not to rule out the possibility that for very important drafts, where much was at stake and where a considerable interval between the first draft and its final conversion into law or decree was envisaged, a more permanent form of publication, and one less easily tampered with than a whitened board may have been preferred.

The main problem of this paper is whether these twenty years were an epoch in Athenian legislative procedure. And if so, were the changes then effected consciously revolutionary or were they of the sort which produce effects not necessarily intended by their authors? Were they, for example, like the changes produced by the Parliament Act of 1910 or rather like those produced by the failure of the early Georges to preside at meetings of their own ministers, or to take a more recent example of which we cannot yet gauge the full effects, the changes in administration being produced by the keeping and circulating to departments of Cabinet minutes?

Put in simple terms, the problem is to determine what were the proper functions of *nomos* and *psephisma* in the Athenian constitution and whether anything vital happened to the relations between them in this period. Unfortunately neither modern nor ancient political theorists have been at one on the theory of this relationship at Athens. Thus B. Keil⁶ says of the distinction 'das Unterscheidende ist eben nicht der Inhalt, sondern die Form'. Wilamowitz,⁷ on the other hand, says 'formal ist zwischen einem Volksbeschluss und einem Gesetz gar kein Unterschied. Was das Volk beschliesst, ist recht und ist gesetz.'

So, too, the ancients. Xenophon⁸ puts this definition of *nomoi* into the mouth of Perikles: πάντες οὗτοι νόμοι εἰσὶν, οὓς τὸ πλῆθος συνελθὼν καὶ δοκιμάσας ἔγραψε, φράζον ἅ τε δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ ἅ μὴ. And a little later: πάντα ὅσα ἂν τὸ κρατοῦν τῆς πόλεως βουλευσάμενον, ἅ χρὴ ποιεῖν,

¹ *Klio* XXXI (1938), pp. 1 ff.

² *Athenian Legislative Procedure and Revision of Laws* (1939), *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 23, 1. There was a brief review of Mrs. Atkinson by Professor Gomme in *Cl. Rev.* LIV (1940), p. 38, and a reply to her by Kahrstedt in *Gnomon* XVI (1940), pp. 377 ff.

³ *Hesperia* IV (1935), pp. 5 ff. See also further publications

by S. Dow in *Hesperia* X (1941), pp. 31 ff.

⁴ *Classical Studies presented to Copps* (1936), pp. 144 ff.

⁵ See A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (1909), pp. 239 ff.

⁶ *Gr. Staatsalt.* (1914), p. 381.

⁷ *Ar. und Ath.* II (1893), p. 193.

⁸ *Mem.* I, 2, 42.

γράφῃ, νόμος καλεῖται. On the other hand, Aristotle,⁹ dealing with the nature of the equitable, propounds the doctrine that all laws are universal, but the cases with which they have to deal are particular, and therefore infinitely varied. The nature of the equitable is that it is a correction of the law where it is defective owing to its universality. In fact, he goes on, this is the reason why all things are not determined by law, namely that about some things it is impossible to lay down a law, so that a decree is needed. Again in the *Politics*¹⁰ he describes one form of democracy as 'that in which, not the law, but the multitude, have the supreme power, and supersede the law by their decrees.' And a little later: 'the law ought to be supreme over all, and the magistrates should judge of particulars, and only this should be considered a constitution. So that if democracy be a real form of government, the sort of system in which all things are regulated by decrees is clearly not even a democracy in the true sense of the word, for decrees relate only to particulars.'¹¹

The views of the practical pleader on the subject may be illustrated by two passages in the Demosthenic corpus which allude to the importance of the distinction, though they add little light on its precise character or the history of its development. [Dem.] *Against Neaira* 59, 88, tries to reconcile the absolute sovereignty of the *demos* with the existence of certain rules governing the conferment of the citizenship. 'The Athenian people', the speaker says, 'though it has complete sovereignty (κυριώτατος τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπάντων) and may do whatever it pleases, considered the gift of its citizenship so honourable and precious a thing that it made laws for itself to govern the making of a citizen (νόμους ἔθετο αὐτῷ καθ' οὓς ποιεῖσθαι δεῖ, ἐάν τινα βούλωνται, πολίτην).'

The other is the well-known passage in Dem. *Against Leptines* 20, 91, where Demosthenes is drawing attention to the break-down of the attempt to distinguish between law and decree. The object of the law dealing with *nomothesia*, which he calls ancient and attributes to Solon, was to secure that laws were not passed casually but were subjected to the same kind of *dokimasia*, as, for example, was applied to the *thesmothetai* themselves. So long as the proper procedure had been observed, the Athenians had stuck to the existing laws and not made new ones (a statement not presumably to be taken literally). But politicians had succeeded in removing the brake, with the result that it was now possible to make laws whenever and however anyone liked, and there were so many contradictory laws that for long past the Athenians had been appointing people to clear up the chaos, but they had not yet succeeded in doing so. He sums up by saying that laws do not differ at all from decrees, but that laws which should have governed the making of decrees are actually passed after these very decrees.¹²

It seems clear that in the middle of the fourth century there was a theory in Athens that laws should be more general in character, more permanent and stable than decrees and that the procedure of *nomothesia* had been initiated to secure the *nomoi* from frivolous and irresponsible changes, but that in practice the distinction had largely broken down.¹³

It is obvious that the legislators of 403 B.C. did not invent this distinction. The idea of *nomos* as something basic, founded upon a divinely inspired code, goes back far beyond the end of the fifth century. And over against this there must always have been the recognition that day-to-day business had to be done and that this involved decisions by various organs in the state which must be binding on its members. Such decisions might be those of individual magistrates, but they would also, and in ever-increasing measure, take the form of *psephismata*; and it would be assumed that the validity of these latter depended on their conforming to the law as it stood.¹⁴ At some point of time, however, this distinction must have received specific definition in the elaborate procedure laid down for *nomothesia* and in, for example, the specific rule that no *psephisma* of *boule* or *demos* was to have higher validity than a *nomos*.¹⁵ Was this time the last decade of the fifth century?

A preliminary question, which Kahrstedt treats in an appendix,¹⁶ but on which it is necessary to form some judgement at the outset, is the question of a state Record Office at Athens. How did a litigant—or indeed any other inquirer—know at any given period in Athenian history what statutory enactments, whether in the form of *nomoi* or *psephismata*, were in force at the time and the authentic terms of such enactments?

For Kahrstedt 403/2 is in this respect an epoch. 'There were', he writes, 'before 403/2 no state archives in Athens. Before that date the State wrote upon wood or stone or not at all. The

⁹ *Nic. Eth.* V, 10, 1137b.

¹⁰ IV, 4, 1292a. I quote from the Oxford translation by Jowett revised by Ross (1921).

¹¹ Note the description of the eleventh and last stage in the development of the Athenian democracy in *Ar. Ath. Pol.* 41, 2. ἀπάντων αὐτῶν αὐτὸν πεποιθέναι ὁ δῆμος κύριον, καὶ πάντα διοικεῖται ψηφισασιν καὶ δικαστηρίοις, ἐν οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἔστιν ὁ κρατὺν.

¹² νεώτεροι αἱ νόμοι καθ' οὓς τὰ ψηφισμὰτα εἰσι γράφασθαι, τῶν ψηφισμάτων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν. This gives an adequate sense. Politicians had been regularising decrees of doubtful validity by passing laws *ex post facto*. Lipsius, *Att. Recht*, p. 387, holding that γράφασθαι must be middle and mean 'bring a γραφή against', as it does a few lines above, would read ἑναντίωται for νεώτεροι: 'the laws which govern suits against decrees are even more contradictory than the decrees themselves.' But

the correction is hardly necessary. Kahrstedt is ingenious in *Klio* XXXI (1938), p. 18: 'Nomoi im technischen Sinn der Zeit und von Psephismen sachlich unterschieden, sind in der Tat jünger als der Zustand, dass das Volk Psephismen zu fassen hat.' But even if such a sense could be got from the words in isolation, it does not square with the context.

¹³ See further Busolt *Gr. Staatsk.* I (1920), pp. 455 ff.; Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence* II (1922), pp. 128 ff.

¹⁴ Not necessarily the same as conforming to the laws, if we accept the distinction made by Aristotle in *Politics* IV, 1, 1289a between a *politeia* as a wider whole with *nomoi* subsumed under it.

¹⁵ Andok. *On the Mysteries* (1), 87, Dem. *Against Aristok.* 23, 87, *Against Timok.* 24, 30.

¹⁶ *Klio* XXXI (1938), pp. 25 ff.

works of the old law-givers stood on their *axones*, etc.; additions thereto were occasionally preserved on *stelai*, but for the most part remained among the memoranda of the Secretary to the Council—these must always have existed—and were never collected together as archives.' Down to 403 records on stone are documents in the strict sense of the term; thereafter they are merely copies of the documents, the latter being kept in the State archives.

There is good enough evidence for the positive side of this thesis, for the existence of State archives after 403, and there is no need to expatiate on it.

On the other hand, it is not so easy to be certain of the negative side, of the non-existence of such archives before that date. Indeed, the contrary had been maintained by Homer A. Thompson in *Hesperia* VI (1937), 215 f. He relied on the following evidence.

(A) Epigraphic. (i) *IG* I² 65, 54 ff. (*ATL* II D 8), a decree of 426 B.C. dealing with the *eklogeis*, in which provision is made for recording their names in the *bouleuterion*. (ii) *IG* I² 27, a proxeny decree of about 448 B.C. which the Secretary of the Council is ordered to record on a *stèle* on the akropolis and in the *bouleuterion*. [ἀνα]γράφσαι τὸν [γραμματεῖα τὴν β]ολῆς ἐν πόλει [ἐστὲ] λει καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτ[ερί]οι προχσένος ἀθηναίων. (iii) *IG* I² 85, a decree dated by the editors before 420 B.C. τὸ δὲ φσ[φ]έρισμα τόδε ἀναγραφάσθαι ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ τ[τ]ῆς βολῆς [ἐστὲ] λει λιθίνει καὶ καταθέτ[ε] ἐν πόλει ὅς [τάχισ]τα ἐὰν δὲ βόλ[ε]ται, ἐν βουλευτ[ερί]οι ἐχ[σέ]στο ἀναγράφαι - - -]. (iv) *IG* I² 63, 24 (*ATL* II A 9), the assessment decree of 425/4 B.C., which orders the decree and the assessment of each city to be recorded on two stone *stelai*, one to be set up on the Akropolis, the other in the *bouleuterion*.

(B) Two literary passages. (i) A reference in Andok. *On His Return*, 2, 23 to a decree of Menippos of 415 B.C., which ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν ἐγγέγραπται ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ. (ii) A story quoted from Chamaileon of Heraclea Pontica,¹⁷ according to which when Hegemon of Thasos was being prosecuted in an Athenian court he secured the aid of Alkibiades, who, going into the Metroon ὅπου τῶν δικῶν ἦσαν αἱ γραφαί, καὶ βρέξας τὸν δάκτυλον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος διήλειψε τὴν δίκην τοῦ Ἠγήμονος. This is taken as proving that at some date before Alkibiades' last appearance in Athens the Metroon had replaced the *bouleuterion* as the depository of the archives.

Kahrstedt challenges the validity of Thompson's deductions from this evidence. The epigraphical instances he explains as cases where publication on stone in the *bouleuterion* happened to be desirable: they are, that is, instructions for publication, not for depositing documents in the archives. The form of words in the Andokides passage, though not incompatible with a papyrus document in the archives, could equally well refer to an inscription set up in the *bouleuterion* and still visible there at the date of the speech (410 or 409?).¹⁸ In the Alkibiades story what he expunges is not a record of a judgement in a record office, but the public notice of a case which was to come before the *boule*.¹⁹

Kahrstedt's positive arguments against a state Record Office before 403/2 B.C. are as follows: (a) In no speech which can be dated before 403 B.C. are there any citations of documents which presuppose state archives, with the possible exception of Andok. 2, 23. Citations of this kind, which became so normal later, first appear, significantly, in Andok. *On the Mysteries*, delivered in 399 B.C. The sample of speeches which can be dated before 403 B.C. is admittedly not large, ten if we include all six of Antiphon, namely those six, Andok. 2 and 4 and Lysias 20 and 24.²⁰

(b) Authors writing after 403 B.C. but wishing to refer to documents dating before that year refer to *stelai*, except when they are citing laws embraced in the code at 403/2 B.C. For example, there is the citation of *stelai* in the following cases: the conferment of privileges on the descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton,²¹ the decree against Athmios of Zeleia,²² a decree against tyrants,²³ a decree of Alkibiades. These cases carry some weight, though they are far from overwhelming. Others cited by Kahrstedt are more doubtful. In Lysias 30, 17 there is reference to sacrifices τὰς ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων καὶ τῶν στηλῶν,²⁴ a very difficult case to which I shall have to return. Lysias 1, 30 is cited by Kahrstedt as supporting him unequivocally. The speaker is quoting a law which exempts from a charge of murder a man who kills another caught in the act of adultery with his wife, and he uses these terms: τὸν νόμον <τὸν> ἐκ τῆς στηλῆς τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου. On Kahrstedt's rule this should mean that this section of the homicide law was not taken into the code in 403/2 B.C. There is a possible escape, not indicated by Kahrstedt, in this particular case since this speech is undated and might therefore have been delivered very shortly after 403, the act having been committed before that date. If the law had been changed the speaker would have been bound to

¹⁷ Athen. 9 c. 72, p. 407b.

¹⁸ Thompson admits the possibility, but thinks it unlikely that a decree of such limited reference should have been engraved. But there were reasons for publishing a decree conferring *ἀδεια*.

¹⁹ Alkibiades is doing just what Strepsiades wanted to do in *The Clouds* 769 ὅπου γράφοιτο τὴν δίκην ὁ γραμματεὺς τὰ γράμματα ἐκτίθεσθαι τῆς ἐκείνης δίκης.

²⁰ It must have been one function of the *anekrisis* in a trial to make it possible to have copies of state documents made and

agreed by both parties for recital at the hearing-in-chief. Only when these documents had been assembled in a Record Office would it have been possible for them to be cited on the scale which prevails from Andok. 1 onwards.

²¹ Dem. *Against Leptines* 20, 127 specifically called τῆς στηλῆς τὸντίγραφα.

²² Dein. *Against Aristogeiton* 2, 24.

²³ Lyk. 118, Thuc. 6, 55.

²⁴ For στηλῶν the MSS. have ἀσπιδίων or ἐπιλίων.

refer to the *stele*. We cannot take the same way out with [Dem.] *Against Neaira* 59, 76. The speaker here refers to a *stele* for the law governing the qualifications for the wife of the *basileus*. If these qualifications had not been taken over in the code of 403/2 the citation of the law by the orator would have had little point. We can guess why this citation is from a *stele*. The speaker stresses that the script is Attic, and he may well have been wishing to emphasise the pre-Eukleidean status of this law. If so the passage proves nothing as to a Record Office. Other passages cited by Kahrstedt to prove this point do not do so. There is nothing in Thucydides' references to *stelai* in connexion with three treaties in Book 5²⁵ to show that the *stelai* on which these treaties were undoubtedly engraved were the official copies from which Thucydides took his own, though this is what Kahrstedt takes the passages to prove. And indeed the whole of this part of Kahrstedt's case is weak. One might easily explain the citation from *stelai* of enactments no longer valid by the hypothesis that, when a document ceased to be valid, it was thrown out of the archives, so that if you wished to cite it you had to have recourse to a *stele* if such there was. On the other hand, there is a passage cited here by Kahrstedt which, though it does not prove this particular point, does appear to me to help his general thesis. In [Dem.] *Against Neaira* 59, 104 we have a decree dating from the Peloponnesian war conferring citizenship on the Plataians. I can see nothing to show, what Kahrstedt nevertheless assumes, that the quotation is made from a *stele*. On the other hand, we are told that when the Plataeans had passed a *dokimasia* their names were to be inscribed on a stone to be set up on the akropolis *ἵνα σφύζηται ἡ δωρεὰ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις καὶ ἡ ἐξελέγξαι οὗτο ἄν ἕκαστος ἡ συγγενής*. The passage is strong evidence for the existence of a document in the strict sense of the term on a *stele* on the akropolis, not in a Record Office.

(c) Kahrstedt's third line of argument is that in the fifth century formal annulment of a legislative enactment is secured by the physical erasure or demolition of *stelai*, which implies that they, and not a papyrus in a Record Office, were the official documents. Thus the Thirty, in order to reverse the laws of Ephialtes and Archestratos concerning the Areopagos, τοὺς Ἐφιάλτου καὶ Ἀρχεστράτου νόμους τοὺς περὶ τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν καθείλον ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου.²⁶ The form of expression implies physical removal of the texts from the Areopagos. In IG I² 106, 21 a decree of about 410 B.C., τὰ δὲ περὶ τιμάνθος γεγραμμένα ἐν πόλει ἐκκολαφάσωντο οἱ ταμίαι οἱ τῆς θεᾶς ἐκ τῆς στ[έλης]. Here again physical erasure on a *stele* on the akropolis seems to constitute the annulment of a decree. Less persuasive is the story in Nepos referring to the re-instatement of Alkibiades in 407 B.C.; 'pilaeque illae, in quibus devotio fuerat scripta, in mare praecipitatae'.²⁷ Such a flamboyant act would suit the character of Alkibiades quite irrespective of its legal significance. Cases where in the fourth century the demolishing of a *stele* is ordered are explained by Kahrstedt either as treaties dating back before 405 B.C.²⁸ or as mere political demonstrations like the destruction in 340/39 B.C. of the *stele* recording the peace with Philip.²⁹

Let us provisionally accept Kahrstedt's view that 403/2 B.C. marks an epoch in the setting up of a state Record Office and consider how, if it is accepted, it relates to the changes in the law code which were taking place in that and the preceding eight or nine years.³⁰

Examine first the activities of that rather mysterious figure Nikomachos, who is attacked in Lysias 30. I would emphasise at the outset that he was not, as he is sometimes described,³¹ a *nomothetes* in any technical sense. It is true that in two places, §§ 2 and 28, Lysias uses the word of him. But the whole point of these passages is to show that he has usurped legislative functions, and the passage in § 2 in particular would be meaningless if he had in fact been a *nomothetes*: προσταχθὲν αὐτῷ τεττάρων μηνῶν ἀναγράψαι τοὺς νόμους τοὺς Σόλωνος, ἀντὶ Σόλωνος αὐτὸν νομοθέτην κατέστησεν.

If we may believe Lysias Nikomachos was the son of a public slave (§ 2), he had been freed and made a citizen and had at one time been an *hypogrammateus* (§ 27). At a date shortly after the fall of the Four Hundred, though whether before or after the restoration of the full democracy we cannot say, he was appointed an *anagrapheus* of the laws, and Lysias describes so much of his assignment as was relevant to his speech in the words quoted above. He goes on to say that he stretched out his term of office (ἀρχή) from four months to six years, that, receiving money day by day, he wrote in some laws and expunged others (τοὺς μὲν ἐνέγραφε, τοὺς δ' ἐξήλειφεν). As a result he was dealing out laws piece-meal to the Athenians (ἐκ τῆς τούτου χειρὸς ἐταμιεύομεθα τοὺς νόμους), sometimes even providing contradictory laws to the two litigants in a single suit. Although the archons imposed fines on him and brought him into court,³² he refused to produce the laws (οὐκ ἠθέλησε παραδοῦναι τοὺς νόμους), but was still in office and had rendered no accounts when the democracy fell (§§ 2-3). In a later passage (§§ 9 ff.) Lysias alleges that at the trial of Kleophon his accusers

²⁵ Thuc. 5, 18, 10; 5, 23, 5; 5, 47, 11.

²⁶ Ar. Ath. Pol. 35, 2.

²⁷ Nep. Alcib. 6, 5.

²⁸ E.g. IG II² 40, 16; 43, 31. Kahrstedt dissents from the view of Ehrenberg in *Hermes* LXIV (1929), pp. 330 ff. that these were separate treaties dating from shortly before 378 B.C.

²⁹ Philochoros *F. Gr. Hist.*, 328, F 55.

³⁰ Cf. Jacoby, *Althist* (1949), p. 205: 'There still seems to be a tendency to overestimate both the amount of documents and

particularly their easy availability in the State archive.' And in his note *ibid.* p. 383, though expressing the view that 'Kahrstedt is somewhat extreme in the opposite direction', he finds his date for the archive, 403/2, 'most attractive'.

³¹ E.g. Jebb, *Attic Orators* (1876) 1, p. 224, Blass, *Att. Ber., Gorgias bis Lysias* (1868), p. 458.

³² On what grounds we are not told. That some of the infringements could be dealt with by ἐμβολαί does not suggest anything very serious.

urged Nikomachos to produce a law ὡς χρή καὶ τὴν βουλὴν συνδικάζειν and that on the day of the trial he obligingly did so.

The following points seem to emerge from this story, making due allowance for the exaggerations of a pleader, but assuming that his exaggerations had sufficient background in fact to make them plausible.

The office of *anagrapheus* was an *arche* and subject to *euthuna*. The reference to receiving money daily in § 2 may be a sneering reference to pay for the office, but it might equally be a suggestion of corruption. We cannot say whether Nikomachos' appointment had any connexion with the activity of the *nomothetai* mentioned in Thuc. 8, 97, 2, but such a connexion would be plausible enough. His task was ἀναγράφαι τοὺς νόμους τοὺς Σόλωνος.³³ It was thought that the task would last four months, but it is not likely that his office was limited to this period; if it had been, he could hardly have clung to it as he did for six years. In intention the task was to be purely factual, or in modern terminology administrative. The gravamen of Lysias' charge against him is that he had turned an administrative into a legislative function.

What precisely was this task? It must in the first place have been one of identification, discovering the laws of Solon. We can, I think, further assume, that this was to be taken not in the scholar's or historian's sense of the original laws that had stood—and in part at least still stood—on the *axones*. It would have embraced all the laws that had been valid in the period immediately preceding the revolution. Any scope less wide than this would remove all plausibility from the clause quoted above from § 3, εἰς τοῦτο δὲ κατέστημεν ὥστε ἐκ τῆς τούτου χειρὸς ἐταμεινόμεθα τοὺς νόμους.³⁴

It is less easy to be sure what exactly he was intended to do with these laws when he had identified them. ἀναγράφειν means 'publish', but by no means necessarily 'engrave on stone', and indeed the four months originally allowed for the work, if we are to believe Lysias, almost rule this out. It may have been the sort of publication laid upon the first board of *nomothetai* in the decree of Teisamenos,³⁵ who are instructed with regard to certain laws ἀναγράφοντες ἐν σανίσιν ἐκτιθέντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐπωνύμους σκοπεῖν τῷ βουλομένῳ. There is some slight confirmation of this in the fact that Lysias complains that Nikomachos οὐκ ᾔθελεσε παραδοῦναι τοὺς νόμους and in the Teisamenos decree the *nomothetai* are bidden, besides publishing the laws on boards παραδιδόναι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐν τῷδε τῷ μηνί. The laws thus delivered to the magistrates in the Teisamenos decree had been at one stage subjected to a process of *dokimasia*. On this analogy we may conjecture, though it is only a conjecture, that the original intention was that the texts produced by Nikomachos (and presumably by colleagues) should also be subjected to some form of *dokimasia* before their validity was finally confirmed. The fact that Nikomachos was allowed to go on for six years without his texts being confirmed in this way seems to indicate that, contrary to the picture drawn by Lysias, he was producing texts that met with fairly general approval and did not give rise to any grave political controversy. The engraving of the texts—or at least some of them—on stone may point in the same direction.

The *anagrapheis* of 410 B.C. and the following years have left certain traces of their activity on stone. First there is the partially preserved republication of part of Drakon's homicide law.³⁶ The decree, dated to the year 409/8 B.C., instructs the *anagrapheis* of the laws to engrave on a stone *stèle* the law of Drakon about homicide, getting the text from the Secretary of the Council,³⁷ and to set up the *stèle* in front of the royal *Stoa*. There follows the prefix πρῶτος ἔχσων and immediately thereafter the words καὶ ἐάν μὴ ἐκ προνοίας κτείνῃ τίς τινα. No satisfactory explanation has been offered why the clauses dealing with premeditated homicide did not appear in this text. That they did not appear seems certain: both *a priori* probability and the word καὶ at the beginning of the text suggest that in the original law those clauses preceded the clauses dealing with unpremeditated homicide. I have myself no explanation to offer. I would, however, make one point. The fact that these clauses are missing is slightly less puzzling if we regard this text as a preliminary step in a process of codification rather than, as it is more usually regarded, part of the completed process.

Secondly, there is the complex of documents dealt with by J. H. Oliver, W. S. Ferguson, S. Dow, and Miss L. H. Jeffery.³⁸ Oliver and Ferguson argued convincingly that we have here the remains of a free-standing wall made up of *stelai* clamped together and smoothed back and front, with writing in Attic script on one side and in Ionic on the other. This wall, it is argued, contained the results of the work of the *anagrapheis* begun in 410 B.C., interrupted in 405, and resumed in 403.

³³ Is the absence of mention of Drakon significant or merely due to a desire for brevity on Lysias' part?

³⁴ J. Schreiner, *De Corpore Iuris Atheniensium* (1913), pp. 21 ff. and especially pp. 48 ff., has established the thesis that 'the laws of Solon' was often a generic term for the 'corpus iuris Attici'.

³⁵ Andok. *On the Mysteries* 1, 83. I deal with this decree in detail later.

³⁶ *IG* I² 115; Tod, *GHI* 87.

³⁷ Should we deduce from this that the original *axon*, whether as is more probable it went back to Drakon himself or

was incorporated among the *axones* of Solon, no longer existed and the official text was a papyrus kept by the Secretary of the Council? If the original *axon* existed this clause seems otiose. If it did not, the clause indicates where the authentic copy is to be found.

³⁸ *IG* I² 843, 844/5; II² 1357; Oliver, *Hesperia* IV (1935), pp. 5 ff.; Ferguson, *Classical Studies presented to Capps* (1936), pp. 144 ff.; Dow, *Hesperia* X (1941), pp. 31 ff.; Dow promises a detailed study of the whole problem; Jeffery, *Hesperia* XVII (1948), pp. 106 ff.

On the obverse, the side written in Attic script, there are fragments of the trierarchic law. Correspondences with regulations for trierarchs in [Dem.] *Against Euergos and Mnesiboulos* 47, 26 and 33 ff., confirmed Oliver's identification of this document as part of the code. The obverse contains further part of what may be a calendar of sacrifices. The surviving fragments of the reverse contain parts of a calendar of sacrifices. Ferguson shows good reason for believing that the calendar on the reverse, where the sacrifices were listed month by month in chronological order in the groups of annual, trieteric, and (presumably) penteteric, was not a continuation of the calendar—if calendar it was—on the obverse. This is important, since it gives colour to his conjecture that the engraving of the calendar was begun anew in 403 B.C. This would allow space on the wall between the old and the new versions of the calendar for the engraving of those additional secular laws³⁹ which we know from the decree of Teisamenos were added to the code in 403. Moreover, we might perhaps argue from the fact that a calendar was at least begun on the pre-Euklidean side of the wall and that in all probability that section followed immediately on the trierarchic law that the *anagrapheis* had by that date completed their work on the secular laws.

Lastly, there is the so-called charter of the new democracy.⁴⁰ Measurement of the stones shows that neither this nor Drakon's republished law were part of the wall, and Ferguson suggests that the *anagrapheis* began by having sections of the laws engraved on separate *stelai*, and at some stage in their work it was decided to make the publication uniform by inscribing them on stones of a uniform size so as to form a wall with texts on both sides.

How did it come about that there could be so much doubt in 410 B.C. what were the valid laws of Drakon and Solon that the task of codifying them could last six years, in the course of which it could be later suggested with some show of plausibility that a superior clerk was producing texts of his own to suit his private purposes? There can have been little doubt about the laws surviving on the *axones*, though we do not know the extent or the state of preservation of these survivals. Uncertainty must have centred chiefly on the accretions to the original laws. It would arise from two main causes: (i) the material cause that there were at the time no state archives (assuming that there were not) and the texts were therefore scattered all over the city⁴¹ and outside it as well, and (ii) the difficulty of deciding what ordinances were entitled to be called laws of Solon.

I suggest that the revolution of the Four Hundred had brought to a head dissatisfaction with the growing uncertainty what were valid laws. Either the moderate government which succeeded the Four Hundred or the fully restored democracy determined to remedy this, and as a first step towards clarification appointed *anagrapheis* to search out and publish all laws of Drakon and Solon and accretions for which present validity was to be claimed. The intention was that when this preliminary work was done the resulting texts should be submitted to some form of *dokimasia* to give them renewed and final validity. In the meantime the same unsatisfactory uncertainty continued as before, with the modification that litigants could have recourse to the collections being made by Nikomachos and others; and we gather from Lysias that these texts did carry some weight in the courts.⁴²

If this picture is at all correct it would confirm the thesis of Kahrstedt that the archonship of Eukleides does mark an epoch in Athenian legislative procedure. What precisely the procedure in the fourth century was, and in particular whether it took from the *ekklesia* sovereignty in law-making to confer it upon the *nomothetai*, are questions I reserve for the moment. But one thing about it is clear: it hedged about the making, annulling, or amending of *nomoi* with an elaborate process in which the *nomothetai* played an important role. The career of Nikomachos down to 403/2 B.C. seems to me quite incompatible with the existence of any such procedure before that date. Had it existed, it is scarcely conceivable that so much uncertainty could have prevailed as to the existing laws and, moreover, its existence would have supplied just the machinery needed for scrutinising the texts produced by the *anagrapheis*.

Two specific pieces of evidence have been adduced for the existence of this procedure before 403. (i) Thuc. 8, 97, 2, speaking of the moderate constitution which succeeded the Four Hundred, says, ἐγίγνοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ὑστερον πυκναὶ ἐκκλησίαι, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ νομοθέτας καὶ τὰλλα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν. This is all we hear of these *nomothetai*, and the words used do not suggest the mere revival of a pre-existing piece of machinery. (ii) In line 16 of the assessment decree of 425/4 B.C.⁴³ a fairly certain restoration refers to the *nomothetai*, who are to set up a new court of 1000 jurors to hear appeals in assessment cases. This seems odd work for *nomothetai*, and is in any case not very closely related to their functions in the fourth century. Neither of these two isolated pieces

³⁹ For the dangers attaching to the use of the opposed terms 'secular' and 'sacred' in this connexion see Jacoby, *Atthis*, p. 244, n. 46; p. 257, n. 119; p. 274, n. 262.

⁴⁰ *IG* I² 114; for new text see Wade-Gery in *BSA* XXXIII (1932), pp. 113 ff.

⁴¹ Dem. *Against Neaira* 59, 76, for example, refers to a law set up on a *stèle* by the altar in the temple of Dionysos at Limnai. I owe this reference to Mr. K. J. Dover.

⁴² Lysias *Against Nik.* 30, 9 ff. It is perhaps worth noting that statutory law, whether in the form of *nomos* or *psephismo*,

had a much less compelling force on an Athenian than on a modern court: its rules were rather evidence in the quest for a just decision than absolute dictates to the court. This made uncertainty as to their exact content and scope slightly more tolerable than it would be now.

⁴³ *IG* I² 63; Tod, *GHI* 66; *ATL* II A 9. The stone, if correctly reconstructed by Meritt and West, reads $\text{hoi } \delta\epsilon \text{ } [\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\theta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota] \dots$. It would be more agreeable to probabilities to read *thesmothetai*, but this is a carefully cut *steichedon* inscription.

of evidence seems to me enough to offset the arguments against any regular process of *nomothesia* or standing body of *nomothetai* before 403/2 B.C.⁴⁴

Our main source for what happened in 403/2 is Andokides' speech *On the Mysteries*. In 399 B.C. Andokides was subjected to the process of *endeixis* by Kephisios and others, the charge being that he had in that year exercised certain rights in defiance of a decree of Isotimides of the year 415. In the passage which concerns us (§§ 70 ff.) his main object is to show that this decree is no longer valid. He says, Κηφίσιος ἐνέδειξε μὲν με κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν κείμενον, τὴν δὲ κατηγορίαν ποιεῖται κατὰ ψήφισμα πρότερον γεγόμενον, ὃ εἶπεν Ἰσοτιμίδης. Here ὁ κείμενος νόμος clearly means the law as made valid in 403/2, as opposed to a *psephisma* which had not received that canonisation. The law would be a general one dealing with the procedure for bringing *endeixis*; the *psephisma* was a specific one, excluding from sanctuaries those who had committed and confessed sacrilege. Andokides asserted that he had neither committed nor confessed sacrilege and that the *psephisma* had been annulled and was no longer valid, λέλυται καὶ ἀκυρόν ἐστι.

The proof of the latter point he takes in two stages. The first deals with the decree of Patrokleides and does not immediately concern us. The second (§§ 81 ff.) consists in a brief description of the events following the restoration of the democracy. An amnesty having been decided on, 'you elected', he says, 'a board of twenty who were to administer the city until the laws⁴⁵ were established. In the meantime the laws of Solon and the ordinances of Drakon were to be observed. However when you had appointed a *boule* by lot and elected *nomothetai*, you began to discover⁴⁶ that there were many of the laws of Solon and Drakon under which many of the citizens would be liable on account of things which had happened earlier. You therefore held an assembly and, after deliberating on the matter, decreed that there should be a scrutiny of all the laws and subsequently those laws that passed the scrutiny should be posted up in the *Stoa*.'

There follows the decree of Teisamenos which I translate: 'On the motion of Teisamenos the people decreed that the Athenians should be governed according to ancestral custom, that they should employ the laws of Solon, his weights and measures and the ordinances of Drakon, which were in force previously.⁴⁷ Any additional laws that are needed, these *nomothetai*⁴⁸ who have been elected by the *boule* shall write up on boards and place in front of the *eponymoi* for all to see and shall hand them over to the magistrates within the month. The laws handed over are to be scrutinised first⁴⁹ by the *boule* and the 500 *nomothetai* elected by the demesmen, when they have taken the oath. Any private citizen who wishes may appear before the *boule* and make any proposal about the laws which seems expedient to him. When the laws have been ratified, they shall be placed under the charge of the *boule* of the Areopagos, in order that only the laws that have been ratified shall be applied by the magistrates. The laws that are ratified shall be posted on the wall, where they were posted before, for all to see.'

Andokides proceeds 'the laws were scrutinised in accordance with this decree, and they posted those that were ratified in the *Stoa*. And when they had been posted we made a law which you apply universally. Kindly read it. LAW.—Magistrates are not to apply in any case an unwritten law.' A little later some other related laws are quoted. (i) That no *psephisma* of *boule* or *demos* shall prevail over a *nomos*. (ii) That except by a vote of 6000 voting secretly, no law shall be made referring to an individual which cannot be applied to all Athenians. (iii) That all judgements of a court or arbitrator pronounced under the democracy shall be valid. (iv) That the laws shall become effective from the archonship of Eukleides: τοῖς νόμοις χρῆσθαι ἀπ' Εὐκλείδου ἀρχοντος.

This account bristles with difficulties, and I can only briefly touch on two of the more important of them. I am assuming that the decree of Teisamenos is (a) a genuine decree, and (b) is the actual decree on which Andokides is commenting, though both these assumptions have been challenged.

The first and most serious difficulty lies in the relation of the decree as quoted to Andokides' introduction to it. In the first place the motive given by Andokides for the procedure laid down in the decree seems quite inadequate. The Athenians would hardly have embarked on a revision of their whole code simply to safeguard the position of those citizens, even if they were many, who would have been liable under the existing code for earlier breaches of it. This improbability, however, need not have worried Andokides, and it certainly suited his book so to twist the whole

⁴⁴ It is true that Demosthenes, *Against Leptines* 20, 93 attributes the law dealing with *nomothesia* to Solon and *Against Timokrates* 24, 24, he says that related laws had been in existence for a long time, which would certainly imply pre-Euklidean status. While I would admit that if in fact these laws were post-403 Demosthenes could, and probably would, have been aware of it, I certainly would not put it beyond him to attribute to them a greater and more respectable antiquity than they really had.

⁴⁵ Or 'new laws'. ἵως δὲ οἱ νόμοι τεθεῖν codd. δὲ secl. Dobree. ἵως ἄλλαι νόμοι Stahl.

⁴⁶ Or 'they began to discover'. εὗρισκον codd. εὗρισκοντες Reiske.

⁴⁷ ὁσάντις ἐχρῶμεθα ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ. Some commentators have taken πολυτέμειναι 'Athenians' κατὰ τὰ πάτρια to refer to the law of the constitution as distinct from the laws of Solon and

Drakon mentioned in the succeeding words. It seems to me more likely that the first phrase is a general description covering, and defined by, all that succeeds. Even any necessary additions to the laws of Solon and Drakon would be in the spirit of τὰ πάτρια.

⁴⁸ Or 'the *nomothetai*' or 'the ten' or 'the fifty *nomothetai*'. οἷδε ἡρημένοι νομοῦνται ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς codd. οἱ ἅ vel οἱ δέκα Sluiter οἱ vel οἱ δέ (δουκάς πέντε) Reiske. Maidment, *Minor Attic Orators*, Loeb (1941), *ad loc.*, keeps οἷδε and translates 'and named hereafter', presumably supposing that only one body of *nomothetai* is mentioned in the decree. But this translation is scarcely possible, save on the unlikely supposition that a schedule of names was attached to the original decree.

⁴⁹ πρότερον presumably means that the scrutiny is to take place before the laws are handed over; a careless piece of drafting, but not unparalleled.

procedure as to make it appear that its whole aim and object was to render the amnesty secure.

More serious is the fact that Andokides is quite explicit that *all* the laws are to be subjected to scrutiny, whereas a simple interpretation of the decree suggests that it is only additional laws that are to be scrutinised and that there was an existing corpus of Solonian and Draconian law that was to be taken over unchanged. Two solutions have been put forward for this difficulty—always on the assumption that we are not, because of it, to reject the decree altogether.

(1) Frohberger⁵⁰ maintained that any substantial additions to the laws must have entailed a revision of the existing laws and that we must assume that Teisamenos simply took such a revision for granted.

(2) Ferguson⁵¹ objects that we must construe the decree strictly, that it provides for adjustment of the laws of Dracon and Solon by supplementary legislation alone and that in fact the work of the *anagrapheis* between 410 and 405 was taken over in its inscribed form, the additional laws when ratified being added to the wall which contained these previous drafts. It was really the additional laws, rather than any amendment to existing laws, which gave Andokides any cover he had, and in fact the laws he quotes specifically are by his own showing additional.

I should myself prefer a compromise. I agree with Ferguson that from the wording of the decree, the short time allowed for the whole procedure, and the probability that there existed a large body of text of laws of Solon and Dracon, there was a presumption that not much alteration would be needed in the existing texts. I should, however, be reluctant to believe that all possibility of revising these texts was ruled out. This possibility was, I suggest, provided for by the clause of the decree which allows any citizen to come before the *boule* and suggest improvements in the laws. There is no ground for restricting 'the laws' in this clause to the additional laws.

The other principal difficulty is the *nomothetai*. They are mentioned three times. Once in the text of Andokides, where he says that when the Athenians had chosen a *boule* by lot and appointed *nomothetai*, they (i.e. either the Athenians or the *nomothetai*) found that many citizens would be liable, etc. Twice in the text of the decree, in these terms: (i) οἷδε ἡρημένοι νομοθέται ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς.⁵² (ii) οἱ νομοθέται οἱ πεντακόσιοι οὓς οἱ δημόται εἶλοντο.

It seems clear to me that there are in the decree two quite distinct bodies called *nomothetai*, one elected by the *boule*, probably quite small and performing the sort of function which had in the recent past been given to *syngrapheis*; possibly the action of the *syngrapheis* in 411 had given that title a bad odour; the other a body of 500 chosen by the demes, who are to scrutinise the laws in collaboration with the *boule*. I would equate the *nomothetai* mentioned by Andokides with the former body. Teisamenos may have been a member of this body.

I suggest the following reconstruction. The new *boule* chose a body of *nomothetai*, perhaps ten in number, to be a drafting commission; at the same time the demes were choosing 500 *nomothetai* whose eventual function was to be the scrutiny of the laws. These appointments had certainly been made, and perhaps a good deal of the spade-work done, when the decree of Teisamenos was passed. This prescribed that the basis of the new code should be the laws as they stood before the usurpation of the Thirty, together with any necessary supplements. The supplements proposed by the drafting commission were to be published on boards; they were then to be considered by the *boule*, together with any proposals by private citizens on the laws, new or old; all these proposals were then to be voted on by the 500 *nomothetai*, and those that were accepted were to be handed over by the drafting *nomothetai* to the appropriate magistrates within a month of the passing of the decree. They were also to be published by being engraved on the wall where the old drafts had been. The official copy of the code was to be in the custody of the Areopagos.⁵³

Whether or not the previous drafts of the *anagrapheis* were submitted to scrutiny in the course of this procedure, we must suppose that their texts were embraced in the general ratification, so that from thenceforward they, together with the supplements, were the only κείμενοι νόμοι. Any other enactment would be ἄγραφος, and therefore invalid; Andokides implies that in this respect the decree of Isotimides was invalid because ἄγραφον. That all laws received a kind of canonisation at this point is indicated by the clause in § 87 from one of the supplements, τοῖς νόμοις χρῆσθαι ἀπ' Εὐκλείδου ἀρχοντος.⁵⁴

It would seem highly likely that the fourth-century procedure for amending the laws thus codified and making new ones was instituted at the same time as the codification, and that it was to some extent modelled on the procedure of the Teisamenos decree. It may, however, have been instituted some years later. Which view we take must depend partly on how we interpret the activities of Nikomachos between 403 and 399 as portrayed by Lysias.

In spite of the conduct attributed to him by Lysias in the preceding period, Nikomachos was

⁵⁰ Frohberger-Thalheim, *Ausgewählte Reden von Lysias*² II (1892), p. 45.

⁵¹ *Classical Studies presented to Capps* (1936), p. 146.

⁵² For the reading see n. 48 above.

⁵³ If this is a legitimate deduction from Andok. I, 84, ἐπιμελεσθῶ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ δὲ Ἄρειον πάγου τῶν νόμων κ.τ.λ.

⁵⁴ We can point to at least one instance in which the sub-

stantive law was changed at the archonship of Eukleides. Before that date it was legal, either by custom or by statute, for children of mixed marriages to share in an inheritance, thereafter it was not. Isaïos, *On the Estate of Philoktemon* 6, 47. *On the Estate of Kiron* 8, 43; Dem., *Against Makartatos* 43, 51, *Against Euboulides* 57, 30.

once more chosen as an *anagrapheus*, a fact which in itself indicates that Lysias' allegations against him were considerably exaggerated. We must attempt to clarify the grounds on which Lysias criticises him in this second period. They are introduced in Lysias 30 §§ 17 ff. in the guise of a reply to a counter-charge put into the mouth of Nikomachos by Lysias. 'I understand', Lysias says, 'that he is saying that I am guilty of impiety in trying to do away with the sacrifices (ἀσεβῶ καταλύων τὰς θυσίας). Now if it was I who was imposing laws about the publication of the code,⁵⁴ I should admit the justice of the charge. But in fact all that I am asking is that he should obey the common and established laws (τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ κειμένοις). And I am surprised that he does not reflect that he is actually accusing the city when he says that I am guilty of sacrilege in asserting that sacrifices should be made from the *kurbeis* and *stelai* in accordance with the *syngraphai*; for this is what you decreed.'⁵⁵ He goes on to say that as a result of having sacrificed in accordance with the *stelai* set up by Nikomachos (κατὰ τὰς στήλας ἃς οὗτος ἀνέγραψε) many traditional sacrifices had been omitted notwithstanding the fact that in the last two years 12 talents more than was necessary had been spent on sacrifices. To this Nikomachos is made to reply that in drafting he had been guided by considerations of piety, not economy, and that in any case the Athenians if they did not like his calendar could amend it: λέγων ὡς εὐσέβειαν ἄλλ' οὐκ εὐτέλειαν ἀνέγραψε· καὶ εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἀρέσκει, ἐξαλείφειν κελεύει.

What does Lysias mean by saying that the sacrifices should be from the *kurbeis* and the *stelai* (?) in accordance with the *syngraphai*, for that is what had been decreed? *Syngraphai* are presumably drafts or schedules drawn up by *syngrapheis*.⁵⁶ We must suppose that some drafting body—either in 411/10^{56a} or perhaps the first set of *nomothetai* in the decree of Teisamenos—had drafted instructions for the *anagrapheis*, tying them pretty closely to a calendar as set out in *kurbeis* and *stelai* (?) and that Nikomachos is here being accused of ignoring these instructions and as a result introducing into the calendar innovations which had rendered it impossible to maintain the full programme in spite of an additional expenditure of 6 talents a year. It is possibly to these instructions that Lysias is referring when he says in § 4 διωρισμένον ἐξ ὧν ἔδει ἀναγράφειν.⁵⁷

What, then, was the constitutional status in 399 of the old calendar as it was on the *kurbeis* and *stelai* (?) and the new one as written up by Nikomachos? Lysias is evidently trying to suggest that the new calendar was of doubtful validity; in one passage (§ 21) his words taken literally imply that there had been occasions since Nikomachos' publication when the old calendar had been followed: he says there 'whenever we sacrifice according to the schedules (ὅταν κατὰ τὰς συγγραφὰς ποιῶμεν) all the traditional sacrifices are performed, but whenever we go by the *stelai* set up by Nikomachos many are omitted'. This might, however, be a calculated inaccuracy for 'at the time when we were sacrificing according to the old calendar'. The only other clue given by this passage is the retort put into the mouth of Nikomachos that if the Athenians did not like his calendar they could do away with it (ἐξαλείφειν).

There are two possibilities. (1) The calendar as published by Nikomachos had the same status in 399 as the various texts published by the *anagrapheis* had had between 410 and 405. It purported to be simply a reproduction of the old calendar which had existed on the *kurbeis* and *stelai*, and it had never received confirmation by a process of *nomothesia* as the secular law had in 403/2. (2) The new calendar had been ratified by a similar process to that applied to the secular law and had been among the *κείμενοι νόμοι* for two years by 399.

At first sight the former hypothesis is attractive. In general, the argument of Lysias suggests a parallel between Nikomachos' behaviour before and after 403, and his criticism of Nikomachos for the content of the new calendar would lose much force if in fact it had been confirmed by *nomothesia*.

More specifically, if we apply strictly Kahrstedt's conclusions on the archives, the fact that Lysias refers to the new calendar according to the *stelai* might be held to imply that it had not yet been included in the archives. Further, Andokides, i, 116, refers to a *stèle* as imposing a penalty on anyone who placed a *hiketeria* in the *Eleusinion*, and this might on the same principle be taken as implying that in 399 this part of the sacred law had not been confirmed. Neither of these specific points, however, is conclusive. Lysias is not quoting verbatim when he refers to the *stelai*, and this form of expression was perhaps the easiest way for him to distinguish Nikomachos' version of the calendar from earlier versions. The reference to the *stèle* in Andokides has a dramatic justification, even supposing the law thereon had been recorded in the archives: Kallias is actually standing beside a stone which convicts him of error. Rather stronger is the argument from the

⁵⁴ The Greek must mean this, but the sense required is rather 'if I, like Nikomachos, was making, and not simply recording, laws'. Cf. W. R. M. Lamb, *Lysias* (1930), Loeb, *ad loc.*

⁵⁵ τὰς θυσίας τὰς ἐκ τῶν Κύρβειων καὶ τῶν στήλων κατὰ τὰς συγγραφὰς. στήλων Taylor; ὑπῆλων, ὄπλων codic. Taylor's emendation has been generally accepted, but it is an insecure foundation for historical deduction. I should have expected some qualification of στήλων to distinguish them from the *stelai* of Nikomachos mentioned later on. It would be different if the *stelai* of Nikomachos had been mentioned first.

⁵⁶ The term [κατὰ τὰς] συγγραφὰς is actually used in

IG I², 844, l. 4, i.e. on the pre-Euklidean face of the wall.

^{56a} Or even before 411/10, as Mr. Hignett suggested to me, in view of IG I², 76 = Tod, GHI 74.

⁵⁷ Miss Jeffery, *Hesperia* XVII (1948), pp. 106 ff., suggests that the *kurbeis* contained regulations for sacrifices dating from before the Persian war, the *stelai* accretions made to these between 479 and 411. Oliver, *Hesperia* IV (1935), pp. 9 ff., argues that the term *kurbeis* at the end of the fifth century had the purely abstract sense of 'the law-code'. I should prefer with L. B. Holland, *AJA* XLV (1941), pp. 346 ff., to take it as referring to material objects, though how distinguished from *axones* remains obscure.

retort of Nikomachos. It would be slightly more natural for him to have said 'you yourselves have confirmed this calendar', if that in fact was the case, than 'you can always revoke the calendar if you no longer like it'. But we have only Lysias' word for what he did say. The strongest argument for this hypothesis is perhaps that unless there was something in abeyance it is difficult to account for Nikomachos' still being in office and evading the presentation of his accounts.

On the other hand, if this hypothesis is adopted it almost necessarily carries with it the further hypothesis that the fourth-century procedure of *nomothesia* had not yet been adopted. For if it had been in operation during those last four years it would be very odd that it should not have been applied in the case of the calendar. For this reason I lean to the view that the calendar of Nikomachos had in fact been confirmed and that Lysias has been rather successful in creating the impression that Nikomachos' behaviour after 403 had been a repetition of what it had been before. He has thus fastened on to Nikomachos the odium for the curtailment of the *patria*, if such there was, which really should have rested on the *nomothetai* who had confirmed the calendar.

I conclude, then, that *nomothesia* in the fourth-century sense was instituted in or shortly after the archonship of Eukleides. I would only add a few words to deprecate attaching an exaggerated importance to the change. There can, in my opinion, be no doubt that under that procedure the *nomothetai* gave final validity to a law, and that a law, once made valid, could only be annulled either by going through another process of *nomothesia* or by being arraigned before a court by a γραφή παρανόμων or a γραφή νόμον μὴ ἐπιτήδειον θείναι. Kahrstedt underlines this undoubted fact and takes it to prove that in law-making the *ekklesia* was thus deprived of sovereignty in favour of the *nomothetai*. Mrs. Atkinson is deeply shocked at this derogation, and makes desperate efforts to show that the part played by the *nomothetai* was only nominal and that the *ekklesia* had effective control at all stages. But her solicitude is misplaced. No one doubts—not even Mrs. Atkinson I think, though she is not absolutely clear on the point—that the suits παρανόμων and νόμον μὴ ἐπιτήδειον θείναι were heard before a *dikastery*, and the effect of such a suit might be to annul, and would certainly be to suspend a law. The experience of Aristophon, who boasted of having been defendant in such suits seventy-five times, proves that this curtailment of the sovereignty of the *ekklesia* in favour of the *dikasteries* was no academic safeguard. The Athenians in fact regarded sworn *dikasts* as effective representatives of the *demos*. Why not also sworn *nomothetai*?⁵⁸

This controversy can therefore, I think, be carried on in a less exalted key. The question is not whether the sovereign people allowed itself to be robbed of full control of the law-making machine, but whether it deliberately invented a perfectly democratic brake to slow down the machine. It is significant of the procedure that the *ekklesia* can always prevent change, though it cannot always secure it. It is understandable that in the light of the events of 411 and 405 more importance should have been attached to maintaining the restored order against the possible ill effects of snap votes in the *ekklesia* than to ensuring that the *ekklesia* could do exactly what it liked, how it liked, and when it liked. The brake had not a very long life, but the attempt to apply it at this stage of Athens' history, if it can be so dated, is important. It gains some added topical interest from recent events in the U.S.A. and South Africa.

Note. The substance of the above was read to the Oxford Philological Society in June 1952. I gained much from the discussion at that meeting, and must also express my gratitude to Miss L. H. Jeffery, Mr. T. J. Dunbabin, and Mr. C. Hignett, who were good enough to read the paper in typescript and made valuable comments on points of detail. I was unfortunately not able to make use of Mr. Hignett's *History of the Athenian Constitution to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* but am relieved to find that nothing that I have said conflicts very seriously with his Appendix on *The Revision of the Laws*. Finally, I am deeply indebted to Sir John Miles, late Warden of Merton, who has been generous in encouragement and most helpful in critical comment.

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⁵⁸ For Aristophon see Aischin. *Against Ktes.* 3, 194. For *Against Euboul.* 57, 56. recognition of the sovereignty of the courts see, e.g., Dem.

THE DANCE IN GREEK TRAGEDY

ON rhythm and metre Aristoxenus always talks the plainest common sense—which is more than one can say about certain other ancient metricians. On Time, in its rhythmical aspect, he remarks: 'Time is articulated by each of the three *ρυθμιζόμενα*, λέξις, μέλος and κίνησις σωματική.'¹ The Greek choral lyric was a triple partnership of poetry, song, and dancing, and Aristoxenus here points out that they share a common rhythm. (He goes on to develop the idea, but that need not concern us here.) We could safely infer for ourselves, even if Plato and Aristotle had not told us, that the music and the dance were far from being merely decorative or casual additions to the poetry. The poetry may have been Queen, as Pratinas maintained, but the philosophers took the other two partners very seriously as 'imitators' of moral ideas and the like; and there is every reason to suppose that the dramatists did the same. But writers on Greek Tragedy have had much to say about the λέξις of the odes; nothing about its two partners—for the good reason that we know nothing about them. Yet it does seem possible, here and there, to say a little about the dance. Whether it is worth saying, the reader must judge.

The audience, sitting in the theatre, saw some kind of ordered physical movement in the orchestra as it listened to the singing or chanting of an ode. If in any given case we were asked what this movement was, our only answer is that we cannot possibly tell. Nevertheless, there are moments where we can infer, with more or less probability, the sort of thing that was being done by the dancers, and occasionally—notably in the *Agamemnon*—this dim and doubtful picture will contribute something to our appreciation of the drama.

As a preliminary here are two small examples. At *O.T.* 1207 we read: *ἰὼ κλεινὸν Οἰδίπου κάρα*, and at the corresponding point in the antistrophe: *ἰὼ Λαίειον ὦ τέκνον*. Does it not seem likely that at this point in the repeated dance-movement the chorus turned, faced the Palace, and made some gesture apostrophising Oedipus? In the *Persae* the three successive verses 550-2 begin with the name of Xerxes, and the corresponding verses of the antistrophe all begin with the word *νᾶες*. Certainly, this is a device that might be used in pure poetry, but if we reflect that Aeschylus was not simply a dramatic poet, but also a composer and a choreographer, we may reasonably conclude that this repetition of significant words was conceived by him not only aurally, but visually and spatially as well.

These are two examples out of several of the kind that might be adduced. What do we gain from them? Indeed, not very much; but at least if a teacher made such suggestions to his pupils they might be saved from using, as they will do, the revolting phrase: 'It says, later in this book . . .' And it is something, to realise that a play does not consist of print.

But we can go farther than this. In the *Agamemnon*, as I believe, it is possible to see what we may call the ground-plan of an extensive dance-movement which was a very important element in the play. We can even use it as an extra control in our interpretation of the play. In the *Agamemnon*, Aeschylus does something which is not common in Greek drama—the only parallel in fact is the *Bacchae*: he composes several odes on the same basic rhythm. In the *Bacchae* the rhythm is the ionic a minore, and about this I can find no more to say than that it is obviously suited to the mood and subject of the play. About the rhythm that Aeschylus uses, much more can be said. Unlike the ionic, and certain rhythms which we will discuss later—the choriambic and anacreontic—it has no strongly marked associations or ethos of its own, being in fact a quite straightforward iambic rhythm, usually a trimeter, sometimes a dimeter, and once (v. 194) a single metron. It is given flexibility by the admission of one, two, three, or four prolongations; that is, a long syllable equal to three shorts (a dotted crotchet, so to speak) may take the place of a long and a short.² Typical verses are:

παλιμμήκη χρόνον τιθεῖσαι
 υ - (υ) - (υ) - υ - υ - (υ) -
 λιποῦσα δ' ἄστοισιν ἀπίστορας
 υ - υ - (υ) - υ - (υ) - υ -
 βροτοῦς θρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρομήτις
 υ - υ - (υ) - υ - υ - (υ) -
 ἔπραξαν ὥς ἔκρανεν οὐκ ἔφα τις
 υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - (υ) -

With this preamble, we may consider how the choral parts of the play are laid out. The first ode, the *parodos*, falls into three clearly marked sections. To begin with, there are three stanzas,

¹ Westphal, *Griechische Rhythmik* (3rd edn., 1885), p. 74.

² Metricians who will not believe Aristoxenus and Aristeides Quintilianus when they say that a long can be much longer

than two shorts will necessarily disagree with what follows, and must continue to do their best with the dochmii and other rhythmical irrelevancies that they find in these odes.

mainly in dactyls, which deal with the omen. Then comes what we may call the Hymn to Zeus, and that is in trochees. The third section deals with Agamemnon's sacrificing of Iphigeneia, and is composed in the iambic rhythm, though with dramatic excursions into other metres, such as the choriambics of vv. 201-3. In the second ode there are seven stanzas; with the exception of the song-like refrain appended to each of the first six, the iambic rhythm prevails throughout. The third ode contains eight stanzas. The first pair are in trochees and anacreontics, the second pair in glyconics. With the third pair the iambics return, giving place to more anacreontics, but the fourth pair is entirely iambic. The fourth ode, we observe, does not use the iambic rhythm at all, but it comes back later, at 1485-7 and 1530-6, with the responding passages. In other words, beginning with v. 192, seventeen out of twenty-one consecutive stanzas are composed, either wholly or in part, in this one rhythm. Aeschylus has done something quite unusual, but it is easy to see why he did it. Let us go over the ground again, bearing in mind the remark of Aristoxenus with which we began: what we are considering is not simply a metre—a poetic phenomenon; it is a rhythm which was common to the λέξις, the μέλος, and the κίνησις σωματική.

In the first ode this rhythm presents to us the following ideas: the adverse winds, Agamemnon's hard choice, the mad frenzy—τάλαινα παρακοπὰ πρωτοπήμων—which swept him over the brink, the killing of Iphigeneia, and the foreboding of the chorus that some evil must come of it. Now, it is surely a necessary conclusion that the sustaining of this rhythm implies that a corresponding dance-movement also was sustained, and presumably music of a certain mode too. When the second ode begins, in the same rhythm, we can safely assume that the same general dance-movement and music began with it. But the second ode begins with Paris.

This is the passage I had in mind when I said that the little which we can discern of the dance can be an extra control over dramatic interpretation. It has been said of this ode that the chorus begins in a mood of joy and relief at the victory, but then, as it considers what the victory has cost, changes to a mood of apprehension. This may sound plausible, but the rhythm disproves it; Aeschylus knew enough about music and dancing to realise that joy and fear call for different rhythms; but here he uses the same one throughout. What the chorus says about Paris cannot be an expression of joy; the ode begins with a dance-movement which is now firmly associated in our minds with the crime of Agamemnon, the frenzy that possessed him, and the threat of evil to come. Therefore, when the second ode begins, with the words Διὸς πλάγαν ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν, the dance of itself would link Paris with Agamemnon. He is not an enemy in whose destruction the chorus is exulting; he is, like Agamemnon, one whom temptation has swept over the brink—βιάται δ' ἃ τάλαινα πειθῶ in the same rhythm as βροτοὺς θρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρόμητις Τάλαινα παρακοπὰ πρωτοπήμων. But Paris is already destroyed; the parallel is no encouraging one. Then, for the rest of the ode, we continue to watch this same dance, whatever it is; and as we do so, we hear of Helen's sin, how it brought sorrow and death to Greece. Still the dance continues: ashes came back in the place of living men, there is anger against the Atreidae,² the gods do not disregard men of blood.

So far, then, we can say that the dance put immediately and vividly before the very eyes of the audience an idea which we, reading the text, can miss entirely. The destruction of Paris is yet another reason to be fearful about Agamemnon.

The third ode begins with totally different dance-movements, and we shall have something to say about them later: Helen was welcomed with songs at Troy, but the songs turned to dirges. Then comes the simple parable of the lion's cub, in glyconics. That finished, we hear:

πάραιτα δ' ἔλθειν ἐς Ἰλίου πόλιν . . .

It is back again, that iambic rhythm, now charged with the ideas of sin and its inevitable consequence, ruin. It swerves aside, παραλίνασσα, for a moment into anacreontics; but it comes back for the final two stanzas, which give us explicitly the doctrine of hybris and ate. Then, as this obstinate rhythm at last subsides, Agamemnon enters the theatre, royally, with Cassandra. This is the magnificent climax to which it has all been leading. It does not seem too much to say, that in all this even we, peering through a glass darkly, can see how Aeschylus gave visible shape, in the orchestra, to the conception that sin leads to more sin, and that to disaster. There is even more evidence, some negative, some positive. In the fourth ode the chorus is utterly at a loss to understand its own uneasiness; accordingly, this rhythm does not appear. But we do hear and see it again. 'All things happen by the will of Zeus' (1485 ff.); 'Blood exacts blood' (1509 ff.); 'The house is overthrown; more slaughter will come' (1530 ff.); 'It is the law: the slayer is slain' (1560 ff.)—all these passages, and no others, are couched in this same rhythm. Its last words are:

κεκόλληται γένος πρὸς ἄτα.

This is the only large-scale use of the dance that it seems profitable to discuss, but if we are now persuaded that the dance could be purposeful and eloquent, no mere conventional or decorative appendage to drama, we may spare a moment for two similar though shorter dance-passages.

² Here there is a brief anacreontic interlude, discussed below.

In early tragedy, we are told, the parodos was regularly composed in anapaests; later, in lyric measures. The *Antigone*, being a transitional play, has a parodos composed partly in anapaests, partly in lyrics.

Human ingenuity has discovered less interesting facts than this, though not very many. This one may be true, but it obstructs the understanding—like so many quasi-historical statements in the field of literary criticism; for when we consider the *Antigone*, we do not ask ourselves why Sophocles used different kinds of κίνησις σωματική in the parodos, because we think that we know the answer already: it was because he wrote the play round about 440 B.C. But if we think of drama not as a historical process, but as a series of plays, composed by living men who had ideas to express in the theatre, to a crowd of other living men, then it becomes a little easier to remain awake.

When Aeschylus designed the parodos of the *Septem* he forgot that he was still an early Attic tragedian; he was unhistorical enough to compose it in dochmiacs, of all things, and resolved ones, at that. Now, we know enough about the Dochmiac, and about the play, to understand why he did it, and to form some kind of picture of what happened in the orchestra. We must think of the dochmiac not as a difficult metre used by the tragic poets—or not only as that; we must think of it as a rhythm common to the λέξις and μέλος and the κίνησις σωματική. It is a foot, or bar, of eight χρόνοι (as Aristoxenus would say), divided unevenly into three and eight. Whether the dancers took two or three steps to each bar is, to me at least, not clear; if the former, they moved on the second and fourth χρόνος, if the latter, on the second, fourth, and seventh. In either case it would be a very uneven method of progress, suitable, therefore to the expression of any strong emotion. Moreover, it begins on what both Aristoxenus and Sir Thomas Beecham call an 'up-beat': ἐς τὸ ἄνω σημεῖον. This makes it still more dynamic, as Aristeides knew: τῶν δὲ ῥυθμῶν ἡσυχαιότεροι μὲν οἱ ἀπὸ θέσεων προκαταστέλλοντες τὴν διάνοιαν· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρσεων τῇ φωνῇ τὴν κρούσιν ἐπιφέροντες τετραγαγμένοι.⁴ So much for the dance rhythm. The dramatic situation is that the terror and disorder of the chorus are an important element in the play. Not only do they make an effective contrast with the strong and calm figure of Eteocles; they also become the reason why the King makes his fatal decision to take one of the gates himself. Therefore we are probably not exaggerating Aeschylus' boldness and skill as choreographer if we picture this chorus swirling into the orchestra with a dance which gave visible shape to the idea of panic.

The parodos of the *Antigone* has many points of interest. The broad outline is the alternation of lyrical measures with anapaests. This must mean that something which we ourselves should call a dance-movement alternated with something that we should call a march, and if we consider the ode as a whole we can perhaps divine the reasons for which Sophocles laid it out on this pattern.

For the actual entrance of the chorus he chooses the more dancing type of movement—glyconics—and not the anapaestic. We can see for ourselves that this makes a more complete contrast with what has gone before: after the dark colours of the scene in which Antigone determines to bury her own brother, the chorus comes in, expressing its joy and relief at their deliverance from a dire peril. When they do turn to anapaests, their words and (we may reasonably suppose) their movements too, suggest the menace of the advancing army; it is as if a modern composer should write a jubilant passage for strings, and then something for drums and trumpets. They begin 'dancing' again, and sing, first of the peril, then of the triumph; after which the more regular anapaestic movement is repeated; quite intelligibly, for this is a reflective passage; Zeus hates arrogance, and has destroyed the arrogant Capaneus. The rhythms of the second strophe are more strongly marked than those of the first; we shall have something to say about them later: 'Down he fell, this man of frenzy, and all the rest of them the War-god destroyed.' Then:

Seven foemen, appointed to our seven gates,
Each fell to a Theban; and Argive arms
Shall crown our Theban temple of Zeus:—
Save two, those two of unnatural hate,
Two sons of one mother, two sons of one King;
They strove for the crown, and shared with the sword
Their estate, each slain by his brother.

This is quoted from an isometric translation of the lyrical parts of the play which the writer once made, for the purpose of setting them to music which should at least keep Sophocles' own rhythms as nearly as possible. This experience left no question about the eloquence of the four-square rhythm here; the passage begins with an expression of solemn joy, and ends with something like a funeral march.

The transition to the second antistrophe is electrifying—and incidentally very instructive.

Yet do we see in our midst, and acclaim with gladness,
Victory, glorious Victory, smiling, welcome.
Now, since danger is gone,
Thoughts of war shall pass from our minds.

⁴ Westphal, p. 226.

The buoyancy and energy of these rhythms are astonishing; a complete contrast with what went before, and a fine climax to the whole composition (for the last anapaestic system is clearly a prelude to the next act rather than part of this first ode; the chorus is simply moving to its permanent positions in the orchestra, making way for Creon and his retinue). There can surely be little doubt that the dance also was buoyant and energetic. But what about the strophe? Presumably Sophocles' μέλος and κίνησις σωματική were exactly the same there. How can the same dance-figure, if it has a sharply defined character, fit two passages so different in mood? It did, if the blundering experience of an amateur composer is any guide—but on one assumption.

Heavily down to the earth did he fall, and lie there,
He who with torch in his hand, and possessed with frenzy . . .

We will return to this later, in another connexion; meanwhile we may consider other passages which illustrate the point, and give us half-glimpses of the chorus in action.

Earth inexhaustible, ageless, he wearies, as
Backwards and forwards, from season to season, his
Ox-team drives along the plough-share.⁵

He becomes lord
Even of the beasts of the mountain; the long-haired
Horse he subdues to the yoke on his neck, and the
Hill-bred bull, of strength untiring.

There is a similar passage in the third ode (586–92 597–603):

And groaning cliffs repel the smack of wind and angry breakers.⁶

^a To judge from the verse-divisions in the Oxford text, Pearson scanned $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\eta\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ as $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ | $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ | $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ | $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. This obliterates one of Sophocles' most vivid rhythms: $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ | $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ | $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ | $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$.

Nothing could be more pictorial than the scurrying resolutions of the third verse and the heaving rhythm of the next two, and we must surely assume that they were realised in the dance too. But in the antistrophe the poppling water becomes 'A shimmering light in the house of Oedipus'; and in place of the billowing mud we have:

But Death strikes once again
With blood-stained axe, and hews
The sapling down . . .

Yet a musical realisation of the rhythm which is pictorially effective in the strophe is just as effective, though in a different way, in the antistrophe; and so, surely was Sophocles' dance-movement.

There are other passages, though not very many, where one can form some tentative impression of the choreography. One is the solitary anapaestic couplet, in a stanza of different rhythms, at *O.T.* 469 f. = 479 f. In the strophe, where the anapaests occur, the unknown criminal is being stalked by Apollo; in the antistrophe he is making his weary way along, keeping far from Delphi. It seems fairly clear that the chorus was given some kind of march-movement at this point, and we can see that it could have been a very dramatic reinforcement of the words.

In the iambic rhythm of the *Agamemnon*, neither the pure iambic line nor the resolution of a long syllable is at all common; there are two passages, 406-8 and the responding 423-5, where both occur together. Elsewhere, resolution is used, as a rule, on strongly emotional words: ἀνίερον (220), παρακοπή (223), περιπετή (233).⁷ Here, in the strophe, the resolution occurs on the not very exciting word διὰ; in the antistrophe too it comes on διὰ. This does not look like accident—nor is it; for the combination of resolution and pure iambic is explained when we consider the sense: in the strophe, Helen slips lightly between the doors on her happy journey to Troy, and in the antistrophe the insubstantial vision slips from between the sleeper's arms and glides away. Was the rhythmical effect confined to the λέξις, or did a slight ripple pass across the orchestra at the word διὰ? I think it is proper to ask the question, even though there are no means of answering it.

In these passages, then, it seems possible to form some impression of the original dance, and however uncertain the results may be, the attempt is perhaps worth while. We will now turn to a different problem, where consideration of the dance may be helpful.

It has been established by Professor George Thomson⁸ that the choriambic was regularly associated with prophecy, and the anacreontic with the ideas of love, wine, and the like. Typical examples of the choriambic are *Agamemnon* 201 ff.

μάντις ἐκλαγξεν προφέρων Ἄρτεμιν . . .

and *O.T.* 483-97:

δεινὰ μὲν οὖν δεινὰ ταρασσεὶ σοφὸς οἶωνοθέτας . . .

For the anacreontic, we may cite the most dramatic use that Aeschylus makes of it in the third ode of the *Agamemnon*, 685-98 and 744-7, with the responsions: joyful marriage-hymns turned into cries of despair. But in each case there is a serious difficulty.

What is the metre of this:

πέτομαι δ' ἐλπίσιν οὐτ' ἐνθάδ' ὄρων οὐτ' ὀπίσω?

If we do not remember where it occurs, we reply without hesitation: ionic a minore. This is a smooth, langorous, luxurious rhythm, as we know from Plato, Thomson, and our own ears. But the phrase quoted occurs in the stanza δεινὰ μὲν οὖν; the metre is choriambic, suggesting (as Thomson says) perturbation of mind—the very opposite of languor and elegance. How can we cope with this?

The difficulty can be generalised thus: The ionic, ∞ — — or — — ∞, are in regular triple-time, and presumably in a fairly slow tempo; their rhythm is like that of a slow waltz. The choriambus is also in regular triple-time; in the above passage the rhythm is indistinguishable from ionic. Why, then, was its effect entirely different? We could postulate a faster tempo, but a fast waltz-rhythm suggests mental perturbation no more than a slow one—it is merely gayer. Was, then, 'choriambic for prophecy' only an arbitrary convention? This hardly sounds Greek.

So long as we think as metricians, paying regard only to the λέξις, we are not likely to solve the difficulty; but the rhythm was expressed also in movement. Let us, then, put the problem in this way: how might — ∞ — — ∞ — be danced, in order to suggest perturbation of mind? I can see only one answer, and it would be a complete answer: the choriambus in question is not in triple time at all, but in duple; the dance-movement divided the bar equally, with the result that the two halves went, in Aristides' term, κατ' ἀντίθεσιν, long-short being answered by short-long, a falling figure by a rising one. If the dancers took two steps to each bar, the first fell on the first of the six

⁷ The other instances are: φλόμαχαι (230), 413 (lect-dub.), and the five which occur in vv. 485-6—with an effect which is obvious.

⁸ In his *Greek Lyric Metres* (Cambridge, 1929).

χρονοί, the second on the fourth (being the second of the two short syllables).⁹ The visual effect of this would be that the dance would seem to be continually cutting across the natural pattern of the syllables—and a more direct way of expressing perturbation and strain it would not be easy to invent. I cannot cite Aristoxenus in direct support of this, but one of his fragments gives indirect support¹⁰; for he does point out (what every musician knows) that there are two forms of the ἐξάσημον μέγεθος; the 'iambic', 1:2 or 2:1, and the 'dactylic' or ἴσον, 1:1. If this interpretation of the choriambic is correct, then πέτομαι δ' ἐλπίσιν κ.τ.λ. did not look (nor probably sound) in the least like ionics; it would be:

' πέτ - ὀμαι δ' ἐλπίσ - ἰν ουτ' ἐνθαδ' - ὄρων οὐτ' ο - πίσω . . .¹¹

Naturally, there would be nothing to prevent a poet from writing the same series of syllables in triple (ionic) rhythm; so that metricians, already a harassed tribe, are presented with yet another problem: When is a choriambus not a choriambus?

For that matter, when is an anacreontic not anacreontic? For here, too, there is a serious difficulty. It will not do to say, 'This was a rhythm which had traditional literary associations with love, wine, and the like, and was therefore used by poets later than Anacreon in that sort of context.' Of course, it was—by Aeschylus in the *Agamemnon*, for instance; the awkward fact is that it was also used in contexts where the idea of wine and love are ludicrously inappropriate. The chorus of the *Prometheus* uses them freely (128-35, 397-405, with the responsions)—and what have love and wine to do with the Oceanids and Prometheus? Indeed, when this chorus does say something about marriage (526 ff.), it begins in dactyloepitrites and continues with something else, not anacreontics. Even more to the point is a passage in the *Agamemnon*, 449-50: there is bitter indignation against the Atreidae—and it is expressed by Aeschylus in anacreontics!

The solution of this difficulty, too, involves the dance. It is not a matter of literary association at all. The anacreontic is simply a rhythm—and quite a fascinating one; it is a variation of the ionic a minore, made even more attractive by the delicious side-step in the middle, to which the Metrici gave the voluptuous name *anacrosis*.¹² Having this charming lilt, and being performed at the appropriate tempo, and with appropriate music and movement, it was well suited to the Anacreontic mood. But in itself it did not 'mean' wine and love. In its liquid, swaying movement Aeschylus found just the rhythm he wanted for the Oceanids—a rhythm which, incidentally, makes a dramatic contrast with the stubborn hero chained to his rock. The same rhythm, performed no doubt at a much faster tempo, and with a very different dance, and with a different style of music, also commended itself to him in a context utterly unlike either of the two preceding ones: the rising anger against the Atreidae. Literary association does not explain these things; they become intelligible only when we take the μέλος and the κίνησις σωματική into account.

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⁹ It seems to me more probable that they took only one step, though the point is not material here. The trochee, - υ - υ, to Aristoxenus, was - υ thesis (i.e. strong part of the bar) and - υ arsis (weak part). Probably therefore the choriambus was - υ thesis, and υ - arsis; in either case the physical movement would divide the bar into contrary halves.

¹⁰ Westphal, p. 159.

¹¹ My accents indicate the moves of the dancers.

¹² The simplest way of explaining the variation is to shift the bar-line (which may offend some metricians, but makes no practical difference at all); υ | - υ, υ | - υ, υ | - υ - υ | - υ, υ | - - etc. The bars in 3-4 time are interrupted by one in 6-8 (compound-duple). It is an effect of which Brahms was fond.

MODERN GREEK FOLK-SONGS OF THE DEAD

I

THIS paper is only a small scratch at the surface of a much larger investigation of the meanings of folk-song and folk-tale—and that is why this journey to the World of the Dead, as it appears in some Greek folk-songs, begins in a hesitating and roundabout manner. I had been reading Professor Dawkins's *Forty-five Stories from the Dodekanese*, and had been impressed by part of the Introduction in which he explains how 'ideas and feelings about life', which cannot be directly expressed and often remain unconscious or not consciously formulated, may be 'conveyed in the concrete external shape of a story', and after that I began to think that any work of art, if it is good enough to survive at all, must express more than the maker's conscious beliefs and must include some serious statement about the nature of the world. All good folk-tales and all good folk-songs have a hidden meaning, and that is why they survive. In the brain of James Barrie some feeling about the nature of Time and History must have been germinating when he wrote in *Peter Pan* about the crocodile which swallowed the alarm-clock; and I wondered if he had ever heard the Chinese folk-tale about the dragon that swallowed the moon. From that my thoughts went to *Alice in Wonderland*, which tells us not only a great deal about the hidden temperament of Lewis Carroll but also something he had felt about life, and something more than he found satisfactorily expressed in his religion. If this feeling of his was of any importance, the view that it expressed, or the feeling that produced such a view, would be shared by others, and a similar expression of it would turn up somewhere else. That led to thoughts about the World under the Ground, the World Below, the Under World—ὁ κάτω κόσμος.

II

Thinking of Alice reminded me again of one of the *Tales from the Dodekanese*, of number XV—*The Daughter of the Schoolmistress*. This little girl was taken out one day by two of her little friends to pick some pothebs for supper, and soon they got tired of showing her the right leaves to look for and left her alone sitting under a tree. And there as she was poking about in the earth with a stick she saw a marble slab with a ring in it, and of course she pulled up the slab, and there was a round hole or well, down which she went, down forty steps, and soon found in a cupboard thirty-nine keys which opened the doors in a palace, and 'there'—we are off now—'close by the palace was a very beautiful garden, and she went into it to take a stroll'. Just like Alice—and this is the beginning for both little girls of a succession of wonderful adventures. This Underland in fact is only Wonderland, in which anything may happen. It is the world of Faery, in which the laws of nature and of everyday life are suspended. You get to it down a well—or up a tower, which of course, comes to the same thing—I forget now who first discovered that a tower is only a well turned inside out—and this may be just a story-telling formula for beginning a 'fairy-tale' which does not expect to be believed. (A 'fairy-tale' is a folk-tale for children; not all folk-tales are meant for children.) But it is no laughing matter to be enchanted or spellbound in Fairyland; for it is also the world *Under the Hill*; the realm of the *Queen of Elfland*¹—

At ilka tett of her horse's mane
Hung fifty silver bells and nine—

and she held Thomas the Rhymer under her spell and

Till seven years were past and gone
True Thomas on earth was never seen.

It is the realm of the *Queen of Fairies* who caught young Tam Lin

In yon green hill to dwell.²

This world of Faery by a curious exception does represent the real Underworld, the Kingdom of the Dead, in the old ballad of *King Orfeo*,³ into which by way of a medieval romance the ancient Greek myth of Orpheus and Eurydike has been translated:

The King o Faerie wi his dart
Has pierced your lady to the heart—

After them the King has gaen
But when he came it was a grey stane . . .

Dan he took out his pipes to play,
Bit sair his hert wi döl an wae.

¹ Child, no. 37, p. 64.

² Child, no. 39, p. 68.

³ Child, no. 19, p. 37.

There are the essentials of the myth of Orpheus. But the entrance to the *Kingdom of the Dead* (where Orpheus had to go in search of Eurydike) has become in this ballad the 'grey stone' which closes the passage to Fairyland. Of this dangerous land of enchantment not much is heard in Greek ballads, unless it is to be found in the group of ballads about a *Haunted Well*, which tell an old and incoherent story about a younger son who plunges into a serpent-haunted well to find a jewel thrown into it,⁴ a story said to go back to an ancient Greek myth about the gold ring of Minos, which Theseus with the help of Amphitrite brought back from the bottom of the sea;⁵—the sea which in folk-lore is always as Flecker thought of it—

The dragon-green, the luminous,
the dark, the serpent-haunted sea.

III

The Under World properly so called, the 'Kingdom of gloomie Dis', the ancient Greek Kingdom of Hades, Hades who was brother to great Zeus himself and hardly less powerful, this land of the unseen was for Homer, and still is in Modern Greece, the Land of the Dead. Hades in Modern Greece has become only the name of his Kingdom. The personality of the God Hades, never very distinct, has faded out altogether, and the land is ruled by Χάρος, or Death, who used to be in ancient Greek mythology only the ferryman of the dead, Χάρων. The modern Charos has not only absorbed altogether the personality of the ancient god Hades; he has also usurped the functions of Thanatos, or Death, the messenger from the Lower World, who comes, as in the play of *Alkestis*, to carry her off; but he is met by Herakles arriving on a visit, who overcomes Thanatos and so restores his hostess to life. (Euripides, as Rose remarks, has clearly based his play on a folk-tale, and we may regard it as good evidence of popular belief.) In Modern Greece Charos is his own messenger. He likes to have a bout of wrestling with a boastful shepherd; or a young girl proud of her beauty he will drag away by the hair; young men and maidens, old men and little children, he snatches them up and hangs them over his saddle. He 'wrestles with the dying man'—not exactly 'for his soul'; he takes no interest in souls. He wrestles with the dying man for his life, and, as of course he always wins, he takes away his faculty of living in the Upper World. This is the only interest of Charos. He takes no interest in any of the moral or spiritual values implied by the word *Soul*; and like his ancient prototype, Hades or Pluto, he has no knowledge of Good or Evil.

There was no principle of evil, no Devil, in ancient Greek mythology; he seems to have arrived later, from Persia or Syria, with the whimpering religions of the East. The regions of Tartaros, which were the gloomy abode of Hades, were not Hell; they were not for ordinary mortals a place of punishment or reward, although a few mythical monuments of arrogance like Sisyphos and Tantalos were detained there. There was in Ancient Greece a firm belief in the moral and divine government of the world, and nearly all Greek writers would have agreed with Herodotus ὡς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαί εἰσι καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. But such a belief was concerned with punishment in this world, and did not imply any punishment after death. The modern Lower World, the modern Abode of the Dead, is also not a place of punishment or reward. Hades, the realm of Charos, is not 'Hell'. Indeed, the fusion of Heaven and Hell into one Lower World, which seems to be exactly the same as the Homeric Land of the Dead, the twilight groves of Persephone, has gone so far in modern popular belief that a song from the Greek mainland begins with the words:

Στὸν Ἄδη θὰ κατέβω καὶ στὸν Παράδεισο,
Τὸ Χάρο ν' ἀνταμῶσω, δυὸ λόγια νὰ τοῦ εἰπῶ . . .⁶

I will go down to Hades
And down to Paradise,
And there I'll meet with Master Death,
And tell him once or twice . . .

In this song Hades and Paradise are evidently regarded by the singer as alternative synonyms for the Lower World. This Lower World is not Hell. It is only a place where the dead whisper and sigh for the life they have lost, as long as they remember it; and they do not remember it very long. The visit of Odysseus in the eleventh *Odyssey* shows that they could hardly remember it at all unless they were given a drink of blood. There is no suggestion of punishment—of selective punishment—in the ancient Greek Under World other than the general punishment of not being alive. Ethical feeling prompted or compelled the addition at some later date of the Elysian Plain as an Afterworld for a few highly favoured mortals, or rather for a few living men made immortal. Instead of dying in the ordinary way, they were 'translated' body and soul together; and the principal rewards

⁴ Polites, no. 19, p. 37; Gnestos, p. 1.

⁵ H. J. Rose, *Greek Mythology*, p. 265.

⁶ Merlier, *Τραγούδια τῆς Ρούμελης* (Athens, 1931), p. 67.

they enjoyed were the blessing of not being dead and a slight improvement in the climate. As for the later Greek mystery religions, Eleusinian, or Orphic, or Pythagorean, which combined theories of pre-existence with metempsychosis and other systems of posthumous compensation, religious beliefs which may be found reflected and idealised in Pindar and in Plato—who was, however, extremely cautious in his admissions⁷—all these religions were never popular beliefs, and come to us from a different level of culture; from the level perhaps of consciously educative culture from which Vergil described the astonishment of Aeneas (*Aen.* vi. 720) that the souls of the dead should want to return to the Upper Air—

quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?—

There is nothing like this in Ancient—or in Modern Greece.

IV

Only, for the proper working of this system, this limbo of forgetfulness where the dead are soon forgotten, is it absolutely necessary that the dead should be somehow, however hurriedly, buried. A handful of earth puts them formally underground, in their proper place. 'This is one of the few beliefs', says H. J. Rose,⁸ 'which seem to have remained quite untouched and unmodified throughout antiquity. It is natural enough. The House of Hades is regularly underground, and the very old belief that the dead continue to have a sort of life in their graves never died out; it is clear that the body or ashes must be put underground somehow.' Once the bodies were safely underground there was little to be feared from them, and for them nothing to be hoped. The whole range of stories studied by G. H. Gerould in his book on *The Grateful Dead*⁹ probably arose from the wish to illustrate or to enforce the duty of not leaving a body unburied; and the origin of that duty must have been the fear that if it were not buried it might get up and walk about. Here comes in the whole regiment of Vampires and Coffin-leavers, a dangerous regiment, and one too large to be reviewed here. Here also enters the Benevolent Corpse, who has been properly buried, but is so strongly attached to the Upper World by ties of duty or love, by a vow or a betrothal, that he rises up, and manages to put in an appearance, his good intentions, of course, causing only embarrassment and horror. This is the bodily revenant, far commoner in the Greek world than the northern and western vaporous ghost which floats through keyholes and walls. Such a bodily revenant is the hero of the Greek ballad of *The Dead Brother*, a very old ballad which is well known all over the Balkans. A mother with several sons and only one daughter does not want the girl to marry abroad, but is persuaded to let her go to a distant country when one of the brothers promises he will bring her back if the mother wants her. A year of pestilence comes, all the brothers die, and the mother herself falls ill and curses the son who had persuaded her to let his sister go. (Notice incidentally the matriarchal selfishness, which is characteristically Greek.) The dead brother rises from his grave, gallops up to his sister's door in the middle of the night, and rides furiously back with her, rides over mountains and through forests, where even the birds begin to speak.

Ἐστὴ στράτα ποῦ διαβαίνανε πουλάκια κλαῖδοῦσαν, . . .
 Ποῖός εἶδε κόρη νόμορφη νά σέρνῃ ὁ πεθαμένος;
 Ἀκουσες, Κωσταντίνε μου, τί λένε τὰ πουλάκια; . . .
 Ἀπρίλης εἶνε καὶ λαλοῦν καὶ Μάης καὶ φωλεύουν . . .
 Φοβοῦμαι σε ἀδερφάκι μου καὶ χωματιῆς μυρίζεις.
 Ὁ μαῦρος μου κυλίστηκε καὶ χωματιῆς μυρίζω.

But as they rode the little birds
 began to speak and said,
 'Who ever saw a fair maid
 go riding with the dead?'
 'My brother dear, and do you hear,
 the birds that sing and say—?'
 'The birds that sing in April, sister,
 will make their nests in May.'
 'My brother dear, your look is strange,
 you have an earthy smell—'
 'My horse smells of the earthy dyke,
 dear sister, where he fell . . .'¹⁰

This ballad has spread all over Europe. From a folk-tale embodying this story the German poet Gottfried Bürger (1747–94) wrote the ballad of *Lenore*, which was translated by Sir Walter Scott as *William and Helen*. When it leaves Greek lands the story changes, and a dead lover takes the place

⁷ See, e.g., Hackforth, 'Immortality in Plato's Symposium',
CR LXIV, 1950, p. 43.

⁸ *Greek Mythology*, p. 90.

⁹ Folklore Society, 1908.

¹⁰ Polites, no. 92, p. 155; Passow, no. 517; and Gneftos, p. 99
 (the only version which has the line about the horse falling in
 the mud).

of the dead brother. The change is significant because the brother-sister relationship has always been morbidly emphasised in Greece—perhaps as a survival of some sort of exogamy; so that one might almost speak of the prevalence in Greece of an *Antigone complex*. It is naturally the extra-Balkan version that is found among English ballads; a drowned sweetheart calling on horseback for his betrothed instead of a dead brother for his married sister; and it survives only in a late and feeble version known as *The Suffolk Miracle*.¹¹ The rider complains of a headache, and the girl lends him her handkerchief to tie up his head; and later on when the rider has disappeared, after taking the horse round to the stables, his body is discovered in the churchyard:

Affrighted then they did behold
His body turning into mould
And though he had a month been dead
This kerchief was about his head.

Here, as in the original Greek, the rider is the actual dead body, not an unsubstantial ghost; and of this story, whether it concerns a brother or a sweetheart, the editor of the version from Rhodes (P. Gneftos) rightly remarks that 'the dead rider does not act as a supernatural or exotic being but as an ordinary corpse behaving as if he were alive'. If we search the English ballad books we shall not easily find anything else like this galvanised corpse (which rather reminds us of a story by Edgar Allan Poe), and the nearest we shall come to a similar horror of deathliness will be in the immaterial ghosts of *Fair Margaret* or of *Sweet William*.¹² These are the ordinary English ghosts which go through keyholes, or without bothering about keyholes diffuse through stone walls like the Homeric or Vergilian shadows: σκιῇ εἰκέλον ἦ καὶ ὄνειρ—*par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno*.

V

There is another side turning which must be looked into before we arrive at the World of the Dead properly so called. Different not only from the Dead Riders but also from the vaporous and plaintive ghosts of *Fair Margaret* and *Sweet William* are the corpses to whom as they lie patiently in their graves is attributed a consciousness, or at least an awareness, of what is going on. One example of the corpse in the tomb regarded as having a conscious existence of its own is the well-known Greek ballad of *The Kleft and his Tomb*.

Παιδιά μου, μὴ μ' ἀφήνετε στὸν ἔρημο τὸν τόπο·
γιὰ πᾶρτε με καὶ σύρτε με ψηλὰ στὴν κρία βρύση,
ποῦ 'ναὶ τὰ δέντρα τὰ δασιά, τὰ πυκναραδιασμένα.
Κόψτε κλαδιά καὶ στρώστε μου . . .
. . . φκειάστε μ' ὠριὸ κιβοῦρι
νά 'ναὶ πλατὺ γιὰ τᾶρματα, μακρὺ γιὰ τὸ κοντάρι.
Καὶ στὴ δεξιὰ μου τὴ μεριά ν' ἀφήστε παραθύρι,
νά μπαίνει ὁ ἥλιος τὸ πρωὶ καὶ τὸ δροσιὸ τὸ βράδυ,
νά μπαίνοβγαίνουν τὰ πουλιά, τῆς ἀνοιξης τάχδονια,
καὶ νά περνοῦν οἱ ἔμορφες, νά μέ καλημερᾶνε.

Carry me up to the Cold Spring
Where the trees stand in a ring.
Lay me on green branches. A tomb
Build me there: let there be room
For all my arms, and for this spear;
Let there be a window near
To let in the morning light,
And the cool breath of the night;
In and out the birds can fly;
And girls shall greet me passing by.¹³

This is a natural fancy to be found anywhere, from the Kleft ordering his tomb in the mountains of Janina to Browning's Bishop ordering his Tomb in St. Praxed's; it would be natural to regard it only as a literary conceit. But it should be noted that among simple people there is always a sort of residuary animism, or surviving pattern of a primitive animism, which suggests that even a corpse should have a life or at least an animation of its own, like any other material object, a chair, a table, or a coffin; and that a belief of this sort is intensified by the anthropomorphic temperament of the Greeks, which expects even a dead man to behave like a man. Such a belief may have been both encouraged and expressed—first expressed or symbolised and then encouraged in the expression—

¹¹ Child, no. 272, p. 592.

¹² Child, no. 74, p. 157; no. 77, p. 164.

¹³ Polites, no. 43, p. 49; Passow, nos. 104 and 134.

by two funerary practices. The first was the custom—the extent of which is obscure, but it was certainly prevalent in the Coptic Church—of using a model church as a gravestone.¹⁴

The second was the custom of burial above ground in a built-up tomb like a small cottage or chapel, or in a vault easily accessible and at least partly above ground, in which the coffin, or even the body without any coffin, was only laid on the floor or on a shelf like a bunk. This 'chapel burial' may be found all over the Greek world, which I think of as all the lands bordering the Aegean and Adriatic seas, as it is in the Hellenistic romances of the first centuries after Christ. In the romance of Chariton Aphrodisiensis the heroine Kalliroe falls senseless when the hero Chaireas boxes her ears, and after the funeral she wakes up just as the doors of the tomb are opened by a landing party of pirates; they carry her off, and that is how she starts on her travels, pursued, of course, by the penitent hero. In the *Erotokritos* and other Greek poems of the period the conventional phrase 'cobwebby doors' (of the grave) seems to imply the Chapel Tomb; and this form of burial is necessary to the action of *Romeo and Juliet*, which in some ways still seems to move and to unfold in the atmosphere of the post-classical romances.¹⁵

VI

So here we are at last in the Lower World. We look round in the gloom and see what we can find out about it—first reminding ourselves, as every anthropologist knows, that it is very difficult to get from simple folk a true answer to the question 'What do you really believe?' As soon as an improvisation becomes too self-conscious it may be misleading; and single utterances must not be taken too seriously, because the Dirges or *μοιρολόγια* are often the work of professional mourning women, who may be inclined to show off, or, like mediums and political orators, to give utterance to what is expected of them. I have little doubt that there is a great deal in common between the professional medium and the professional mourner. Both of them go into a trance, and their minds become a blank screen, on which are reflected the subconscious beliefs of the listeners. If this is so the professional dirge would still be valuable as a record of the secret beliefs or hopes of the assembled company. Even beyond this it would not be safe to assume wilful fantasticality—some of the scenes may be attempts to present, by means of poetical imagery, the mourner's deepest and most genuine feelings about the human situation.

Let us begin with something quite simple. A bewildered impression of cobwebby gates leading only to a darkness in which hollow sounds and indistinct forms make the new passenger, or guest, or prisoner seem to forget and to be already forgotten; a sort of empty resonance.

Κόρη μου, σέ κλειδώσανε κάτω στήν Ἀλησμόνη,
ποῦ στό ἔμπα δίδουν τὰ κλειδιά, στό ἔβγα δὲν τὰ δίδουν,
καὶ στό μπαϊνοξανάβγαρμα σφιχτὰ σε μανταλώνουν·
ποῦ κόρη μάννας δὲ μιλεῖ, μηδὲ στήν κόρη ἡ μάννα,
μηδὲ τὰ τέκνα στοὺς γονιούς, μηδὲ οἱ γονιοὶ στὰ τέκνα,
κί' ὁ βασιλὲς ἀκόμη κεῖ μέ ὅλους μας εἶν' ἴσια.
Ἐκεῖ ἔν' τὰ σπίτια σκοτεινά, οἱ τοῖχοι ραχνιασμένοι,
ἐκεῖ μεγάλοι καὶ μικροὶ εἶν' ἀνακατεμένοι.

Now they have locked you down,
Daughter, in Forgetful Town:
All who go in there receive
Keys to go in, but not to leave:
In and out, and first and last,
They bolt up fierce and bolt up fast.
There no mother speaks a word,
And no daughter's voice is heard:
The king and great and small
Are level with us all:
And all the houses there are dark
And cobwebs hang from every wall.¹⁶

Another gives an idea of the bewilderment and ignorance of the dead; and ignorance soon leads to nothingness.¹⁷

¹⁴ As often in Pontos in recent times. See Dawkins, *Folklore* LIII (September 1942), p. 134. For such tombs cf. also J. Walton, 'Hogback Tombstones and the Anglo-Danish House' (dating from about A.D. 1000), *Antiquity*, June 1954.

¹⁵ *The Tempest*, *Cymbeline*, *Pericles*, *a Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *The Winter's Tale*, as well as *Romeo and Juliet*, all seem to be

presented in a Hellenistic world, no doubt owing to reflection from Italian sources of the post-classical Mediterranean romances.

¹⁶ *Polites*, no. 206, p. 240; from Chios.

¹⁷ *Passow*, no. 368, p. 263.

Κάτω στὰ τάρταρα τῆς γῆς, κάτω στὸν κάτω κόσμο,
 μυριολογοῦν οἱ λυγερὲς καὶ κλαῖν τὰ παλληκάρια.
 Σὰν τεῖν' τὸ μυριολόγι τους; σὰν τεῖν' τὸ κλάψιμό τους;
 Τάχα νὰ στέκ' ὁ οὐρανός; νὰ στέκ' ὁ πάνω κόσμος;
 Νὰ στέκονται οἱ ἐκκλησιᾶς μὲ τὶς χρυσὲς εἰκόνες;
 Νὰ στέκονται οἱ ἐργαλεῖοι ποῦ φαίνουν οἱ κυράδες;

Down in the darkness of the earth,
 Down in the World Below,
 The boys and girls are all in tears:
 Why are they weeping so?—

They wonder if the sky's still there,
 The World Above, with churches painted gold,
 And looms with shuttles going to and fro,
 To weave away the cold.

Another one very much like it comes from Crete¹⁸:

Μιά λυγερή μ' ἀπάντηξε στὰ τριὰ σκαλιά τοῦ Νάδη
 κ' ἤλεγα πῶς θὰ μὲ ρωτᾷ γιὰ μάνα ἢ γιὰ κύρη
 ἢ γι' ἀδερφὸ ἢ γι' ἀδερφή ἢ γιὰ πρῶτα ξαδέρφια,
 μὰ κείνη δέ μ' ἐρώτηξε γιὰ μάνα ἢ γιὰ κύρη
 ἢ γ' ἀδερφὸ ἢ γι' ἀδερφή ἢ γιὰ πρῶτα ξαδέρφια.
 Μάκατσε κι' ἀναρώτα με γιὰ τὸν ἀπάνω κόσμο.
 Παιδιά καὶ νὰ κρατ' ὁ 'ρανός, νὰ στέκη ἀπάνω κόσμος;
 Παιδιά καὶ νὰ παντρεύγουνται παλληκαριῶ γυναῖκες;

It was a fair maid met me
 On the three steps of Hell;
 I thought, when she stood,
 She would ask me to tell,

If I knew anything
 About her dear mother,
 Her father, her cousins,
 Her sister, or her brother.

But she would only ask me
 If the sky is still there;
 And do they still get married
 In the Upper Air?

And now you begin to feel the turn of the screw:

Κόρη μ' αὐτοῦ ποῦ βούλεισαι νὰ κατεβῆς στὸν ὄδη,
 αὐτοῦ πετεινας δὲν λαλεῖ, κόττα δὲν καρκαριέται,
 αὐτοῦ νερό δὲν βρίσκειται, χορτάρι δὲν φυτρώνει.
 ὄντας πεινᾷς δὲν γεύεσαι, ὄντας διψᾷς δὲν πίνεις,
 κι' ὄντας θέλῃς νὰ κοιμηθῇς τὸν ὕπνο δὲν χορταίνεις.

Down in the dark you go, where no cock crows;
 No hens, no water there, and no grass grows:
 Nothing to eat, or drink, daughter, and still
 When you want rest, you'll never sleep your fill.¹⁹

The next to be quoted is one of the more elaborate pictures, and it has more in it than a mere excess of tears. One version of this song was found in Cappadocia, and has been discussed at some length by Professor Dawkins, with special reference to Dante's description of an image standing in Crete—the figure of a man made of gold, silver, brass, and iron, with one foot of clay—from which a stream of tears runs down to form the rivers and the lake of Hell.²⁰ The notion of the tears of the living pouring down upon the dead is old and widely diffused²¹; and it does not seem to me to have any close connexion with Dante's symbolism in the passage referred to.

¹⁸ Jeannarakis, *Kretas Volkslieder* (Leipzig, 1876), no. 145, p.

144.

¹⁹ Passow, no. 374, p. 265.

²⁰ See Dante, *Inferno*, xiv, 105 ff.; R. M. Dawkins, 'Soul and Body in the Folklore of Modern Greece' (Frazer Lecture),

Folklore LIII (September 1942); and R. M. Dawkins, *Medium Aevum*, II, 2 (June 1933).

²¹ See, for instance, version H. of the English ballad *The Unquiet Grave* quoted below (Child, no. 78, p. 167).

Κλάψετε μάτια μ', κλάψετε νὰ σύρετε ποτάμι,
νὰ γένη λίμνη καὶ γιαλὸς, νὰ πάη στὸν κάτω κόσμος,
γιὰ νὰ βρεχοῦντ' οἱ ἄβρεχοι, νὰ πιοῦν οἱ διψασμένοι,
νὰ βάλουν κ' οἱ γραμματικοὶ νερό στὸ καλαμάρι,
νὰ γράφουνε τὰ βάσανα τῶν πολυαγαπημένων,
Ὅπου περνοῦν τὸν ποταμὸ καὶ πίνουν τὸ νερό του,
καὶ λησμονοῦν τὰ σπιτίτια τοὺς καὶ τ' ὀρφανὰ παιδιὰ τοὺς . . .

Weep, eyes, and weep a stream to flow
And flood into the World Below;
Wet all that's dry, let thirsty drink;
Let clerks have water for their ink.
To write how lovers' love is lost
Who drink the river they have crossed;
Drink and forget their homes above,
Forget their lonely children's love.²²

And here is a short valediction which is characteristically Greek in giving an unexpected and savage twist in the last couplet,²³ although it was collected by Tommaseo in Venice.

Γιὰ πές μου πές μου, μάτια μου, τὸ πῶς σ' ἐδέχτ' ὁ Χάρος;—
Στὰ γονατὰ μου τὸν κρατῶ, στὰ στήθη μ' ἀκουμπάει.
Κι' ἂν τὸν πεινάσῃ γιὰ φαγί, τρώγ' ἀπὸ τὸ κορμί μου,
κι' ἂν τὸν διψάσῃ γιὰ νερό, πίν' ὅχ τὰ δυό μου μάτια.

O tell me, my true-love, how Death has received you.
'Clasped on my knees against my breast he lies:
And when he is hungry he eats of my body;
When he is thirsty drinks from my two eyes.'

VII

These are ceremonial lamentations over the dead, all more or less improvised. The next three poems are real ballads, at least in form; statements, with two or more speaking characters, of an emotional situation, introduced, presented, and concluded. They are miniature mythological dramas. The first is called in translation *The Fair Maid in Hell* ²⁴—remember, please, that Hell does not here mean 'hell' as a place of selective punishment, but only the abode of the dead, the Greek 'Hades'.

Καλὰ τὸ χουνε τὰ βουνά, καλόμοιρ' εἶν οἱ κάμποι,
ποῦ Χάρος δὲν παντέχουνε, Χάρος δὲν καρτεροῦνε,
τὸ καλοκαίρι πρόβατα καὶ τὸ χειμῶνα χιόνια.
Τρεῖς ἀντρεϊωμένοι βούλονται νὰ βγοῦν ἀπὸ τὸν Ἄδη.
'Ὁ ἕνας νὰ βγῇ τὴν ἀνοιξη κι' ὁ ἄλλος τὸ καλοκαίρι
κι' ὁ τρίτος τὸ χινόπωρο ὅπου εἶναι τὰ σταφύλια.
Μιά κόρη τοὺς παρακαλεῖ, τὰ χέρια σταυρωμένα.
Γιὰ πᾶρτε με, λεβέντες μου, γιὰ τὸν Ἀπάνω κόσμον.
Δὲν ἔμποροῦμε, λυγερή, δὲν ἔμποροῦμε, κόρη.
Βροντομαχοῦν τὰ ροῦχα σου κι' ἀστράφτουν τὰ μαλλιά σου,
χτυπάει τὸ φελλοκάλιγο καὶ μᾶς ἀκούει ὁ Χάρος.
Μὰ γὼ τὰ ροῦχα βγάνω τὰ καὶ δένω τὰ μαλλιά μου,
κι' αὐτὸ τὸ φελλοκάλιγο μέσ' στὴ φωτιά τὸ ρίχνω.
Πᾶρτε με, ἀντρεϊωμένοι μου, νὰ βγῶ στὸν Πάνω κόσμον,
νὰ πάω νὰ ἰδῶ τὴ μάνα μου πῶς χλίβεται γιὰ μένα.
Κόρη μου, ἐσένα ἢ μάνα σου στὴ ροῦγα κουβεντιάζει.
Νὰ ἰδῶ καὶ τὸν πατέρα μου πῶς χλίβεται γιὰ μένα.
Κόρη μου, κι' ὁ πατέρας σου στὸ καπελεῖο εἶν' καὶ πίνει.
Νὰ πάω νὰ ἰδῶ τὰ δέρφια μου πῶς χλίβονται γιὰ μένα.
Κόρη μου, ἐσέν' τὰ δέρφια σου ρίχτουνε τὸ λιθάρι.
Νὰ ἰδῶ καὶ τὰ ξαδέρφια μου πῶς χλίβονται γιὰ μένα.
Κόρη μου, τὰ ξαδέρφια σου μέσ' στὸ χορὸ χορεύουν.

²² Passow, no. 371, p. 264.

²³ Passow, no. 411, p. 292.

²⁴ Polites, no. 222, p. 253; Passow, nos. 421-5.

O happy hills, and fields death never know,
In summer bright with sheep, in winter white with snow.

Three knights in Hell's Mouth are minding to escape,
In spring and in summer and when autumn fills the grape.

A fair maid crosses her hands in prayer :
'Take me with you to the World up there.'

'We cannot take you and your gown flapping,
And your cork-heeled shoes clapping,

And with your flashing hair, my dear,
We cannot take you, Death will hear.'

'I will put off my silk attire,
My cork heel'd shoes I will throw on the fire,

And I will tie up my bright hair ;
Take me with you to the World up there.

Let me see my mother, she must grieve and greet.'
'Your mother is talking in the street.'

'Let me see my father ; he must grieve and pine.'
'He is in the tavern drinking his wine.'

'Let me see my brothers, they grieve and they groan.'
'They are in the playing fields, putting the stone.'

'Let me see my cousins ; they grieve for me sore.'
'Your cousins are dancing on the dancing-floor.'

Nothing need be said about this ballad now unless a note is wanted about the 'cork-heeled shoes' (*fellokaliga*), in which case reference may be made to the 'cork heeled shoon' of *Sir Patrick Spens*,²⁵ and of *Child Waters* ²⁶ ('He's pitten on his cork heel'd shoon, An fast away rade he'—); and to a letter in *The Times* of June 16, 1950, pointing out that 'heels were first introduced in the sixteenth century as a rest for the stirrups of horsemen'.

The next of this group of dramatic ballads about the Underworld need be introduced only to say how beautiful it is,²⁷ almost like a classical Greek elegy reflecting the pagan world of antiquity.

Ἦλπε μου καὶ τρισήλπε μου καὶ κοσμογυριστὴ μου,
ψὲς ἔχασα μιὰ λυγερή, μιὰ ἀκριβοθυγατέρα
νὰ μὴν τὴν εἶδες πουθενά, νὰ μὴ τὴν ἀπαντῆσες ;
Ἐψὲς προχτὲς τὴν εἶδηκα στοῦ Χάρου τὸ σαράϊ.
'Ο Χάρος ἔτρωγε ψωμί, κ' ἡ κόρη τὸν κερνοῦσε,
κ' ἔτρεχαν τὰ ματάκια τῆς σὰ μαρμαρένια βρύση,
κ' ἔτρεμε κ' ἡ καρδοῦλα τῆς σὰ μῆλο μααραμμένο.
Κι' ἀπὸ τὸ συχνοκέρασμα τῆς πέφτει τὸ ποτῆρι,
μάιτε σὲ πέτρα βάρεσε, μάιτε σὲ καλντιρίμι,
μέσα στοῦ Χάρου τὴν ποδιά ἔπεσε κ' ἔρραϊστη.
Τί ἔχεις, κόρη, ποῦ χλίβεσαι καὶ χύνεις μαῦρα δάκρυα,
καὶ τρέχουν καὶ τὰ μάτια σου σὰ μαρμαρένια βρύση ;
Μὴ σὲ πονεῖ ὄχ τὴ μάννα σου, νὰ στείλω νὰ τὴ φέρω ;
Δὲ μὲ πονεῖ ὄχ τὴ μάννα μου, μὴ στέλνης νὰ τὴ φέρης.
Μὴ σε πονεῖ ὄχ τὰ δέρφια σου, νὰ στείλω νὰ τὰ φέρω ;
Δὲ μὲ πονεῖ ὄχ τὰ δέρφια μου, μὴ στέλνης νὰ τὰ φέρης,
μόν' μὲ πονεῖ ὄχ τὸ σπῖτι μου κ' ὄχ τὸν Ἀπάνω κόσμο.
Ἄ σὲ πονῇ ὄχ τὸ σπῖτι σου, πλιά δὲν τὸ μεταβλέπεις.

²⁵ Child, p. 104.

²⁶ Child, p. 124, no. 63, B. version. There is another reference to 'A pair of boots of cork' in the folk-song *The Keys of Canterbury*: and in Greek there is another reference in Passow, no. 526, to 'Golden corks on my feet'—which must

refer to gilded heels; and see also one of the versions of *Mary Hamilton*—'When she gaed up the Tolbooth stair The corks frae her heels did flee' (Child, p. 664).

²⁷ Polites, no. 221, p. 252; from the Peloponnese.

Sun going round the world, Sun shining clear,
Last night I lost a girl, a daughter dear:

Have you ever seen her, anywhere at all?
I saw her yesterday down in Death's hall;

Death breaking bread, her heart withered with fears,
Pouring his wine, and her eyes brimming tears.

She poured, the cup fell from her hand as she poured;
Not on the cobbles and not on the board,

Into his lap it fell, and it broke;
And Death displeased turned and spoke:

What are you sighing for, my daughter,
Your eyes running over like dark well water?

Is it for your mother? Shall I bring her here?
Not for my mother. Do not bring her here.

Is it for your brothers? Shall I bring them here?
And not for my brothers, do not bring them here.

For my home up above is all my pain.
You will not see your home ever again.

There is one more of these ballads, and here some parts of it fall easily into rhyme, and the translator is in danger of making it sound too romantic.

Μηλίτσα ποῦσαι στὸ γκρεμὸ τὰ μῆλα φορτωμένη
τὰ μῆλα σου λιμπίστηκα μὰ τὸ γκρεμὸ φοβοῦμαι.

Σὰν τὸ φοβᾶσαι τὸ γκρεμὸ ἔλα τὸ μονοπάτι.

Τὸ μονοπάτι μ' ἔβγαλε σὲ μιὰ ρημοκλησίτσα·

βρίσκω σαράντα μνήματα ἀδέρφια κι ἐξαδέρφια·

κ' ἓνα μικρὸ παράμνημα ξεχωριστὸ ἀπὸ τᾶλλα.

Δὲν τὸδα καὶ τὸ πάτησα ἐπάνω στὸ κεφάλι.

Γροικῶ τὸ μνημα καὶ βογκᾷ καὶ βαρειαναστενάζει.

Τί ἔχεις βρὲ μνημα καὶ βογκᾷς καὶ βαρειαναστενάζεις;

μήπως τὸ χῶμα σέ βαρεῖ, μὴ πλάκα σου μεγάλῃ;

Τί νᾶχω παλληκάρι μου καὶ βαρειαναστενάζω;

Τάχα δὲν ἤμουνα κέγώ καὶ νηὸς καὶ παλληκάρι;

τάχα δὲν ἐπερπάτησα τὴ νύχτα μὲ φεγγάρι;

μον' ἦρτες καὶ μ' ἐπάτησες ἐπάνω στὸ κεφάλι.²⁸

Little tree, apple tree, high on the wall,
I'm longing for apples, and fearing a fall.

Come by the path and there's nothing to fear.
I went by the pathway; a chapel was near.

There I saw forty graves, cousins and brothers;
One little grave was away from the others;

Alone in the dark, and I trod on the head;
It groaned and it moaned and it sighed; and I said:

Why do you sigh, tell me, why do you moan?
Is the earth heavy on you, or the grave stone?

Why am I sighing, and why am I sad?
Wasn't I as young as you, my pretty lad?

Didn't I walk under the moonshiny sky?
Now you tread on my head—— Why do I sigh?

²⁸ This version was given me by Mr. Donald Swann, who heard it sung by a twelve-year-old girl in Rhodes in 1946. See also P. Gneftos, *Τραγούδια τῆς Ῥόδου* (Alexandria, 1926), p. 93: Passow, no. 541 (first three lines only); and a long

(seventeen lines) but inferior version with a different beginning in Fauriel, *Chants Populaires de la Grèce Moderne* (Paris, 1825), vol. II, p. 401.

This short ballad—only fourteen lines—has a moving quality which deserves a little analysis. The first three lines give you an idea that you are going to hear another of those love-songs addressing young girls as apple-trees or lemon-trees, which is a little fresher to our ears but just as easy as calling them sugars or honeys or even ice-cream cones. Then when you go on to the scene of the hilltop chapel in the moonlight, you feel a slight misgiving—and on again to that tragic jab at the end, and you think naturally that the beginning of the apple-tree song has lost its continuation, if it ever had one—or perhaps it was just one of those distichs they throw about at dances, and some careless singer has joined it on to the body of a more serious adventure. And then you realise that the three parts of the song—the Apple-tree, the Chapel, and the Grave—are not joined together by accident, or because the singer couldn't think of anything else.

Of course the story begins with a boy looking longingly at the apples; with a young man looking longingly at a pretty girl and finding out that the only way to win her is by the roundabout path of roundabout courtship leading, of course, to the Chapel in the Waste. Yes, but why is the little church on a lonely hilltop? Surely you know that a young man is never so lonely in his life as when he suddenly finds himself walking up to the altar with a strange young woman on his arm? And that is only the beginning. At the side of the church there are 'Forty graves of cousins and of brothers'—once married, he has thrown away the freedom of boyhood and finds himself caught in a network of family responsibilities, pulled this way and that way by living hands and by dead hands. And why 'One little grave away from all the others'? It is his own grave, isn't it, and his own dead youth talking to him? For of course once married he has, biologically speaking, survived or at least come as near survival as he will ever get; and accordingly, once married he is as good as dead, and from the grave he sees and envies his own lost youth.

It is the simplest possible piece of symbolic expression of a feeling about life—though any direct interpretation must inevitably distort it, because the proper and instinctive use of symbols is only to express something which cannot be expressed in ordinary words; and it is told with such beauty and economy, in concrete images, with every unnecessary detail worn away and polished by traditional repetition, that one begins to believe the saying that all art aspires to the condition of folk-song. It has been composed by generations of singers with the greatest possible deliberation.

If you look now at the other two ballads in this series you will find that each of them is carefully constructed with the same sort of dramatic progression; beginning with what seems to be a careless glance at hillside or sunshine, and then proceeding by increasing tension, more and more tying up of painful knots, until the last line falls like the knell at the end of the final chorus of an Aeschylean tragedy—

ΠΟΙ ΚΑΤΟΛΗΞΕΙ
ΜΕΤΑΚΟΙΜΙΣΘΕΝ ΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΤΗΣ;

There is only one English ballad comparable to these in structure and effect, and that is *The Unquiet Grave*.²⁹

The wind doth blow today my love
And a few small drops of rain:
I never had but one true love
In cold grave she was lain.

I'll do as much for my true love
As any young man may:
I'll sit and mourn all at her grave
For a twelvemonth and a day.

The twelvemonth and a day being up
The dead began to speak:
'O who sits weeping on my grave
And will not let me sleep?

What is it that you want of me
And will not let me sleep?
Your salten tears they trickle down
And wet my winding sheet.'

' 'Tis I my love sits on your grave
And will not let you sleep:
For I crave one kiss of your clay-cold lips
And that is all I seek.'

²⁹ Child, no. 78, p. 167; versions A and H.

You crave one kiss of my clay-cold lips
 But my breath smells earthy strong:
 If you have one kiss of my clay-cold lips
 Your time will not be long.

'Tis down in yonder garden green,
 Love, where we used to walk:
 The finest flower that ere was seen
 Is withered to a stalk.

This is the English ballad that comes nearest to the Greek spirit of adult acceptance. It resembles the Greek ballads quoted in having a clearly dramatic structure: an introduction, an intensification, and a conclusion. The introduction is a glance at the scene, a glance at the world we live in; in this case not the 'hillside bright with sheep', or the 'Sun going about the world', but 'a few small drops of rain'—a recognisably English backcloth. Then comes the tying of knots, in this case death and the separation of young lovers; and then comes the Aeschylean chorus, the acceptance of the inevitable,

The finest flower that ere was seen
 Is withered to a stalk . . .

The solemn acceptance of the inevitable—that is what I mean by 'paganism'.

VIII

Is there any conclusion to be drawn from this short day-trip to the infernal regions? What does it all amount to, assuming, as I think we may, that the pieces we have looked at are fair examples of popular expression?

At the end of Erwin Rohde's *Psyche*, his long and learned 'account of the opinions held by the Ancient Greeks about the life of the human soul after death', we come upon the following words:

'An immortality of the human soul as such, by virtue of its nature and composition—as the imperishable force of divinity in the mortal body—never became a real part of the belief of the Greek populace. When approximations to such a belief do occasionally find expression in popular modes of thought, it is because a fragment of theology or of the universally popular philosophy has penetrated to the lower strata of the uninstructed populace. Theology and philosophy remained the sole repositories of the belief in the immortality of the soul.'

'If we pass in imagination', he says on the next page, 'through the long rows of streets in which the Greeks placed the memorials of their dead, and read the inscriptions on the tombstones—they now form part of the accumulated treasures of Greek Epigraphy—the first thing that must arrest our attention is the complete silence maintained by the enormous majority of these inscriptions with regard to any hope—however formulated—or any expectation of a life of the soul after death.'³⁰

What I now suggest is that exactly the same complete silence must arrest our attention if in imagination we turn the pages of the collected treasures of Greek folk-song.

If this suggestion were accepted it would imply that the Christian Churches had never succeeded in making the slightest impression on popular belief. This implication would, of course, be flatly denied, and by no stratum of the population more indignantly than by those who still compose, sing, and transmit the Greek folk-song; and they could point to the churches crowded and adorned, to the magnificent Orthodox priesthood, and all the other evidences of unshakable establishment. They could, however, hardly convince us that social acceptance of the practices of the Church, even when combined with verbal acceptance of its teachings, have any connexion with fundamental beliefs. If you like to put it in an ancient Greek way, which by the way is strictly scientific, you believe with your heart and your liver, and not with your head. What you believe is unconsciously and faithfully reflected in the songs you have been composing and singing for three thousand years.

The pagan character of these folk-songs has, of course, been noticed before; but the tendency has been to look the other way, or to regard them as unimportant aberrations, rather as some Victorian divines used to regard the deviations of Athenian morality, or as some modern hellenists regard the savage mythology which hides behind the tapestry of the Attic drama. Professor Dawkins, in the Frazer lecture already referred to, devotes several pages to a discussion of this dualism in both ancient and modern Greek belief.

'Here then is the contradiction', he says, 'in ancient Greece between the Olympian religion of the Achaeans and the religion of the mysteries and Orphism, . . . with its awful judges acquitting and condemning, rewarding and punishing; in modern Greece between what remains as essentially the old Religion as we see it among the warriors of Homer, and the eschatology of orthodox Christianity.'³¹ He goes on to quote Frazer on 'the innate capacity of the human mind to entertain

³⁰ E. Rohde, *Psyche*, pp. 538, 539.

³¹ *Folklore* LIII (September 1942), p. 146.

contradictory beliefs at the same time'. He adds that 'of numerous popular notions it may at least be said that they contain nothing contradictory to orthodoxy'; and he concludes that it seems to be a matter of moods: 'the inconsistency, if we must use the word, lies not in any matter of belief, but in the possibility of entertaining and indulging more than one mood in the face of a great mystery'. It is not possible by a short quotation to do justice to Professor Dawkins's defence of the inconsistency of Greek religious beliefs; and his lecture should be read as a whole. What I suggest here is that of genuine beliefs there has never been any inconsistency; that in fundamental belief the modern like the ancient Greeks have always been pagans.

IX

Some people may remember Thornton Wilder's play *Our Town*, which has more than once been broadcast in this country. By the use of a charade-like technique it gives a stereoscopic picture of a small puritanical law-abiding community—Grover's Corners in New Hampshire (population 2642, as the newspaper editor is brought on to tell us), as seen in the lives of two neighbouring families, the doctor's and the newspaper editor's, between 1901 and 1913. The last act takes place in the cemetery on a hill outside the town. We find ourselves brought out once again by a round-about path to a chapel on top of a hill. On one side of the stage a funeral is taking place in the rain, and under a huddle of umbrellas a hymn is being sung. On the other side of the stage sit several rows of the patient dead, with an empty chair in the front row for the girl who is just being buried, the girl who was doing her schoolwork in the first act and being married in the second. The omniscient Stage Manager who has been directing this charade tries to explain their attitude.

—'Y'know, the dead don't stay interested in us living people for very long. Gradually gradually they let go hold of the earth—and the ambitions they had—and the pleasures they had—and the things they suffered—and the people they loved. They get weaned away from earth—that's the way I put it, weaned away. . . . They're waitin'. . . . Some of the things they're going to say maybe'll hurt your feelings—but that's the way it is: mothern' daughter—husband n'wife—enemy n'enemy—money n'miser—all those terribly important things kinda grow pale around here. And what's left? What's left when memory's gone, and your identity, Mrs. Smith?'—

Isn't this very like the eleventh Odyssey, this picture of the bloodless, mindless dead as imagined in a middle-class Christian community in New Hampshire—for it is obviously the author's intention to present the popular belief and not necessarily his own. Kinda Homeric, isn't it? And then one cannot help wondering: is the abundant development of the higher religions in America, orgiastic or philosophical or theological, as superficial as it seems to be, and always to have been, in Greece? One cannot help wondering if at a certain level of cultural or mental evolution a fundamental paganism is universal. Perhaps over a large part of the Western World religion is a social observance rather than a belief either emotionally or intellectually apprehended. This is a speculation which must be referred to the psychologists; and we know already what one of them has said about it.

"The great events of our world as planned and executed by man do not breathe the spirit of Christianity, but rather of unadorned paganism. These things originate in a psychic condition that has remained archaic and has not been even remotely touched by Christianity."³²

JOHN MAVROGORDATO

[A paper read in part to the Oxfordshire and District Folklore Society on Nov. 17, 1950, and in part to the Folklore Society at University College, London, on May 23, 1951.]

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ARCHAIC LITERARY CHRONOGRAPHY

THE use of 39- and 27-year generations for dynasties of kings was common in Greek chronography, and seems to have been extended to the 'successions' of literary figures by Apollodoros and his school. This was made possible by wide and liberal use of thirds of generations, *i.e.* intervals of 13 and 9 years, and a complete system was erected on the basis of the equation $39 \times 3 = 27 \times 4\frac{1}{3}$. In its final form (shown in the table below) the system consisted of: (i) eight 39-year generations divided into thirds and dated 780-468, the fifth, sixth, and seventh generations being marked by Thales' birth, *akme*, and death respectively; (ii) one 27-year series crosses this 39-year line at 741, 624, and 507—Apollodoros calculates $27 \times 16\frac{2}{3}$ years along this line from Homer to the Persian Wars (912-480); (iii) the second 27-year series crosses the 39-year line at 702, 585, and 468—Apollodoros calculates $27 \times 12\frac{2}{3}$ years from Hesiod to the Peloponnesian War (774-432); (iv) the third 27-year series crosses the 39-year line at 780, 663, and 546—Apollodoros uses this series only for Anaximenes, and possibly Xenophanes.

I. Apollodoros. (Fragments quoted from Jacoby, *FGH*.)

- Fr. 28: Thales born 624, died at 78 years of age in 546. Since 78 is 39×2 , the *akme* of Thales on this reckoning would seem to fall in 585, where the eclipse is placed by Pliny and Jerome.
- Fr. 29: Anaximandros 64 years of age in 547, and so born in 611, which is 13 years after Thales.
- Fr. 27: Pittakos' *akme* in *Ol.* 42 (612-09) and died in 570. Since 570 is 27×2 years after 624, it seems probable that the *akme* year was 611.
- Fr. 338: Pherekydes in 544 is $26 = 39 \times \frac{2}{3}$ after Pittakos' death in 570. Suidas mentions *Ol.* 48, and the Apollodoran reckoning suggests that 583 was the year he had in mind, for this is 39 years before 544.
- Fr. 66: Anaximenes' *akme* is 546, and his death in *Ol.* 63 (528-5). The year 546 is also that of Thales' death, and 528 is $18 = 27 \times \frac{2}{3}$ years later.
- Fr. 336: Archilochos is mentioned by Eusebius at *aA* 1351, which is *Ol.* 28. 3 in Jerome and 28. 4 in the Armenian. Jerome's Olympic year is equivalent to 666 B.C., which is $162 = 27 \times 6$ years before the following:
- Fr. 340-1: Herakleitos and Parmenides: 504.
- Fr. 31: Anaxagoras, according to the surviving text, was born in *Ol.* 70 (500-497), and died at 72 ($= 27 \times 2\frac{2}{3}$) in 468. Clearly, the event originally ascribed to 468 has fallen out of the text; the year is $27 \times 1\frac{2}{3}$ years after 504.
- Fr. 71-2: Protagoras and Melissos have *akmai* in *Ol.* 84 (444-1). In the case of Melissos, the *akme* year is probably 441, the year before he was general in the Samian revolt; 441 is 27 years after 468. Fr. 32b gives Empedokles the same *akme* date.
- Fr. 7: The ages of Hellanikos, Herodotus, and Thucydides in 432, which is 9 years after 441.
- Fr. 63 and 333: Tatian and Clement report Apollodoros' date for Homer as 100 years after Ionia, *i.e.* 943 B.C. The *Vita VI* gives this date as from Eratosthenes, and quotes Apollodoros for 80 years after Ionia, *i.e.* 963 B.C. Tzetzes quotes Apollodoros for the succession Kadmos, Linos, Pronapides, Homer: this Kadmos was perhaps the Milesian, and the three pre-Homeric masters account for the time of Homer three generations after the Ionian Migration ($27 \times 3 = 81$). Jerome quotes Apollodoros for Homer in *aA* 1104 (913-2 B.C.); and Solinus, without naming Apollodoros, dates Homer to the reign of the same Latin king, but in 912, and Hesiod's death 138 years later 'in auspiciis olympiadis primae'.
- The *Vita* is, apparently, wrong about Eratosthenes' date, which was 100 years after Troy, not after Ionia: this terminus has presumably crept in from the Apollodoran quotation. The years mentioned by Apollodoros thus seem to be 963, 943, and either 913 or 912: the last two are perhaps dates of the great poems. The year 912 is $27 \times 10\frac{2}{3}$ years before the birth of Thales. Hesiod 138 years later is then in 774, which is $108 = 27 \times 4$ years before Archilochos in 666.

Examination of these Apollodoran dates shows that the three 39-year dates for Thales are each made the starting-point of a 27-year series, and all the dates belong to one of these four series, except those for Pherekydes, which form another 39-year group as a sort of appendix to the Pittakos line. These arithmetical relationships may be shown:

			774	Hesiod	912	Homer		
			27 × 4					
			666	Archilochos	27 × 10½			
{ 624	Thales born				624			
{ 611	Anaximandros born				615			
{ 598	Pittakos' <i>akme</i>		27 × 3		606	(Pittakos kills Phrynon)		
{ 585	Thales' eclipse and <i>akme</i>		585		597			
{ 572					588		583	Pherekydes
{ 559					579			
					570	Pittakos died . . .	570	
546	Thales died	546	Anaximenes	27 × 3			557	Pherekydes
		537					544	
		528	Anaximenes died					
			504	Herakleitos				
				Parmenides				
			27 × 1		480			
			468	Anaxagoras				
			27 × 1					
			441	Protagoras				
				Melissos				
			432	Hellankos				
				Herodotus				
				Thucydides				

II. *Eusebius*. A large number of literary dates in Eusebius between the years 774-441 may also be chronographically analysed. The method followed is to tabulate each entry with variants, and by inspection allow those which seem to be in series of 39- and 27-year generations (or their thirds) to emerge, as in the italicised figures below. Such simple inspection produces five apparent series, as follows:

Series I :

<i>Arm.</i>	<i>Jer.</i>	<i>Writer</i>	<i>Arm.</i>	<i>Jer.</i>	<i>Writer</i>	<i>Arm.</i>	<i>Jer.</i>	<i>Writer</i>				
1251	1252	Kinaithon	1358	1358	{ Lesches Alkman	1433	1427	Thales' eclipse	1476	1473	Pherekydes	
	1253		1359	1359			1429			1476		
	1254		1360	1360			1430			1477		
				1361			1432			1480		
	1269											
	1270	Thales	1377	1376	Thales	1443	1439	Anaximandros	1479	1476	{ Simonides Phokylides Xenophanes	
			1378	1377			1441			1477		
1351	1351	{ Archilochos Simonides Aristoxenos					1443			1483		
	1352			1409	1405	Stesichoros		1446				
	1353				1406							
									1482	1480		
						1449	1449	Eugammon	1484	1481	Anakreon	
						1450	1450			1483		
										1486		
1353	1349	Herophile	1426	1421	Solon			Simonides				
	1350			1423								
	1351			1425		1459	1456					
				1426			1457					
							1460		1541	1539	Aischylos	
							1463			1540		
										1542		

Series II :

<i>Arm.</i>	<i>Jer.</i>	<i>Writer</i>	<i>Arm.</i>	<i>Jer.</i>	<i>Writer</i>	<i>Arm.</i>	<i>Jer.</i>	<i>Writer</i>	<i>Arm.</i>	<i>Jer.</i>	<i>Writer</i>
1255	1252	Eumelos	1406	1399	Arion	1458	1456	Stesichoros d.	1471	1470	Theognis
	1254			1400			1457			1473	
	1257			1401			1458			1474	
							1462			1476	
1272	1273	Eumelos		1406	Alkaios						
	1274			1407		1460	1461	Xenophanes	1484	1487	Pythagoras
				1408		1461	1462		1485	1488	
1275	1273	Sibylla					1463			1489	
	1274		1421	1417	{ Sappho		1465			1490	
				1418	{ Alkaios		1466			1491	
1354	1353	Zaleukos									
1356	1354		1452	1452	Aisopos						
	1355		1453	1453							
				1454							

Series III :					
Arm.	Jer.	Writer	Arm.	Jer.	Writer
	1248	Hesiod	1458	1456	Stesichoros died
	1249			1457	
	1250			1458	
	1251			1462	
1439	1436	Seven wise men	1469	1467	Thales died
	1438			1469	
	1443			1470	
	1455		Anaximenes		
	1456			1482	
	1457				
	1460				
Series IV :			Series V :		
Arm.	Jer.	Writer	Arm.	Jer.	Writer
	1329	Hipponax	1241	1241	Arktinos
1384	1383	Tyrtaios		1242	
	1384			1304	Herophile
	1385			1305	
1410	1409	Pittakos kills Phrynon		1373	Terpandros
	1410			1375	
			1376		

Assuming that 1432 for Thales represents 585 B.C., all dates in Series I are in the Apollodoran line beginning with Hesiod. The variants may all be regarded as simple canonographic errors, except:

- i. the Armenian 1409 for Stesichoros: see notes on Series II below.
- ii. the rather wide scatter of dates suggests more than one original entry for—
Solon at 594 (= 1423; Sosikrates) and 591 (= 1426; *Ath Pol*);
Anaximandros at 576 (= 1441) and perhaps 572 (13 years after Thales' *akme*).
- iii. Different reckonings for Anaximandros may be the cause of dates a complete Olympiad apart in later entries (for the difference between 13 and 9 is 4 years)—
Simonides at 1463 and 1459;
Pherekydes at 1476 and 1480, while 1477 is the Series date, and 1473 = 544, the Apollodoran date;
Simonides again 1477 and 1483;
Anakreon 1482 is a complete Olympiad earlier than 1486: possibly a false correction.

Maintaining the same absolute dating, all dates in Series II belong to the Apollodoran line of Anaximenes. The variants are canonographic, except:

- i. Eumelos at 1252 has coalesced with Kinaithon of Series I;
- ii. the Armenian omits Alkaios at 1408, and represents Jerome's 1405 (Stesichoros) by 1406 Arion, and Jerome's 1408 (Alkaios) by 1409 Stesichoros;
- iii. Sappho at 1421 is a complete Olympiad earlier than 1417;
- iv. the wide scatter of dates for Stesichoros' death suggests two original entries, one 9, the other 13, years before 546: 555 = 1462, 559 = 1458. This may be the origin of the complete Olympiad differences in this series at Xenophanes (1461 and 1465) and Theognis (scatter from 1470 to 1476);
- v. Pythagoras (1484 to 1491) may represent more than one entry or errors of a complete Olympiad.

Series III is based on 39-year generations and gives 548 for the death of Thales: Stesichoros' death is 13 years before (1456). These entries suggest that the series is 2 years too early throughout, and that the dates of the source were equivalent to 767, 572, 559, 546, and 533. The errors will arise from the double datings for Anaximandros and Stesichoros' death.

Series IV: the death of Phrynon should be in 606, *i.e.* in the Armenian reckoning of Olympiads. This gives the dates 687, 633, and 606.

Series V consists of only three entries, one name (Herophile) also belonging to Series I: her date here is 47 years before that. This suggests (since $45 = 27 \times 1\frac{2}{3}$) that this series is 2 years too high, and that Arktinos at 1242 is intended to represent *Ol.* 1. 3. The error would seem to arise from the equation of years and Olympiads. (The two entries for Herophile in Jerome F are at 1304 and 1349, 45 years apart.)

Thus Series I and V appear to belong to Apollodoros' line of dates from Hesiod to the Peloponnesian War; Series IV to the line from Homer to the Persian War; Series II to his Anaximenes line, and Series III to his Thales line. Even where different dates are given for the same person or event, the mathematics are those of Apollodoros, so that his school is dominant for Eusebius in literary chronography.

III. *Other sources.* Other dates in the sources belonging to these Apollodoran lines are:

Series I

- 783: Arktinos 400 years after Troy (Suid.)
- 720: Archilochos at Thasos (Dion.)
- 693: Semonides 490 years after Troy (Suid.)
- 684: Archilochos 500 years after Troy (Eus.)
- 648: Peisandros (Suid.)

Series II

- 708: Archilochos at Thasos (Xanthos)
- 672: Alkman (Suid.)

Series III

- 754: Antimachos (Plut. *Romulus* 12)
- 728: Diokles' Olympiad: *akme* of Philolaos (Arist. *Pol.* 2.12: *i.e.* this date is older than Apollodoros)
- 676: foundation of the Karneia (Sosibios), *cf.* Terpandros first victor (Hellanikos). This date may be pre-Apollodoran.
- 611: Pittakos and Melanchros (Suid. probably from Apollodoros)
- 520: Hekataios, Dionysios, Melanippides (Suid.)

The dates from all sources are tabulated below. Those attributable to Apollodoros himself are in capitals. The remainder are mostly anonymous: the majority probably come from Apollodoros' school, though some are earlier, and presumably represent the traditions on which Apollodoros based his arithmetic. One emendation in the Apollodoros fragments is suggested: Fr. 68 says that Xenophanes was born in *Ol.* 40: the only year of this Olympiad appearing in the four series is 618, the year of Arion (Series II), but Eusebius has a Xenophanes entry in Series II at 555, and another in Series I at 540, this second in company with Simonides and Phokylides. The suggestion is therefore that for *Ol.* M we should read NA, and take 573 for the Apollodoran date of Xenophanes' birth: he would then be 27 when the Mede appeared, and 92 in 481.

It is, of course, not possible to say whether the three Archilochos dates appearing in Series I were all due to Apollodoros, but it is probable that at some stage they formed part of the biography of Archilochos as accepted in Apollodoros' school. Since 720-666 is 54 years, it seems likely that 666 represents the death of Archilochos in this view: the triple entry in Jerome may thus have originally referred to the death of Archilochos, the *akme* of Semonides, and the birth of Aristoxenos of Selinous.

TABLE OF APOLLODORAN LITERARY CHRONOGRAPHY

Series III	Series II	Series I	Series IV
			912 HOMER
	780	783 Arktinos	↑
	771	774 HESIOD d.	↑
		Arktinos	↑
1 {	767 Hesiod	765 Kinaithon	↑
	754 Antimachos	756	↑
		747 Thales	↓
	744 Eumelos		741
	Sibylla		732
			723
2 {	741	738	714
	728 Philolaos	729 Archilochos	705
	715	711 Herophile	
	708 Archilochos	702	
		693 Semonides	696
3 {	702	684 Archilochos	687 Hipponax
	689	675	678
	676 Karneia	666 ARCHILOCHOS	669
	699	Semonides	
	690	Aristoxenos	
	681	Herophile	
	672 Alkman		
	663 Zalcukos	657 Lesches	660
	654	Alkman	
4 {	645	648 Peisandros	651 Pittakos b.
	636	639 Terpandros	642
		Thales b.	
	627	630	633 Tyrtaios

	<i>Series III</i>	<i>Series II</i>	<i>Series I</i>	<i>Series IV</i>	
	624 HALES b.			624	
5	611 ANAXIMANDROS b.	618 Arion	621	615	
	PITTAKOS	609 Alkaios	612 Stesichoros	606 Pittakos and Phrynon	
	598	600 Sappho	603	597	
		Alkaios			
		591 Solon	594 Solon	588	
	585 THALES' AKME		585		
6	572 Seven sages	582	576 Anaximandros	579	583 PHEREKYDES
	Anaximandros?	573 XENOPHANES?	567 Eugammon	570 PITTAKOS d.	570
	559 Anaximenes	564 Aisopos	538 Simonides	561	
	Stesichoros d.	555 Stesichoros	549	552	557
		Xenophanes			
	546 THALES d.	546 ANAXIMENES			544 PHEREKYDES
		Theognis			
7		537	540 Pherekydes	543	
	533 Ibykos	528 ANAXIMENES d.	531 Anakreon	534	
		Pythagoras			
	520 Hekataios	519	522	525	
	Dionysios	510	513	516	
	Melanippides				
8	507		504 HERAKLEITOS	507	
			PARMENIDES		
			495		
			486		
			477 Aischylos		
	468 Sophokles and Euripides (Eus.)		468 ANAXAGORAS		
			441 PROTAGORAS		
			MELISSOS		
			432 HELLANIKOS		
			HERODOTUS		
			THUCYDIDES		

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PARMENIDES AND ER

The aim of this paper * is to explore the suggestion that Parmenides's poem, or at any rate some of it, has light to throw on the difficulties of the myth of Er in the *Republic*. Parmenides descends to the underworld as a shaman-poet in search of knowledge, Er goes there by the fortuitous circumstance of his death-like trance; but both *katabaseis* share a common setting, and in both the hero is shown a glimpse of the real shape and mechanism of the universe. In the case of Parmenides the exhibit is two-fold, both 'the unshakeable heart of rounded truth' and 'the opinions of men in which there is no true belief'. Interest has been mainly concentrated on the former, metaphysical, section, from which the greater part of our fragments derive; but the latter contained, in the system of *stephanai*, an account of the appearance of the universe, which is interesting, both on its own account and in view of the light it throws on the difficulties of Er's myth. I shall consider first (I) the setting of Parmenides's poem as it appears in the opening lines, then (II) propose an interpretation of the system of *stephanai*, and (III) seek support for some of its main features in the general tradition of cosmological speculation from Homer downwards. Finally (IV), I shall proceed to examine the myth of Er and offer an interpretation of some of its difficulties which will take account of this body of earlier thought.

I

'The mares that bear me carried me on as far as my heart desired, now that they had brought and set me on the famous road of the *daemon*, she who bears the man of knowledge throughout all cities.'¹

Parmenides's chariot is an excellent example of the symbolic conveyance of the poet-shaman, the means by which he acquires the knowledge he transmits. Such a chariot appears in Alcaeus, Empedocles, Pindar, and Bacchylides.² His mares are Parmenides's regular means of conveyance (ταῖ με φέρουσιν); and on this occasion they obeyed his wish and took him to the *daemon* who purveyed such knowledge as makes men famous.

'On that road was I borne; for on it the wise horses bore me pulling the chariot, and the maidens led the way.'

These maidens are presumably the daughters of the sun, whose appearance is mentioned in the next sentence.

'In the axle-boxes the axle-tree makes the noise of a pipe, growing hot (for with twin whirling wheels was it driven) when the daughters of the sun make haste to escort me, leaving the house of Night for the light and thrusting veils from their heads amain. These are the gates of the paths of Day and Night, and a lintel and a stone threshold are about them; but the gates are lofty³ and have great doors. Of these Dike of heavy requital keeps the alternating keys.'

The mention of the house of Night, and of 'the gates of the paths of Day and Night' with their threshold, enables us to identify the place as the familiar region of poetic tradition about the underworld. Hesiod in the *Theogony* (744 ff.), after telling of the Titans and of Tartarus in which they are imprisoned, and of Gyes, Cottus, and Obriareus who guard its gates, speaks of 'the awful house of murky Night wrapped in dark clouds'; and proceeds: 'In front of it, the son of Iapetus [Atlas] stands immovably, holding the wide heaven upon his head and unwearying hands, where Night and Day draw near and greet one another as they pass the great threshold of bronze: and while the one is about to go down into the house, the other comes out at the door. And the house never holds them both within.' The house of Hades and Persephone is there too. It is the region in the far west where the sun goes down. Atlas, we find,⁴ has associations with the Hesperides, who are daughters of Night and are said elsewhere in the *Theogony*⁵ to live 'beyond famous Ocean at the world's end near the dwelling of Night'. The space in front of Night's house, on which Atlas stands to hold up the heavens, may possibly have been regarded as still on the earth's surface; but the

* The draft now presented incorporates many suggestions made at and after the original reading of the paper to the Cambridge Philological Society. I am besides particularly indebted to Mr. H. D. P. Lee for his interest and criticisms.

¹ Parm. Diels-Kranz (hereafter DK) B 1. 1-3.

ἵπποι τὰ με φέρουσιν ὁσον τ' ἐπὶ θυγὸς ἰκάνει
πέμπον, ἐπεὶ μ' ἐς ὁδὸν βῆσαν πολύρρημον ἀγούσαι
δαίμονος, ἣ κατὰ πάντ' ἀσση φέρεῖ εἰδότα φῶτα.

I keep Sextus's reading δαίμονος. Stein and Wilamowitz read δαίμονες, and this is adopted by DK, but was rejected by Ritter and Preller. Although κούραι are later mentioned as guides, they have no place here, since they are described as emerging later from the house of Night to meet the poet. With the reading δαίμονος, furthermore, the antecedent of the relative

clause that follows becomes ὁδόν. Yet the road, on which the poet journeys, leads him in fact in just the opposite direction, not 'through the cities of men' but 'away from the beaten track of men' to his interview with *Dike*. We know in fact from Aetius and Simplicius that Parmenides spoke of a *daemon*, and Aetius says she was called *Dike* or *Ananke*.

² Alcaeus Fr. I (c) Lobel; Empedocles DK B 3; Pindar *Ol.* IX 80-1; *Isthm.* II 1-3; *ib.* VIII, 62; Bacch. V, 176.

³ This statement may be the motive for Proclus's attribution of the name Hypsipyle to the *daemon* (Parmenides 640, 39). Cf. *Phaedrus* 245 A: ἐπὶ ποσειδάωνος θύρας and *Od.* 24, 12: Ἠελίοιο πύλας.

⁴ See Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* 458, note 10.

⁵ 215 (beyond glorious Ocean), 274-5, the Gorgons live beyond glorious Ocean at the world's end hard by the house of Night, where are the clear voiced Hesperides.

entry to Night's house is a descent. Stesichorus,⁶ like Parmenides, places the daughters of the sun here as well: 'But the sun, the child of Hyperion, went upon a golden cup that he might pass by Ocean and come to the deeps of holy Night, to his mother and his lady wife and his children.' Mimnermus⁷ describes the sun as floating round in a golden cup, presumably on the stream of Ocean, from the Hesperides in the west to the Ethiopians in the east, where his chariot awaits him for a new day's journey across the heavens. Homer knew that the best way to get to Hades was by the stream of Ocean. Circe tells Odysseus⁸ to go in his ship across *Okeanos* to the groves of Persephone, beach his ship there, and go into 'the broad house of Hades'.

From these citations, which are not exhaustive, it seems tolerably clear that there was a traditional topography: and that Parmenides has used it. The poet is borne in his chariot to the ends of the earth, to the proper place for a *katabasis*. We should recall that *katabaseis*, e.g. at the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadeia,⁹ were a recognised method of obtaining a revelation of truth; that Epimenides claimed to have encountered *Aletheia* and *Dike* in the course of a dream which took place in a cave,¹⁰ caves being regarded in antiquity as entrances to the lower world.

On arrival at the traditional place the poet is met by the daughters of the sun who emerge from their proper dwelling, the house of Night, 'into the light', which is presumably the light of common day. They conduct him to the threshold of 'the gates of the paths of Night and Day'; but to gain admission to the lower world (i.e. the house of Night) they first persuade *Dike*, who has the alternating keys in her keeping. *Dike's* appearance here is of great interest, since it is an innovation in the traditional picture, and an innovation which has an important future. The motive for her introduction can be traced in the cosmological thought of Anaximander and Heraclitus. As keeper of the keys of Night and Day she presides over the diurnal order and exercises the regulating principle of justice in the adjustment of the one party's relations with the other. So Anaximander conceived the world order to be regulated,¹¹ and Heraclitus expressed a similar idea when he declared¹² that the sun 'will not overstep his measures; if he does, the Erinyes, handmaidens of *Dike*, will find him out.'

The maidens persuade *Dike* to unbar the door and bring the poet's chariot through. As the doors open a χάσμα ἀχανές is revealed, recalling the χάσμα μέγα of Hesiod (*Theog.* 740) in which are 'the sources and ends of gloomy earth and misty Tartarus', and the χάσματα at the judgement place in the myth of Er. Parmenides proceeds: 'And the goddess greeted me kindly and took my right hand in hers.' She addresses him as κοῦρος and declares that she will reveal to him 'every thing, both the unshakeable heart of rounded truth, and the opinions of men in which there is no true belief'.

The question of the identity of the goddess has been much discussed; but if we keep Sextus's reading in line 3 there can be little doubt. She must be the *daimon* who appears in fragment 12, is mentioned by Simplicius and Aetius, and named by the latter, 'Dike and Ananke'. It is possible that Aetius's uncertainty about the name reflects an uncertainty which we must feel in this passage, whether *Dike* is identical with the *daimon* or is a separate personification of a function attributed to the infernal powers. The question is not of great importance, but we may notice that this differentiation also occurs in the account of Epimenides's dream when he met 'Dike and Aletheia'. In Parmenides the *daimon* reveals cosmic truth. She lives in 'the house of Night', and is therefore probably Night herself, whose daughters, by what is probably the more primitive account in the *Theogony* (213 ff.), are the Fates, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, 'who give men at their birth both evil and good to have, and pursue the transgressions of men and of gods', resembling, in this respect, the Erinyes. By another account in the *Theogony* (901 ff.) Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos are daughters, by Zeus, of Themis, who is identified with Gaia by Aeschylus (*PV* 209 ff.), was the reputed occupant of the prophetic seat at Delphi before Apollo, and is thus very close to Parmenides's subterranean revealer of prescriptive order. Another probable identification is with Hestia, who in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 'sits in the middle of the house of Zeus', and whom Sophocles and Euripides identify with Gaia.¹³

II

Parmenides's *stephanai* are described in some detail by Aetius,¹⁴ who is probably reproducing Theophrastus, and, it will appear, condensing him often to the point of obscurity: 'Parmenides says that there are certain wreaths girdled about, one above the other. One is composed of the rare element' (i.e. light, fire) 'and the other of the dense element' (i.e. darkness, air, earth); 'and between these are others consisting of light and darkness mixed.'¹⁵ That which encloses them all is a solid

⁶ ap. Athen. XI 469 E.

⁷ ap. Athen. XI 470 A.

⁸ *Od.* 10, 508.

⁹ See Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, 224 ff.

¹⁰ DK B 1 *ad fin.*

¹¹ DK B 1.

¹² DK B 94.

¹³ 5, 30; cf. Orphic Hymn 74, 2; Sophocles Fr. 615 P (558 N); Eurip. Fr. 944 N.

¹⁴ II 7, 1: DK A37. στεφάνος είναι περιπελεγμέναις, ἐπαλλήλους, τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀραιοῦ, τὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πυκνοῦ· μακρὸς δὲ ἄλλος ἐκ φωτός καὶ σκοτίου μεταξὺ τούτων. καὶ τὸ περιέχον δὲ πάσας τέλους δίκην στερεὸν ὑπάρχειν, ὅφ' ὃ πυρώδης στεφάνη, καὶ τὸ μεσαίτατον πασσών (στερεόν), περὶ δὲ πάλιν πυρώδης [sc. στεφάνη]. τῶν δὲ συμμεγῶν τὴν μεσαίτην ἀπόσας (ἀρχήν) τι καὶ (αἰτίαν) κινήσεως

καὶ γενέσεως ὑπάρχειν, ἦντινα καὶ δαίμονα κυβερνήτην καὶ κληροῦχον ἱππονομάζει Δίκη τε καὶ Ἀνάγκη. καὶ τῆς μὲν γῆς ἀπόκρισιν εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα διὰ τὴν βιαιοτέρα αὐτῆς ἐξατμισθέντα πύλησιν, τοῦ δὲ πυρός ἀναπνοήν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὸν γαλαξίαν κύκλον. συμμεγῇ δ' ἐξ ἀμφοῖν εἶναι τὴν σελήνην, τοῦ τ' ἀέρος καὶ τοῦ πυρός. περιστάτους δ' ἀνωτάτω πάντων τοῦ αἰθέρος ὑπ' αὐτῷ τὸ πυρώδες ὑποταγῆναι, τοῦθ' ὅπερ κεκλήκαμεν οὐρανόν, ὅφ' ὃ ἦδη τὰ περίγεια.

¹⁵ For the identification in Parmenides of light = fire, darkness = earth, see DK A34 *ad fin.* Simplic. Phys. 25, 15: καὶ τῶν πεπερασμένων (sc. ἀρχῶν λεγόντων) οἱ μὲν δύο, ὡς Π. ἐν τοῖς πρὸς δύο, πῦρ καὶ γῆ ἢ μᾶλλον φῶς καὶ σκότος.

thing like a wall, below which is a wreath of fire, and that which is in the very middle of all the wreaths is a solid thing. About this ¹⁶ [central solid thing] again is a wreath of fire.'

Diels believed that the innermost firmament must be the earth; and, since there is manifestly no fiery ring round the earth, emended *περι δὲ* (which stands in need of emendation), drastically, to *ὕψ' ὧ*. Reinhardt ¹⁷ saw the error of this; but, in my opinion, falls into the no less serious mistake of identifying the *stephane* composed of the solid element with the firmament. Since there is an outer and inner firmament, he, too, did violence to the text by a large addition in the first sentence. But it seems inescapable that in Aetius's description the firmaments are quite distinct from the *stephanai*. Once this distinction is drawn, a very different picture from Reinhardt's emerges: and one which is not, like his, a mere theoretical construction bearing no relation to our *cosmos*; but a delineation, in terms of the Parmenidean opposites, of the earth, the heavens and 'the things under the earth'.

The *stephanai* are arranged 'one upon another' with a light, fiery *stephane*, and a dark, earthy (or airy) *stephane* enclosing a number of *stephanai* in which light and darkness (fire and earth/air) are mixed. Furthermore, there are two *stephanai* of fire, one inside an external bounding 'wall' and one outside an innermost central solid; and hence two groups of *stephanai* arranged in the way described in the first sentence. Reading from the outside inwards the order is:

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Outermost firmament (<i>stereon</i>) | |
| 2. Fiery <i>stephane</i> | |
| 3. A number of mixed <i>stephanai</i> | } Outer group of <i>stephanai</i> |
| 4. Dark <i>stephane</i> of earth and air | |
| 5. A number of mixed <i>stephanai</i> | |
| 6. Fiery <i>stephane</i> | } Inner group of <i>stephanai</i> |
| 7. Innermost firmament (<i>stereon</i>) | |

The mixed *stephanai* in the inner group (5) have not yet been mentioned. But it is they which are dealt with in the succeeding sentence, since it is the inner group, or rather the fiery *stephane* which belongs to it, that has just been spoken of. The sentence begins: 'but of the mixed (sc. *stephanai*) the nearest to the middle is to all the *stephanai* the <beginning> and <origin> of movement and becoming, which, even the *daimon* who guides and holds the lots,¹⁸ Parmenides names Dike and Ananke'. The text is corrupt, and two words have to be supplied: Diels's *ἀρχήν* and *αἰτίαν* seem unexceptionable, and are supported by Simplicius, who describes Parmenides's *daimon* as the 'origin of the gods'.¹⁹ But the corruption may not only extend to two missing words. As the text stands the *daimon* is, rather oddly, described as a *stephane*. The main picture, however, remains unaffected.

The account next turns to the actual visible components of the universe; and describes their relation to the scheme of *stephanai*.

'Now the air is thrown off the earth in the form of vapour owing to the violent pressure of the earth's condensation; and the sun and the Milky Way are the expiration of the fire.'

Here, as before, the extremes are taken first; but these extremes now appear in their proper meteorological guise. Earth represents *ἡ ἐκ τοῦ πυκνοῦ στεφάνη*, fire *ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ἀραιού στεφάνη*; the former produces air, the latter the sun and the Milky Way, by a kind of 'expiration'. Then we come to the mixed *stephanai*: 'Mixed out of both elements, the air' (which is a kind of earth) 'and the fire, is the moon'. He concludes with a summary which contains a reference to the outer firmament in its meteorological guise as *aither*, and the fiery *stephane* similarly as the *ouranos*.

'At the summit of all the *aither* stands about; and beneath it is placed that fiery thing which we have called *ouranos*, under which again are the things round the earth (e.g. possibly, *inter alia*, the moon).'

Aetius's account is over-condensed and not very logically set forth; but it contains, I believe, sufficient clues to enable us to reconstruct the main lines of Parmenides's system.

Fragment 12 at any rate fits very neatly into our reconstruction.²⁰ Simplicius quotes it (31, 10) to show that Parmenides offers an efficient cause not only of the material elements in creation, but of the immaterial elements that go to make it up. He provides no direct clue to the noun which should be supplied with *αἱ στεινότεραι* and *αἱ ἐπὶ ταῖς*; but we have little choice beyond *στέφαναι*. The translation will then run: 'the smaller *stephanai* are full of unmixed fire, those next above them are of night; but a portion of the flame runs with it. In the midst of these (sc. mixed *stephanai*) is the *daimon* who governs all. She rules all matters of hateful birth and marriage, sending the female to the male to mingle together and the male to the female.'

Simplicius elsewhere (34, 14) refers to Parmenides's *daimon* as 'she who is set in the midst of all

¹⁶ *περι δὲ* F; *περι ὧν* B. It seems reasonable with Kranz to regard B as a correction of the syntactically inexplicable *περι δὲ* of F; and to regard that reading as a result of telescoping *στερεόν* *περι δὲ*.

¹⁷ *Parmenides* pp. 10 ff.

¹⁸ I can see no reason for altering *κληρούχον* to *κληδοῦχον* in the fact that Dike, in the prologue, is said to have the keys of the gates of the paths of day and night.

¹⁹ *Simpl. Phys.* 39, 18: ταύτην καὶ θεῶν αἰτίαν εἶναι φησι λέγων

πρώτιστον μὲν Ἐρώτα θεῶν μητίσαστο πάντων.

²⁰ *Parmenides*, DK B 12.

αἱ γὰρ στεινότεραι πληντο πυρὸς ἀκρήτιστα, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς νυκτός, μετὰ δὲ φλογὸς ἵεται αἶσα· ἐν δὲ μέσῳ τούτων δαίμων ἡ πάντα κυβερνῇ· πάντα γὰρ <ἡ> στυγεράτο τόκου καὶ μήτῃς ἀρχαί· τίμπτουσ' ἀρσενὶ θήλῃ μίγην· τὸ τ' ἐναντίον αὐτῆς ἀρσενὶ θηλυτέρῃ.

and is the cause of all creation'. The phrase 'in the midst of all' must not, I think, be pressed too far. Aetius, probably representing Theophrastus, and Parmenides himself, seem to say quite clearly that the *daimon* is in the midst of, *i.e.* in a position next to, and nearer to the centre than, the mixed rings. She is to be placed between the mixed rings and the central fiery *stephane* which immediately surrounds the central firmament. Such a position could loosely be described as 'in the midst of all'.

What is, I think, particularly to be noted is that, in a description of the *stephanai* beneath the earth, αἱ στεννότεραι has a precise meaning. There were two kinds, and of these the smaller were the fiery *stephanai* round the central firmament. The use of the plural is of no great significance.

The picture we are able to form has one great weakness. We are left quite uncertain what was the shape of the outer firmament and what precise shapes could be described as *stephanai*. The outer firmament is described as 'like a wall', but we are given no further clues, and must turn to the external evidence of previous and contemporary cosmological thought.

III

Homer saw the heavens as a solid vault made of bronze²¹ or iron.²² This vault is ringed or wreathed with 'signs' (*i.e.* presumably, constellations). The earth is a flat disc surrounded by the stream of Ocean, which is ἀπόρροος (*i.e.* a complete circle) and from which the majority of the stars rise. Hades is reached by crossing Ocean, and going downwards.²³

Hesiod²⁴ provides more details of the lower world. Beneath the earth is first the house of Hades and then Tartarus with gates, a bronze threshold at the top, and a floor beneath. Around its 'neck' is a triple coil of night. It is, further, fenced about with bronze. This great *chasma*, as the successor of prime *chaos*, is a reservoir containing the 'sources and ends' of everything: 'dark earth, misty (ἡρόεις) Tartarus, the . . . sea and the starry heaven'. The distance from Hades to the bottom of Tartarus is the same as that from earth to the height of heaven.

If it is legitimate to attribute a common picture to Homer and Hesiod, we can construct a symmetrical and roughly spherical world, in which the bronze vault of heaven is balanced by a bronze jar, with a neck, which is Tartarus. Earth with its girdle of Ocean separates the two. This symmetrical picture neglects the observable fact that the celestial pole and the zenith of heaven are not in fact identical and that the circular revolution of the heavenly bodies, suggested by the metaphor of the wreaths or rings, brings them, in actual fact, beneath the earth. The later poetic tradition²⁵ gets over this difficulty by supposing the sun to be carried round from west to east at the extremities of the world by the stream of Ocean; but it is a difficulty that becomes of cardinal importance to the 'scientific' cosmologists.

When, about fifty years later than Mimnermus, Thales began the Milesian tradition of explaining the world in common terms, he appears to have said that the earth floated upon water like a piece of wood, and that the motion of the water was the cause of earthquakes.²⁶ This is probably little more than an interpretation of the idea that lies behind Poseidon's epithets of γαίηχος and ἐννοσίγαιος in Homer. Anaximander supposed that the earth floated freely 'because of its equal distance from everything', that it was of a shape described as γυρός, στρογγύλος and like a column-stone (κίονι λίθω παραπλήσιον), with two surfaces, on one of which we stand.²⁷ We also learn, probably from Theophrastus,²⁸ that his earth was cylindrical in shape, a third as deep as it is wide, and, probably from Dercyllidas,²⁹ that the axis of its revolution was the centre of the *cosmos*. The sun, moon, and stars were concentric rings (κύκλοι) revolving like wheel-tires obliquely to the plane of the earth's surface and at precisely determined distances from each other. They are the outcome, in the process whereby our world came into existence, of the breaking up of an original sphere of flame.³⁰ In spite of his description of this sphere of flame growing round the circumterrestrial air, like the bark round a tree, it appears that he has given up the traditional solid periphery; but in general Anaximander is not very far from Homer and Hesiod. He has boldly faced certain problems which the poetical tradition was content to ignore. In the first place he states that the system need not rest on anything; being centripetal, it remains where it is. The earth, like the heavenly κύκλοι, revolves round a centre, the difference between it and them being that it is a solid ring, *i.e.* a disc, whereas they are hollow. The centre of the earth's solid ring is the centre of the universe. The obliquity of the orbits of the heavenly bodies to the plane of the earth's surface is frankly accepted, but the difficulty of reconciling such obliquity with a Tartarus of traditional form was presumably overcome by setting those orbits remote from the earth. His account, if he gave one, of τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς is unrecorded.

²¹ *Od.* 3, 2; *Il.* 5, 504; 17, 425.

²² *Od.* 15, 329.

²³ *Il.* 18, 485, *cf.* *Hes. Th.* 382; 18, 399; *Od.* 20, 65; 10, 508.

²⁴ *Theog.* 713 ff.

²⁵ Aristotle *Metaphysics*, A3, 983 G6, *de Caelo* B 13 294 a 28.

DK A12, A14. See diagram (a) p. 63.

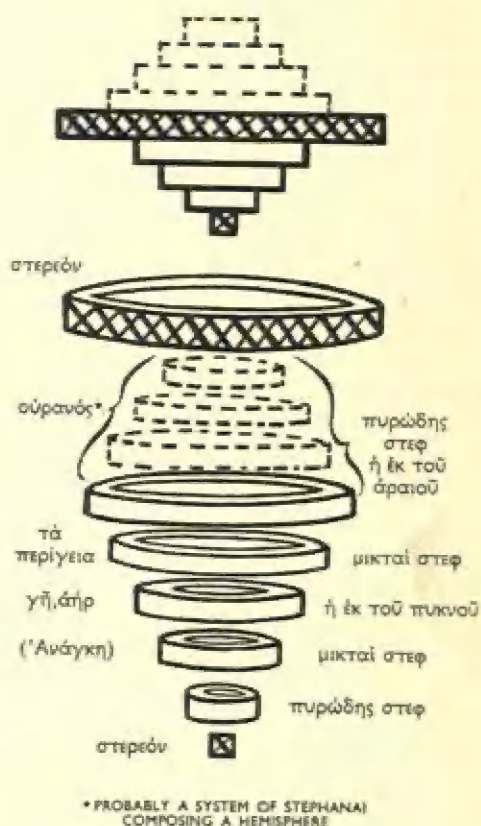
²⁶ Hippolytus *Ref.* I 6, 3; DK A11, *cf.* *Aet.* III, 10, 2; DK A25.

²⁷ [Plut.] *Strom.* 2; DK A10.

²⁸ Theo. Smyrn. p. 198, 18 Hill; DK A26 *ad fin.*

²⁹ Aetius II, 15, 6; 20, 1; 21, 1; 25, 1; DK A18, 21, 22. Plut. *Strom.* 2, DK A10. Like wheel-tires; *Achill. Is.* 19 and *Aet.* II, 20, 1; DK A21. In view of their origin it seems likely that the stars' *kukloi* formed a hemispherical system.

(b) PARMENIDES'S STEPHANAI



Anaximenes described his outer heaven as τὸ κρυστολλοειδές, a solid crystal, cap-like hemisphere in which the stars were fixed 'like nails'.³⁵ Burnet³⁶ rejected Aetius's evidence to this effect on the ground that the image of a heaven revolving round the earth like a cap is inconsistent with the notion of a celestial sphere. But there is no reason to believe that the *ouranos*, conceived since Homer as a vault 'wreathed' with the orbits of the heavenly bodies, had ever been regarded as more than hemispherical. It is true that Anaximander seems to have believed that part of this hemisphere dipped below the earth's plane; but that anomaly was righted by Anaximenes in the

²⁴ E.Gr.Ph. 3, p. 77.

conception of a tilted earth. Anaximenes, like Homer, would have envisaged the *cosmos* as roughly spherical, with a hemispherical region below the earth corresponding to the upper hemispherical *ouranos*. Similarly, in the next century Empedocles seems to have envisaged an egg-shaped universe; but his earth, like Anaximenes's, is a tilted lozenge, and his heaven a solid, crystal, outermost hemisphere to which the stars are attached.³⁷ Made of *aither*, like Parmenides's *stereon*, it holds together the whole κύκλος or revolving universe.³⁸ Beneath the crystal vault are two further hemispheres, one of fire and one of air, which have a part to play in Empedocles's complicated theory of the double sun. Empedocles's surviving fragments contain two references to τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς: he said (DK B 52) that 'many fires burn beneath the earth', and (DK B 54) that '*aither* went down beneath the earth with deep roots'.

The wide field of cosmological thought which we have been considering presents what is virtually a common view of the world. It would be surprising if the main lines of Parmenides's picture were not in substantial agreement. We shall find that our account of his system shows such agreement and that the main innovations are in the underworld, on which we have no detailed descriptions later than Hesiod.

The first point on which we may observe Parmenides's agreement is the firmament. We may note that in Aetius's summary³⁹ of the system of *stephanai* it is not this *stereon* that is called the *ouranos*, but the fiery *stephane* that is immediately below it. The point is immaterial; and may, in fact, go back no farther than Aetius. The fiery *stephane* of Parmenides corresponds to the fiery hemisphere of Empedocles, and the air 'which is thrown off the earth' corresponds to Empedocles's hemisphere of air. In every system of cosmological thought we have examined the earth has been a circular, lozenge-shaped, solid body, and it would be very surprising if Parmenides's earthy *stephane* was anything different. But Burnet,⁴⁰ on the basis of two passages which we shall consider, believes that Parmenides had adopted the so-called Pythagorean doctrine of the sphericity of the earth. The two passages come from Diogenes Laertius: ⁴¹ in the first (IX 21) it is stated that 'Parmenides proved that the earth was spherical and was at the centre of the universe'; in the second (VIII 48) the tradition is given that 'Pythagoras first called the heaven *cosmos* and the earth round, or as Theophrastus said, Parmenides did so'. It is true that Socrates in the *Phaedo*⁴² states that when he was younger he had looked to Anaxagoras to solve the problem whether the earth was flat or στρογγύλη, a word which, though ambiguous, in this context must mean 'spherical'. But, before attributing this latter doctrine to the early Pythagorean society, or to Parmenides, on the basis of the two passages quoted, we should give consideration to the following points:

(1) That στρογγύλος can mean circular as well as spherical; and that when Theophrastus said that Parmenides first called the earth στρογγύλη he may have been meaning nothing more than circular, and have been misinterpreted by the excerptor.

(2) That Diogenes also records a tradition that Anaximander's earth was σφαίροειδής, while we know perfectly well that it was circular, not spherical.

(3) That Diogenes's use of the phrase 'Parmenides proved' suggests the arguments of the Way of Truth, and may indicate that our authority confused with the earth the 'one being', which was spherical, and was proved to be so by hard logic.

I am certainly not prepared, on this uncertain evidence, to throw over the interpretation of Parmenides's system of *stephanai*, which on other grounds has seemed plausible, and which would be destroyed if in it the earth was spherical. Further, I find it very difficult to believe that if the doctrine of the sphericity of the earth had belonged to the Pythagorean society, and Parmenides had derived it from them, Empedocles would not also have either adopted it or argued against it.

If, then, Parmenides's earth is lozenge-shaped in accordance with the universal tradition, it can only have been described as a *stephane* by an extension of the normal meaning of the word. But such an extension is not difficult. As Anaximander's drum-shaped earth was a solid *kuklos*, so Parmenides's earth is a solid *stephane* and his air is presumably another solid *stephane*. The heavenly *stephanai* were hollow rings of varying breadth accounting for the orbits of the heavenly bodies. As in Anaximander's system of *kukloi*, Parmenides's *stephanai* progressively diminished in radius from the outer fiery *stephane* to the *stephane* of the earth; and when we turn to the *stephanai* beneath the earth we shall find the process continued. In Aetius's description the surrounding *stereon* is described as the 'highest' and the fiery *stephane* is immediately 'beneath' it. At the other extreme there is a *stereon* which is 'midmost' of all the *stephanai*. It is legitimate to infer that since the former is outermost and highest the latter is innermost and lowest. Furthermore, since the outer *stereon* is, like Empedocles's firmament (*steremnon*), composed of *aither*, it is reasonable to suppose that the inner

³⁷ Aet. II 31, 4; DK A50 the *cosmos* egg-shaped; Aet. II 8, 2: DK A58 the inclination. Such an inclination can only occur to a plane surface. Diog. Laert. VIII, 77: DK A2 τὸν οὐρανὸν κρυσταλλοειδῆ; Aet. II 11, 2: DK A51: σφαίριον εἶναι τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐξ αἰθέρος συμπληγόντος ὑπὸ πυρὸς κρυσταλλοειδῶς τὸ πυρὸς καὶ τὸ αἰθέρος ἐν κεντρῷ τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων περιέχοντα. For the double sun see Aet. II 20, 13: DK A56.

³⁸ DK B38 αἰθήρ σφίγγων περὶ κύκλον ἅπαντα.

³⁹ See note 14 *ad fin.*

⁴⁰ E.G.Ph.³ p. 190 and note 1.

⁴¹ IX. 21: πρῶτος δ' αὐτὸς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφηνε σφαίροειδῆ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κείσθαι: VIII 48 (Pythagoras) ἀλλὰ μὲν καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν πρῶτον ὀνομάσαι κόσμον καὶ τὴν γῆν στρογγύλην, ὡς οἱ Θεόφραστος, Παρμενίδης.

⁴² 97 D.

stereon was composed of *aither* too; and to recall, as a parallel, the *aither*, which in Empedocles's system 'went down beneath the earth with deep roots'.⁴³ Around the innermost *stereon* is a *stephane* of fire. Infernal illumination is a feature of the description of the underworld in Pindar's dirge;⁴⁴ and in his 2nd Olympian⁴⁵ the good are said to have the sun by night as well as by day. Similarly, as we have seen, Empedocles speaks of 'fires burning beneath the earth'. But it is the later Pythagoreans in whose systems the central fire is first well attested; and we may observe with interest that with them this central fire displays many of the characteristics of Parmenides's *daimon*. Commenting on the doctrine of the central fire mentioned by Aristotle in the *de caelo*,⁴⁶ Simplicius says that 'the Pythagoreans who held the more genuine doctrines regard the central fire as the creative force (δημιουργική) which from the centre causes the generation of creatures throughout the whole earth, which is the reason why some call it "the tower of Zeus", as Aristotle says in the *Pythagorica*, some "the guard house of Zeus", some "the throne of Zeus".' These latter names suggest the description as 'the tower of Cronos' of the brilliantly illuminated home of the blessed in Pindar's second Olympian.⁴⁷ Philolaus's⁴⁸ cosmological system is different from Parmenides's in as much as he has a number of concentric spheres rather than *stephanai*, a step dependent upon the abandonment of the lozenge-shaped earth in favour of a spherical earth such as we find in the *Phaedo*; but his central fire is described in what we may now be justified in calling traditional terms. Aetius says that he called it 'the hearth of the whole, the house of Zeus, the mother of the gods, the altar, the focal point (συνοχή) and measure of nature'. We have seen⁴⁹ that the subterranean goddess was probably to be identified with Gaia, the mother of the gods, and with Hestia. Philolaus's names recall these personifications. Hestia, in Plato's *Phaedrus* (247a), alone remains in 'the house of the gods' and does not share in the procession across the heavens. We may be safe in attributing to Plato the belief that 'the gods' house' was that which contained the central hearth of the universe. In Euripides (Fr 944 N) we find an address to 'mother Gaia: but learned mortals call you Hestia seated in (or at?) the *aither* (ἡμένην ἐν αἰθέρι)'. It is possible that this last phrase refers to the idea of a central *stereon* of hard *aither* such as we find in Parmenides.

An interesting point is that in Philolaus's system, as in Parmenides, there was a corresponding fire which surrounded the whole universe (καὶ πάλιν πῦρ ἕτερον ἀνωτάτω τὸ περιέχον). Parmenides's three different elements, the central *stereon*, the fire surrounding it, and the *daimon* seem to have coalesced in this late Pythagorean thought; but in one statement which Stobaeus appears to connect with Philolaus⁵⁰ the central *stereon* can be discerned: 'in the midmost fire is the leading element (τὸ ἡγεμονικόν) which the creator god laid down as a keel for the sphere of the whole', though the metaphor of the keel is much more suitable for the Parmenidean system of *stephanai*, where it really was at the bottom. We may finally quote in this connexion a remark of Anatolius⁵¹: 'the school of Empedocles and Parmenides and practically the majority of the ancient *sophoi* follow the Pythagoreans in believing in a kind of ἐναδικὸς διάπυρος κύβος, which is in the middle of creation: as Homer said τόσσον ἔνερθ' Αἰδᾶο ὅσον οὐρανὸς ἔστ' ἀπὸ γαίης'. Here it is not clear whether the author is thinking of the earlier cosmos of *stephanai* or the later cosmos of spheres. But it seems that the features of the earlier tradition were easily transferred to the new conception. An excellent example of such transference is the adaptation of the traditional underworld to a spherical earth by Plato in the *Phaedo*.

We should observe, in conclusion, that Parmenides's general scheme (see diagram (b)) whereby an upper firmament and system of elementary masses in rings is repeated below the earth is only another and more precise form of the Hesiodic picture in which the lower world, like the upper, has its firmament of bronze, and holds a reservoir of the elementary masses. Further, Hesiod's good Eris (*Works and Days* 16 ff.), who is the elder daughter of Night and is set by Zeus 'at the roots of the earth', has a power of living creatures similar to Ananke's in Parmenides. She 'turns even the shiftless to toil', by causing emulation between the like, an activity complementary to Ananke's power of bringing the unlike together.

IV

We may now turn to the myth of Er (Plato, *Rep.* X, 614b f.) and the picture of the universe it presents. The cosmological tradition to which the previous sections of this paper have been devoted will be before our minds; but we shall also reflect that Plato, in the *Gorgias*, and *Phaedo* had, probably already before the *Republic* was finished, given accounts of the lower world and, in the case of the *Phaedo*, of the universe. The picture of the lower world in the *Gorgias*⁵² is quite traditional; but in the *Phaedo*⁵³ he had adopted the theory of a spherical earth, which probably also implies Philolaus's doctrine of a universe of concentric spheres. And not much later, in the *Phaedrus*,⁵⁴ describing the fate of the souls in the next world, he will tell how they follow the general revolution of the universe in the train of the gods, and in the course of the journey catch sight of the Forms in greater or lesser

⁴³ DK A54. ⁴⁴ Frg. 129, 130.

⁴⁵ B13. 293 at 8 f.: DK 58 B37.

⁴⁶ 70.

⁴⁷ See above p. 60.

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⁴⁸ 61 ff.

⁴⁹ B12, A16.

⁵⁰ Aet. II 4, 15: Stob. 1, 21, 6d: DK A17.

⁵¹ p. 30 Heiberg: DK 28 A44.

⁵² 524 A.

⁵³ 108c ff.

⁵⁴ 250 B.

degree. We shall find in the myth of Er the traditional infernal landscape, and in the picture of the universe nothing to suggest that he is again regarding the earth as spherical.

Er 'once upon a time was killed in battle; but, when after ten days the dead were taken up already in a state of decay, he was taken up sound. They carried him home and, two days later, were just going to bury him when he came to life again as he lay on the pyre. He recovered and told them his experiences in the other world.' His soul went with many others to a *daimonios topos* where there were two openings in the earth near each other and two corresponding openings in the sky. Between the two pairs of openings sat judges who sent the just to the right upwards διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, and the unjust to the left downwards. Er saw souls returning from below and from above, and meeting joyfully in the meadows, while the wicked whose penance was as yet insufficient were sent below once more.

A plate from Thurii deriving from the end of the fourth century B.C.⁵⁵ has an inscription addressed to the soul of a dead man which concludes: 'hail, hail to thee journeying the right-hand road by holy meadows and groves of Persephone'. This geography has clear affiliations with the myth of Er, and serves to link the latter with the traditional landscape. Odysseus passes on his way to the house of Hades by the groves of Persephone.⁵⁶ Here, we know from Hesiod, is the entrance to the great *chasma* of Tartarus, and we have seen that Parmenides, speaking of the same locality, mentions the wide *chasma* which is made when the doors open which lead to the goddess's presence. Plato's χάσματα are more elaborate, but quite in the tradition. In the *Gorgias* (524A) Minos and Rhadamanthys give sentence 'in the meadow at the dividing of the road, where are the two ways leading, one to the isles of the Blest and the other to Tartarus'.⁵⁷ But in the *Republic* the route to the isles of the Blest is replaced by the χάσματα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, through one of which they go up 'full of dirt and dust', and through the other they come down from the *ouranos* clean and purified, having had wonderful experiences and seen sights of inexpressible beauty (615A). It seems certain that Plato here has in mind something like the procession of souls which he describes so vividly in the *Phaedrus*; and if this is so, the route διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ must be the route, not through, but by or over the heavens.

When the souls who have returned from their journeyings in either realm have spent seven days in the meadow, they get up on the eighth day and depart. 'Three days later they arrived at a place from which they could see ἀνωθεν διὰ παντός τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς τεταμένον a straight light, like a pillar, but resembling the rainbow most of all, only brighter and purer.'

The first problem of interpretation concerns ἀνωθεν. Should it be taken with τεταμένον or with καθορᾶν? The parallel of *Phaedo* (110b) where the earth, εἰ τις ἀνωθεν θεῶτο, is said to resemble a sphere made out of twelve panels, is striking, and suggests that ἀνωθεν is a normal word for a 'bird's-eye view'. The description of the universe there is essentially an external appreciation of what we normally look at from inside; but there is no indication in the *Republic* that the souls reach such an elevation in the journey described. I am inclined therefore to feel that ἀνωθεν should be taken with τεταμένον.

The next, and major, problem concerns the subsequent phrase: διὰ παντός τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς τεταμένον. The regular translation is: 'stretched through the whole heaven and earth', i.e. as an axis. The main objection I have to this interpretation is that, as far as I know, the axis of the universe is never described as 'a straight light' either before or after Plato, or elsewhere in his works, and that there is nothing in physical nature to suggest an axis of light for the universe. The alternative translation, on the other hand, 'from whence they could see from above a straight light stretched over the whole heaven and earth', is equally acceptable grammatically,⁵⁸ and has the advantages the other interpretation lacks. The 'milky way' is a feature of the visible universe that might suggest such a straight light crossing the heavens. Although in Parmenides, Empedocles, and Philolaus the outer *aither* performs the task, in the next sentence ascribed to the 'straight light', of keeping together the whole revolution, that crystalline wall or shell can hardly be claimed as a precedent for the light; but we find in two Orphic texts⁵⁹ a diagrammatic description of the forces holding the universe together which seems to have a bearing on Er's picture. In this description there is the surrounding envelope of *aither* in the first place, and, in the second, a 'golden loop' ⁶⁰ attached to the *aither* which Proclus describes as a supporting band holding together the 'strong bond' of *aither*. This 'golden loop' seems to bear the same relationship to the envelope of *aither* as the 'straight light'

⁵⁵ See Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, p. 173.

⁵⁶ *Od.* 10. 509; cf. 11. 22.

⁵⁷ See *Od.* 4. 563 ff. for 'the Elysian plain where is fair-headed Rhadamanthus'; and *Od.* 11. 539 and 24. 13 for 'the meadow of asphodel where the dead dwell'.

⁵⁸ Cf. (e.g.) Xen. *Hell.* VII, iv, 22, where διὰ τοῦ λόφου means 'over the hill'.

⁵⁹ Kern. O.F. 165. Procl. in Plat. *Tim.* I, 28 C. Zeus addresses Night: πῶς δὲ μοι ἐν τε τὰ παντ' ἔσται καὶ χωρὶς ἑκαστον;

Night replies:

αἰθέρι πάντα πίριξ ὀφάτω λάβει, τῷ δὲ ἐνὶ μέσῳ οὐρανόν, ἐν δὲ τε γαίαν ἀπείριτον, ἐν δὲ θαλάσσαν, ἐν δὲ τὰ τέσσαρα πάντα τὰ τ' οὐρανός ἐστι φέρονται.

166. *Id. ib.* 31 C. Proclus, commenting on the *analogia*, or numerical proportion with which Plato in the *Timaeus* binds together the two elements of fire and earth in the world's body, observes: καὶ αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὁ κρατερὸς δεσμός, ὡς φησὶν ὁ θεολόγος, διὰ πασίων τεταμένος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς χρυσεῖς σειρᾶς συνεχόμενος ἐπ' αὐτῷ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς τὴν χρυσεὴν ὑφίστηται σειρὰν κατὰ τὰς ὑποθήκας τῆς Νυκτός:

αὐτὰρ ἐπὶν δεσμὸν κρατερὸν περὶ πάντα πανύσης σειρὴν χρυσαίην ἐξ αἰθέρος ἀρτήσαντα . . .

⁶⁰ Cf., of course, the folk tale in *H.* VIII, 18 ff., which may be an attempt to explain the Milky Way.

does to Er's universe. It may be noted that Proclus also describes the envelope of *aither* as διὰ πάντων τεταμένος, i.e. 'stretched over the whole universe', as the text he is explaining makes clear (περὶ πάντα τανύσσης).

Finally, could such a band of light be described as 'straight, like a pillar, but resembling the rainbow most of all, only brighter and purer'? The epithet 'straight' presents no difficulty, since it could clearly be used of a band which travelled in a straight line across the heavens. The comparison to a pillar is more difficult, since we expect pillars to be vertical; but such a light as it rises from horizon to the summit of the sky has a pillar-like quality. I cannot help feeling that to Plato both the epithet 'straight' and the image of the pillar are successively rejected as inadequate. When he concludes by saying that it 'resembles the rainbow most of all (μάλιστα)' it is difficult not to take him at his word and regard him as deliberately and unambiguously overriding the earlier descriptions by one which appeals to him as more strictly accurate. Except, he seems to me to say, for its consistency (its brightness and purity), it is *just* like a rainbow, *more* like a rainbow than anything else. If my feeling is right, then the 'straight light' can only be a bow spanning the heavens; and cannot be an axis of the universe, an element lacking in the traditional picture.

Er continues: 'they arrived at this light after a day's journey, and saw there in the middle of the light, stretched from heaven, the ends of the bonds of it (i.e. of the heaven).⁶¹ For this light is the constricting bond of heaven, like the *hypozomata* of triremes, thus keeping together the whole revolution; and from the ends the spindle of Ananke is attached, by means of which all the revolutions are turned. The spindle's shaft and hook are of adamant; but the whorl is of mixed material, adamant and other things.' Er then particularises. The whorl is really a nest of eight whorls, each, except for the middle one which is solid, hollowed out and having a lip of differing thickness. The whorls represent the orbits of the fixed stars, the five planets, and the sun and moon. The whole spindle is revolved upon 'the knees of Ananke', who sits surrounded by her three daughters, the Fates, each contributing, from time to time, impetus to the whorls' revolution. From one of them, Lachesis, the journeying souls receive 'examples of lives', and choose their own for the next reincarnation. In the evening, after experiencing 'heat and terrible thirst' in a journey through a desert, they reach the water of Lethe, and at midnight, with thunder and lightning, 'they are carried up, this way and that, to their birth, like shooting stars'.

If the light is a bow spanning the heavens, its middle, to which the souls come, must be the zenith. From there hang 'the ends of the heavens' bonds', that is to say, the ends of the light which like a piece of string 'holds together the whole revolution'. It is now clear that this light is not a bow, but a loop; and not a continuous loop, but one which has ends which are introduced within the *ouranos* at the zenith. These ends hang down from the zenith and are attached to the hook of a spindle.

The journey now being described is, it seems, the sun's old route from west to east, and, as with the sun's journey, there seems to be no certainty whether the road is on or beneath the earth. At the meadow of judgment there were *chasmata* in the *heaven* and in the *earth*. The souls reach a place from which they can see the light spanning *earth* and *heaven*, they pass through scorching deserts, yet they drink of Lethe and go *upwards* to their birth.

The span of light is undoubtedly a feature of the actual universe. What status of reality does the spindle and its concentric whorls possess? Do the souls see the whole actual universe in the shape of this image? Or is it, as Cornford thought, a model? An insuperable difficulty in the former interpretation lies in the omission of the earth from the system of whorls. The sudden change of scale is no less difficult to accept. But if it is a model, why does Plato attach the spindle to the actual universe? And how can it be the means by which the revolutions of the actual universe are turned? The answer to these questions lies, I believe, in the tradition represented by Parmenides's Ananke, who sat at the centre of the universe, who 'governed all', and exercised a powerful compulsion over living creatures, being described generally as the source of movement and becoming.⁶² In Plato Ananke sits immediately beneath the zenith; and, while her daughters give lots to living creatures, she turns her spindle which is connected to the ends of heaven's bonds at the zenith. Through the varied movements of her spindle's whorls she causes the various movements of the heavenly bodies, her power only seeming more mysterious than Parmenides's Ananke or Hesiod's Eris because it is represented in a pseudo-mechanical way.

To illustrate the loop of light which at the same time surrounds the universe on the outside and is introduced within it to be attached to its axis, Plato employs the comparison of a trireme's *hypozomata*. The lists of naval inscriptions which cover forty years in the middle of the fourth century include *hypozomata* as a regular item of a warship's rope-tackle (σκεύη κρεμαστά).⁶³ Ships in the dockyard are classed as 'girded' or 'ungirded'. Such ropes as a regular fitting can only have had a structural purpose, and cannot have been similar in function to those that were employed in St Paul's shipwreck to meet an emergency. An inscription⁶⁴ shows that they were

⁶¹ The displacement of the words ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ seems to make this clear.

⁶² Cf. Empedocles's *Philotes*, who sits at the centre of the revolution during her period of ascendancy and creates mortal

creatures by mixing the elements (DK B35).

⁶³ For refs. see Land S. 1.1.

⁶⁴ IG II² 1649.

among the heavy ropes and classed with anchor cables. The weight of four of them ⁶⁵ suggests that they were of a length to pass round the ship from stem to stern. Large ropes regularly fitted round the hull underneath would have been a serious hindrance to a ship's speed; and there is in fact no kind of evidence for such a fitting on Greek warships.

The literary evidence is not unhelpful. Plato, in the *Laws* (495c), speaks of *hypozomata* in such a way as to make clear their function as tensions essential to the ship's safety. More detailed is the account of the guiding of the Argo in Apollonius Rhodius (I, 367 ff.)

νῆα δ' ἐπικρατέως Ἄργου ὑποθημοσύνησιν
ἔζωσαν πάμπρωτον εὐστρεφεῖ ἐνδοθεν ὄπλῳ
τεινόμενος ἑκάτερθεν.

'They girded the ship with might and main, putting a tension on each side with a well-twisted rope from within.' The rope was clearly made as tight as possible. So much is already clear from the *Laws*. Tension was all-important; and, if its function was structural, a slack rope would be useless. But to keep tight a rope that is continually getting wet and drying again requires a device for adjusting the length. In the case of the Argo tension seems to have been put on the rope in the first place by means of a 'well-twisted rope from within'. Although it is difficult to decide whether the epithet 'well-twisted' merely describes the common nature of rope or has a special meaning in the context, I am inclined to believe that it has a special meaning here; and that the tension was contrived by leading the ends of the rope inside the ship at bow or stern and twisting them together. The twisting device would then consist of a ropemaker's wheel fixed centrally in the ship and equipped with a ratchet. But, however we take εὐστρεφεῖ, the words must mean that tension was applied from within the ship (ἐνδοθεν).

If I have interpreted Apollonius correctly, two points emerge: (1) that the comparison of the *hypozoma*, so obscure to us, would have effectively enlightened a Greek reader, since it presented the image of a girdle, which was not continuous, but had ends introduced within the object girdled and there made fast, probably to a twisting device employed to adjust the tension. (2) the connexion of the image of the band of light with the image of the spindle is inherent in the comparison of the *hypozoma*. The spindle occupies the position of the twisting device, and resembles it in form and function closely, but not, of course, exactly.

J. S. MORRISON

⁶⁵ *JG* II² 1479 B.

THE FUTURE OF STUDIES IN THE FIELD OF HELLENISTIC POETRY

WHEN the Chairman of Council asked me to read a paper at the Jubilee Meeting of the Classical Association, I felt highly honoured by this kind invitation. Twice before I have enjoyed the privilege of reading papers at General Meetings of the Association during the last war, when I had been most hospitably received in this country and had found a new home at Oxford. I confess I still feel quite at home here, and it gives me enormous pleasure to come over from Munich and to speak to you once more; so I am deeply grateful to you for giving me this opportunity.

But I think I owe you at least one word of explanation for the strange title of this lecture. The Chairman of Council said in his letter 'that although one lecture should be given on the history of the Classical Association, the other papers should look forward rather than backward'. Now, I had been doing some work on a Hellenistic poet myself, especially during the years at Oxford; as far as I am concerned, I have finished with studies in that province of learning. At the end of the preface of Callimachus, Volume II, I expressly said that what I offered was only the beginning of Callimachean studies: 'Studiorum Callimacheorum nihil nisi initia offero; ad ulteriora pervestiganda eruditus magna patet area'—for further investigations a vast area is open to scholars—I meant to other scholars, for whose future work I hope to have provided some useful tools. But when I considered Professor Webster's suggestion that papers to be read at this meeting should if possible 'look forward', it occurred to me that, after all, I myself might try to say a word or two about the possibility and desirability of such further investigations. So I proposed as the title of my lecture: 'The Future of Studies in the Field of Hellenistic Poetry'. I have not the slightest ambition either of becoming a prophet or of organising a Society for the Promotion of Hellenistic Studies. There will be, I am afraid, no more than some rather casual and personal hints in this paper.

It is only natural that Greek post-classical literature is less frequently treated in universities and schools and is far less known to the general public than the great works of the pre-classical and classical ages. A very generous reviewer of Callimachus, Volume I, in *The Times Literary Supplement* in 1950 expressed the opinion: 'it will be a pity if these papyrological discoveries of Hellenistic poetry are confined too much to the University graduate. Students should be encouraged in the higher forms of schools to take the broadest possible sweeps through Greek literature, and a selection of Callimachean poems would be desirable.' I can only hope that this is not mere wishful thinking. Very lively researches were made in this field by scholars of the last two generations; as a contribution to the Jubilee Essays of this Association, the Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, wrote a penetrating article on this subject, and he very kindly allowed me to read through his typescript—a great help which I gratefully acknowledge. It would be indeed a desirable result and a sort of reward for much painstaking labour, if the chief works of later Greek poetry were more widely known and were one day to please and instruct the modern reader. At the moment we certainly have not come as far as this. There are old, inveterate prejudices, and it may be very hard to overcome them.

Let us look back at the study of Hellenistic Poetry and its appreciation in the past, and pick out a few characteristic examples. At the end of the fifteenth century the first western scholar who could rival the eastern immigrants in the knowledge of the Greek language was Politian, Angelo Poliziano. Starting from Latin poetry, Catullus, Virgil, Ovid, he tried to get acquainted with their Greek models, Theocritus, Callimachus, the epigrammatists of the Anthology. He roused the interest of his Florentine circle in collecting and copying the manuscripts of these poets; he translated some of their poems into Latin, he made the first attempt at reconstructing famous lost poems from quotations and imitations, Callimachus' epic poem *Hecale* and the elegiac *Lock of Berenice*. He was probably the first Italian scholar to lecture on Theocritus in Florence. But beyond all that, Politian was, I should say, a kindred soul; he was a genuine poet and a productive scholar himself who could change and mould all his learning into forms of poetical beauty. Hence he was able to understand and to appreciate the ancient *poetae docti*, who first had created that new kind of learned poetry. The figure of the scholar poet, the fact of the coincidence of poetry and scholarship is, as you all know, the feature of the Hellenistic age. But the question is what does it really mean. To this eternal problem, we shall come back presently. A second characteristic example of appreciation of Hellenistic poetry after Politian belongs to the beginning of the seventeenth century: Joseph Justus Scaliger said in a letter of the year 1607 to Salmasius that there were in his opinion four ages of Greek poetry: 'the third, the autumn, not inferior to the summer, produced the most outstanding men, *autumnus ab aestate non degenerans praestantissimos homines extulit* . . . *Quid ingeniosius Callimacho?* . . . *Quid Theocrito amoenius?*' This statement by the greatest classical scholar of his time, and one of the greatest of all times, is indeed remarkable. Ovid had said that Callimachus *ingenio non valet, arte valet*; intentionally reversing this famous line, Scaliger did not praise Callimachus' art, but his 'genius'; it is shown by his own notes and the notes and commentaries of his friends and pupils, Casaubon and Daniel Heinsius, that they all loved the amenity of Theocritus. The

climax of the scholarly work devoted to Hellenistic poetry was Bentley's collection of the Fragments of Callimachus at the end of the seventeenth century: a performance unique in its own time and a model for posterity. But in the second half of the eighteenth century a sort of revolution took place. Winckelmann conceived his new ideas of the Greek genius not from Greek art, but from poetry and philosophy: Homer, Sophocles, Plato. In his *History of Ancient Art*, first published in 1764, he followed, as he said, that indication of Scaliger on the four ages of Greek poetry, already quoted. Winckelmann accordingly distinguished the different periods and styles of Greek art as developing in conformity with the conditions of the whole national life; but, in striking contrast to Scaliger's judgement, he could see nothing but decline in the age after Alexander, Scaliger's 'autumn', in art as well as literature. The impression Winckelmann made on the whole of Europe was prodigious; under his influence post-classical Greek productions were regarded as imitative and decadent. Scaliger once had declared: *autumnus ab aestate non degenerans*, but the creed now accepted was this: the Greek genius degenerated and disintegrated in the Alexandrian period. In spite of some adjustments, this 'classical' view, as we may call it, still holds good to a certain degree. I could quote examples from books and articles of most recent date. Winckelmann and his followers may have been entitled to such a depreciation of later Greek poetry, as their knowledge had been very limited; but how is it to-day? Old inveterate prejudices indeed die hard.

It was against this theory that Droysen, in the thirties of the nineteenth century, established the historical importance and the specific value of the centuries between Alexander and Augustus; in order to distinguish them from the previous Hellenic times he termed them *Hellenistic*, taking up a modern Latin word-form; for *Lingua Hellenistica* had been the name of the Greek language of the New Testament since Scaliger's time, and Droysen had apparently found it in his Greek grammar. There was then no difficulty in his giving his book of 1836 the title *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, because the word *Hellenismus* had hardly ever been used in German for the whole complex of Greek language, style, and culture; in French, however, or English the word 'hellenism' had been used, and is being used in that general sense like the original word ἡλληνισμός in Greek, and this may be a source of embarrassment or even confusion in these languages. Droysen himself wrote no more than the political history of the first hundred years after Alexander; but it was not his almost forgotten predecessors, but he, who, with his vision of the 'Hellenistic age' culminating in the appearance of Christ, became authoritative for historians writing on the post-classical centuries. *Hellenistisch* and *Hellenismus* meant much more for him than a mere new terminology; it meant a period with its own 'historical principle' (as he said with Hegel), an epoch of progress to new achievements by the Greek genius, while 'Alexandrian' and 'Alexandrianism' retained the flavour of narrowness, decadence, decay.

So it was quite natural that scholars who ventured to discover the particular merits of this period in the fields of art and poetry preferred the term Hellenistic art and Hellenistic poetry. Only a few years after the publication of Droysen's *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, in 1845 Otto Jahn, one of the great university teachers of archaeology and classics, transferred the new terminology to literature and art in his writings and still more in his lectures in Bonn; his pupils were Carl Diltz and Wolfgang Helbig, who then tried to reconstruct lost works of the Hellenistic period in the sixties and seventies of the last century. Erwin Rohde, in the first part of his famous book on the Greek novel, 1876, had to rely on such reconstructions, when he derived the later long love-stories in prose from a purely imaginary Hellenistic love-elegy; he even pondered the gigantic project of a book on 'Hellenistic civilisation', as we learn from a letter of the year 1881. At the same time the French scholar, Auguste Couat, responding to a much earlier appeal of the great Sainte-Beuve, wrote a comprehensive work 'La poésie alexandrine', published in 1882. Retaining the old description 'Alexandrian', he tried hard to bring that poetry to life again, not as a dry philologist, but as he claims as *un ami des lettres anciennes*. The reward for his labours was unique; his book, which was out of date shortly after its appearance, had fifty years afterwards, in 1931, the great privilege of being translated into English by Dr. James Loeb, the ἥρωας ἐπώνυμος of the Loeb library and once an honorary member of my university. This seems to be very odd at first sight; but if we look a little more carefully into the writings of Jahn's pupils and those of Rohde or of Couat, we realise that they contain a new conception of Hellenistic poetry as a whole. Winckelmann had detested the productions of that age, as he seemed to recognise in them the style of people like Marini or Bernini; now the scholars of nineteenth century from the thirties to the seventies thought they saw a romantic element in Greek post-classical poetry and art, and this led to a new appreciation. 'Romanticism' meant individual passion, erotic sentimentalism, love of nature. So it was not only its elegant form which made Couat's book attractive, but still more its uniform conception which, as 'romantic', appealed to the modern mind. Nobody after Couat produced anything similar; that explains its surprising revival in our own time. Hellenistic poetry, rejected by classicism, seemed to be justified by late romanticism. But new researches and finally the discovery of a large quantity of the original poems by English scholars, Kenyon, Grenfell, Hunt, Lobel, did much to destroy this pleasant picture: there was no such unity in the poetical production of the age, and nothing or very little 'romantic' about it. Scholars like Wilamowitz, whose brilliant paper on the 'Lock of Berenice' was written in 1879 and whose first edition of the hymns of Callimachus appeared in 1882, attacked and even

ridiculed the current opinion and championed a much more realistic view, showing the variety, the individualism and formalism, the modernity, and sometimes even the originality and progressiveness of the epoch. Thus Wilamowitz and his followers maintained very strongly the positive values against 'classical' depreciation, but they defined them in a different way. Nevertheless, they were not quite immune against romantic infection.

I should like to give one very curious example of this; from this example we may venture to look into the future. When Wilamowitz in 1893 reviewed the first edition of the Vienna wooden tablet with about sixty lines from Callimachus' *Hecale* he rightly guessed that to a great extent an old crow is speaking to another bird. 'Both fell asleep', so we are told at the end of the fragment, 'but not for long; for soon came a white-frosted neighbour: "Come, no longer are the hands of thieves in quest of prey: for already the lamps of morning are shining; a water-carrier is singing his song somewhere, and the axle creaking beneath the cart wakes the dweller by the highroad, and smithy slaves torment the ear."' Wilamowitz contended that the 'white-frosted neighbour' στιβήεις ἄγχουρος, as he read with the first editor, must also be a bird, arriving in the early morning frost and awakening his two sleeping fellow birds: ἴτε 'come on'; in his words the early morning work of men and particularly its noise is announced. Not the voices of birds announce the end of night to men; on the contrary, the noise of men rouses the birds. This fanciful bird-story was a success beyond imagination; it seemed to be romantic, ingenious, witty. One scholar even added an erotic note; he boldly translated χεῖρες . . . φιλητέων, which means the hands of thieves, by 'le mani degli amatori'. I had always been one of the few who suspected the whole interpretation to be a sort of modern pseudo-romanticism; no ancient poet, let alone Callimachus, would have invented such an absurd description of early dawn given by a bird. The text of the first edition which we all had followed showed no way out of the many difficulties; in this text, however, one letter had been misread by the editor, and another had been misspelt by the ancient scribe. Not ἴτε, 'come', was written on the tablet, but ὅτε. In the word ἄγχουρος the ο before the υ must be emended into α; this was my conjecture, but the correct word ἄγχουρος is also in Suidas, taken from this very passage of the *Hecale*. Not a 'white-frosted' neighbour (ἄγχουρος) came, but the 'rimy dawn' (ἄγχουρος); nor does any bird begin a speech with 'come' and so forth, but the poet himself goes on with his epic narrative: 'the two birds fell asleep, not for long; for soon came the rimy dawn when the hands of thieves no longer go hunting, the water-carrier sings, the axle creaks' and so on. To sum up: a general conception, which seemed to be out of date, but still had a strong influence, brought about a startling interpretation which fascinated nearly everyone. Holding a different view of the poetry as a whole, I felt impelled to reconsider every single letter. Thus I arrived at a new text. In contrast to the old text there is nothing sensational about the description of daybreak as we read it now. It is very much simpler and much more graceful; it has those very features of realism and formalism we would expect; and only the new text brings out the Homeric model of the whole scene. After their long nightly talks Odysseus and Eumaeus fell asleep, not for long, but for a little while; for soon came the throned dawn Ἡὼς ἦλθεν εὐθρονος. The Hellenistic poet also spoke of the dawn (not of a white-frosted bird)—but he avoided the old epic formula. He quite clearly imitated the scene of the *Odyssey* (and there is much more of this pastoral world taken over in the *Hecale*), but he used a new word instead of ἦώς, a gloss ἄγχουρος, which may be Cyprian; he added instead of εὐθρονος a new epithet στιβήεις, alluding to two other passages of the *Odyssey* where Odysseus fears the στιβή, the morning frost; furthermore, the following lines, which go into characteristic details, present quite a number of rare words or word-forms. Finally, we derive another benefit from our corrected text: we learn that Apollonius Rhodius imitated this passage of the *Hecale* in his *Argonautica*, when, in describing the very early hour at which Jason with Medea's help went to carry off the golden fleece, he used the word ἄγχουρος for the dawn. So we have, on the one hand, the imitation of Homer, on the other hand, the mutual imitation of the *poetae novi*. It is their imitativeness and their allusiveness which more than anything else have tended to discredit Hellenistic poets; and the root of this evil, so we are told, is their excessive learning. We shall hardly get on in this field of studies if we repeat such half-truths.

Now, the question of the scholar poet is one out of a number of questions most worthy of future detailed research. It seems to be first of all a chronological question; and with the chronology of Hellenistic poets we touch a particularly tender spot. As far as we know, the first to whom the designation ποιητής ἀμὰ καὶ κριτικός 'poet as well as scholar' was applied was Philitas from the island of Cos in the last third of the fourth century and probably in the first two decades of the third. This is exactly the time when after the split-up of Alexander's empire new states were established. There was a feeling that the old forms of political and spiritual life were past for ever, consequently the great old poetical forms as well. Throughout the fourth century poetry had shown signs of exhaustion and even dissolution; but now a new and strong desire for rebuilding was slowly growing up also in the field of poetry. Poetry had to be rescued from the dangerous situation in which it lay, and the writing of poetry had to become a particularly serious work of discipline and wide knowledge, τέχνη and σοφία. Poets like Philitas and his followers looked back to the old masters, especially of Ionic poetry, in order to be trained by them in their own poetical technique. The incomparably precious heritage had to be saved and used. For that reason it was indispensable to collect, to

order, and to treat the old text critically. The point I am attempting to make is this: the new conception of the *poets* leads the way to the scholarly treatment of the ancient texts. At the beginning there seems to have been the desire for the rebirth of *poetry* and the enthusiasm of *poets* for the great works of earlier ages, especially for Homer; the devotion to pure learning would then have been the second stage. Two generations before Philitas a Colophonian poet, Antimachus, whom Plato highly appreciated, had studied Homer and quite consciously used rare and obsolete epic words, γλῶσσαι, in his own poems; it is very likely that even the old rhapsodes had collections of such vocables, and Aristotle in his *Poetics* expressly recognises glosses as a feature peculiar to epic poetry. So there had been forerunners and some earlier steps in the same direction; but only Philitas and his contemporaries, like the Rhodian Simias, inaugurated a new age; they created a new situation, the masters of poetry and scholarship arose immediately afterwards. Our sources are sparse, but they ought to be scrutinised again with the help of all the available new evidence. Philitas had been famous all over the Greek world; Attic comedy joked at his work and person. In his native island of Cos he became shortly before 300 the tutor to the son of the first Ptolemy, and this son, Ptolemy II, was afterwards as King the foremost promoter of poetry and scholarship. The two greatest poets of the next generation, Theocritus as well as Callimachus, praised Philitas the poet in prominent passages of famous poems. Philitas' personal pupil was, according to reliable tradition, Zenodotus from Ephesus, who initiated the Homeric studies as editor and lexicographer on a grand scale and in a methodical way; he was the first librarian of the newly founded Alexandrian Museum within the precincts of the royal palace. So we see: it was only after Philitas who was, first, a poet of elegiacs, short epics, and epigrams, and, secondly, a learned collector, that the pure scholar came into being, institutions for the promotion of scholarship having been founded at the same time. Without minimising earlier efforts of sophists, rhetoricians, philosophers, I should like to suggest that, the κριτική τέχνη, later on called γραμμαστική, rarely 'philology', as a *separate* intellectual discipline was originated by the followers of Philitas at Alexandria. If this is correct, classical scholarship, as we call it, has quite a noble ancestry.

Many new and often disturbing questions arise at this point: for instance about Zenodotus' method. Radically opposed theories are held by modern scholars concerning the way he treated the Homeric text. Did he carefully consider the lines and variant readings of the many copies collected in the library and constitute his text on this evidence, or did he delete lines and change the wording according to his own arbitrary judgement or that of his master, Philitas? It cannot be helped, every single case must be investigated as far as possible. My personal opinion is that he generally followed the line of documentary evidence; but there are exceptions, perhaps one in ten cases. It is of fundamental importance to arrive one day at the right decision.

But we must now turn back to the poetry. There is, as we saw, a quite definite relation to the past; the endeavour was to know the old masters and to be trained by them. The great epic, lyric, dramatic forms should not be imitated in a strict sense, indeed that above all should be avoided; but one could learn from them, borrow from them, shape and reshape, and refine reminiscences. There should not be either a break with tradition or a sterile traditionalism. The passage I quoted from the *Hecale* for another reason can be taken as an example of this tendency; a typology of such variations of Homeric patterns could, I think, be written. But it would require a high standard of interpretation as well as of literary criticism.

So far, we have spoken of the relation to the great poetical heritage; but what about the importance of the highly developed artistic prose of the fifth and fourth centuries? It has repeatedly been stated that the theories of eloquence, the schools of rhetoric, must have exercised their influence on the style of Hellenistic poetry. As far as I am aware, proofs of such sweeping statements are still lacking, and I am afraid the exquisite workmanship is modelled on earlier poetry, not on the rules of rhetoric; but the whole problem is certainly worth considering. These new poets were not only practising their craft, but also very earnestly reflecting on it; so the question suggests itself, whether they did so along the lines of Aristotle's *Poetics*. Now Aristotle's *Poetics* is retrospective, whereas the *poetae novi* were looking to the present and to the future. We realised the impulse given to a separate discipline of scholarship by Philitas and his circle; in the leading figures of the following generation, above all in Callimachus, the creative poet and the literary critic were united for the first time in European history. For the modern mind this union seems not to be so startling; we may think of Paul Valéry, of T. S. Eliot, of Hugo von Hofmannsthal and others. And Goethe had stated the simple truth, that 'after all nobody has a true idea of the difficulty of art but the artist himself'. The ideas of the Hellenistic poets about their art grew out of their own poetical practice, not out of Aristotelian theory; but the controversy about this problem is still going on, and traditionalists like Apollonius Rhodius may turn out to be nearer to Peripatetic doctrines than others. It was mainly literary criticism, which stated its own principles, referring to like-minded contemporaries and hitting hard at opponents. This brings us to the last point I should like to mention briefly: namely, the mutual relations between contemporary poets, their borrowings from each other as well as their polemics. We have very little external evidence about the literary chronology of this period; so we have to build it upon conclusions reached from such mutual references—an extremely delicate undertaking. Nearly everything is doubtful. In the case of Apollonius-Callimachus the wealth

of new material has firmly convinced me that the borrower is everywhere Apollonius; but I might be suspected of partiality, and I hope this conclusion of mine will be severely tested by others in the course of time. There is a puzzling uncertainty about the priority of famous narrative passages in Theocritus (13 and 22) and Apollonius; a minute analysis of the very different style of the narrative in Theocritus and Apollonius and of the essential difference in the poetical quality may lead to a plausible solution. The situation is still more embarrassing as regards some minor poets, such as Herodas or Lycophron or Nicander; the dates suggested for their life-spans fluctuate by half a century or even more. Nevertheless, we are bound to try again and again and to use every shred of new material. To make a great deal of new material more easily accessible, the indexes to Callimachus have been worked out in detail—if you allow me such a personal and pretentious remark.

But no better help for tackling these chronological and other problems can be expected than that of good commentaries. We enjoy, as you all know, the advantage of possessing the new comprehensive commentary on Theocritus by Mr. Gow, and I am sure it will prove a strong stimulus to further research. Apollonius Rhodius may not have to wait long for a commentator equal to this formidable task; and I have not given up hope that the commentary on Callimachus' hymns will be produced by Professor Smiley, without whose earlier labours and photographs I should not have been able to classify the manuscript tradition of the text. A complete edition of all the Epigrammatists of the Hellenistic age had once been planned by J. U. Powell as a continuation of his *Collectanea Alexandrina* of 1925, but he did not live to carry out this ambitious enterprise. It means first of all reconstructing Meleager's *Garland* out of the large Byzantine collection in the Palatine manuscript and in Planudes' Venetian autograph, and then adding the not too numerous pieces preserved elsewhere. Hellenistic epigrams—the lyric poetry of the time—were the most personal poems in their matter and the most restricted in their form. Therefore it was in this genre, with its uninterrupted tradition from the seventh century on, that some of the Hellenistic poets created their most accomplished works; but in order to be understood and appreciated, they must be taken out of the vast medley of the Palatine Anthology and commented on in connexion with the whole poetry of the age as its finest flower. A vast area, indeed, is open to scholars for further investigations; to the publishers, above all to the Cambridge and Oxford University Presses, a special tribute of thanks must be paid for their great services in the past, particularly in the last few years, and one must earnestly hope and pray that they will not withhold their favour from future studies in this field.

I have put before you a number of single questions and tried to give, as I said at the beginning, answers in the form of some casual and personal hints. In conclusion, I should like to raise the general question as to whether the outlines of a picture of Hellenistic Poetry as a whole become visible. The poets were in a unique historical position. They could no longer speak as free citizens to a political and spiritual community as audience; their only chance was to write books for smaller circles of well-educated connoisseurs. But it seems to me to be going a bit too far to confine them to the famous 'ivory tower' which Flaubert invented as a refuge for nineteenth-century littérateurs. The Hellenistic poets did everything to preserve classical and pre-classical poetry, and 'learning' was a constitutive element of their own novel art, as we have seen. This art itself necessarily contrasted with the creations of the previous periods; it showed no original magnitude of subject or gravity of religious and ethical ideas, but an abundance of conscious allusions and a variety of aesthetic subtleties; no consistency and unity of the literary genre or clarity of presentation, but a wilful blending of various styles and dialects and rare vocables. If such contrasts can be worked out in detail, it may be helpful even for interpreting the Greek classics; for Hellenistic Poetry, non-classical as it was, was still genuinely Greek. If 'classical' prejudices, romantic falsifications and inadequate nineteenth-century poetical theories are definitively brushed aside, it will be easier to understand how Hellenistic poetry became a source of inspiration for Roman poetry and, through the Latin poets, especially Ovid, deeply affected the development of European literature. I expect many a modern *ami de lettres* will approve Jane Austen's wise decision to aim at perfection within the limited sphere of 'her few square inches of ivory', as she said, and not to be lured into any grand literary adventure; so he may understand at least the conscious self-limitation of Hellenistic poets and may appreciate the perfection reached by the few masters of the third century, who had a lightness of hand, an indefinable touch of irony and that imperishable charm which is a divine gift of the Χάριτες, the Graces whom they implored so often.

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ATHENS AFTER THE SOCIAL WAR ¹

THE period of Demosthenes has a special interest for the student of Greek politics; more evidence exists, in the form of speeches, for the actual working of Athenian affairs in this period than in any other. It should therefore provide the starting-point in any attempt to find out the presuppositions of Athenian politics, to find what sort of behaviour is habitually expected of politicians and what motives are taken for granted as the normal motives of public men. Here the political scene at the entry of Demosthenes into politics will be examined in the hope of contributing towards answering these questions. For the ascertainable facts, preserved mainly in Speeches xx, xxii and xxiv of Demosthenes, are comparatively plentiful, and so they may be used in order to criticise current assumptions about the nature of political parties and conflicts in ancient Athens.

A preliminary question concerns the dates of these three speeches. Dionysius of Halicarnassus ² assigns Speeches xx and xxii to 355/4 and Speech xxiv to 353/2. It is hoped to defend elsewhere the general credibility of the Dionysian dates for the Demosthenic speeches. That for Speech xxii has been seriously questioned by Mr. D. M. Lewis.³ He points out that in describing the importance of sea-power (§§ 12-16) the speaker failed to mention the Battle of Chios, and infers that the speech was made before the battle (357/6 or possibly 358/7). He notices that the Athenians built only one ship in 359/8 but ten in 358/7,⁴ and presumably a considerable number was built in each year of the Social War. The charge against Androtion was that he had proposed the grant of a crown to the Council, although the Council had failed to build the requisite number of ships. So Lewis suggests that the Council was that of 359/8 and the speech was made in 358/7.

If the speech was made in 355/4, its silence about the Battle of Chios can easily be explained; the Athenians did not like to be reminded of their misfortunes.⁵ It mentions (§ 72) a crown granted by the Euboeans to the Athenians, apparently in gratitude for the expedition made by the Athenians to Euboea in summer 358/7. Further, the phrase διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὃς ἦν τότε (§ 49) seems to allude to the Social War as over; the scholiast understood it thus. These considerations in favour of 355/4 are stronger than Lewis's argument from the records of shipbuilding; we do not know how far, if at all, the Council which Androtion sought to crown fell short of its duty, but we do know that Androtion was acquitted.

The Social War lasted from 358/7 to 356/5.⁶ Probably at the beginning of the Attic year 356/5 a further fleet of sixty triremes was sent under Iphicrates, Menestheus, and Timotheus to join that under Chares.⁷ But Chares quarrelled with his three colleagues, and they failed to support him at Embata; so they were prosecuted at Athens, Iphicrates and Menestheus were acquitted but retired from public life, Timotheus was condemned to pay a fine and went into exile.⁸ The trial took place probably in the winter of 356/5, and certainly before the end of the war; for Dionysius of Halicarnassus says so;⁹ and a remark made by Iphicrates during the trial referred to the war as still in progress.¹⁰

The leader of the prosecutors was Aristophon of Azenia.¹¹ He was a senior politician; he had received *ateleia* because of his help towards restoring democracy in 404/3,¹² and in the next year he had carried a citizenship-law.¹³ So by 355 he must have been an elderly man and one likely to withdraw soon from regular political activity.¹⁴ In prosecuting the three generals he seems to have acted as the friend of Chares, and he had appeared as such in 362. For in that year an Athenian force under Leosthenes was defeated by Alexander of Pherae, so the Athenians executed Leosthenes and gave the command to Chares;¹⁵ some of the trierarchs serving under Leosthenes were also prosecuted, and the prosecutor was Aristophon,¹⁶ that is, he took part in activities which led to the advancement of Chares. There was, then, lasting friendship between Aristophon and Chares.¹⁷

Contemporaries knew that there was also lasting enmity between Aristophon and Eubulus.¹⁸

¹ Professor A. Andrewes read a first draft of this article and made useful criticisms, for which I thank him very much. This must not be understood to indicate his opinion of the views here expressed.

² *ad Ammaurum* i, 4.

³ In an article in *BSA*, XLIX, 1954, 43 ff. I thank Mr. Lewis very much for showing me his argument before publication.

⁴ *IG* II², 2, 1611, ll. 107-26.

⁵ *Cf.* *Hdt.* vi, 21, 2.

⁶ Dr. E. Schweigert (*Hesp.* VIII, 1939, pp. 12-17) has shown that the Social War began in 358/7. (I am not satisfied by his treatment of *IG* II², 124, and hope to discuss it on another occasion.) Diodorus (xvi, 7, 3; 22, 2) says that the war lasted three years, that is, it ended in the third Attic year after it began.

⁷ *Diod.* xvi, 21, 1.

⁸ *Deinarchus* i, 14; *Nepos, Tim.* 3, 5; *Isoc.* xv, 129.

⁹ *Dion. Hal., Lysias*, 12, p. 480; but *cf. id. Deinarchus*, 13, p. 668.

¹⁰ *Plut. Mor.* 187a = *reg. et imp. apoph.*, *Iphicr.* 4; *cf. Beloch, Gr. Gesch.* III², 2, p. 260.

¹¹ *Plut. Mor.* 801f = *praec. ger. rei publ.* 5, 5: the prosecutors were οἱ πρὸς Ἀριστοφῶντα, which may indeed mean Aristophon alone, but there may have been more than one prosecutor.

¹² *Dem.* xx, 148; the date of the grant was suggested by Schäfer, *Demosthenes* I², pp. 140-1.

¹³ *Carystius ap. Athen.* xiii, 577b.

¹⁴ Though he is said to have reached the age of ninety-nine (*schol. Aesch.* i, 64), he retired from public life before 349 ([*Plut.*] *Mor.* 844d = *vit. decem orat.*, *Dem.* 8).

¹⁵ *Diod.* xv, 95, 1-3; *Hyp.* iv, 1 (K.).

¹⁶ *Dem.* li, 8-9.

¹⁷ *Cf. schol. Aesch.* i, 64.

¹⁸ *Dem.* xviii, 162; *cf. xix*, 291; *xxi*, 218 and *schol. ad. loc.*

The latter was a much younger statesman; some attribute political activity to him as early as 369;¹⁹ he will not have distinguished himself during the restoration of democracy in 404/3, for people did not keep quiet about such claims to prestige. Ultimately, and probably in the period 354-0, Eubulus held powers amounting almost to full control of Athenian finance.²⁰ By this time Aristophon seems no longer to have held such great influence as before; but, because of the difference in age between the two men, the change may merely mark the succession of the generations rather than the replacement of one political system by another.

Such ancient statements as mention the hostility between Aristophon and Eubulus do not go so far as to say that they disagreed about the policy which Athens ought to pursue, but many modern writers assert this and try to describe the difference. Firstly, it is said that Aristophon was in favour of imperialistic measures in foreign affairs, whereas Eubulus stood for peace and financial retrenchment. Even so cautious a writer as Pickard-Cambridge attributes an 'imperialistic and militant' policy to Aristophon, and says that 'he fought the disaffected allies, instead of meeting their suspicions in more peaceable ways,'²¹ although there is no reason to suppose that in 358/7 practical politicians could contemplate any alternative to fighting the allies. In addition to this general divergence between the two statesmen, it is alleged, secondly, that a rather desperate financial policy practised at the end of the Social War was due to Aristophon and was opposed by Eubulus. This second point will require more attention, but the more general divergence of policy may be considered first.

Three reasons may be adduced for supposing that Aristophon and Eubulus stood respectively for warlike and pacific policies. First, it is often said that it was Eubulus who made peace with the allies in 356/5; Aristophon, on the other hand, presumably sympathised with his friend Chares, who tried, after the Battle of Embata, to continue the war by entering the service of Artabazus and fighting in Asia Minor. A second argument concerns the publication perhaps about the end of the war of the Xenophontic *Poroi* and the Isocratean pamphlet *On the Peace*; both works advocate peace and retrenchment. It is held to have been Eubulus who had proposed successfully the recall of Xenophon from exile about 369;²² so he may be thought to have sympathised with the views of the *Poroi*. Aristophon, on the other hand, prosecuted Timotheus, who was a pupil of Isocrates and indeed the pupil of whom Isocrates most liked to boast;²³ so perhaps Aristophon disagreed with the views of *On the Peace*. The third and most weighty argument is drawn from some measures taken by Eubulus when in control of finance. He had all surplus revenues assigned to the theoric fund, and he seems to have provided for penalising anyone who proposed to use them in other ways.²⁴ A war-policy would entail using part of the surplus revenues for military purposes, and this would not be popular with the beneficiaries of the theoric fund. So Eubulus is said to have afforded 'to some extent a guarantee of peace'.²⁵

The view that Eubulus made the peace at the end of the Social War rests on the scholion to Dem. iii, 28. In this passage Demosthenes makes a number of complaints against those in power, and one of the complaints is: 'Those whose alliance we won in the war have been lost in peace-time through these politicians' οὗς δ' ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ συμμάχους ἐκτησάμεθα, εἰρήνης οὐσης ἀπολωλέκασιν οὗτοι. The scholiast says in explanation: 'In the Social War the Chians, Rhodians, Byzantines and some others seceded from them. So by fighting against them they won back some but could not win back others; then they made peace on the condition that all the allies should be free. So he (*sc.* Demosthenes) says that we have lost through the peace even those whom we had won in the war; and the responsibility for the character of the peace rests with Eubulus, because of the way in which he administers affairs.' κατὰ τὸν συμμαχικὸν πόλεμον ἀπέστησαν αὐτῶν Χίοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι καὶ ἕτεροί τινες. πολεμοῦντες οὖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἀνεκτήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν, εἶτα εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο ὥστε πάντας αὐτονόμους ἔασαι τοὺς συμμάχους. τοῦτο οὖν φησιν, ὅτι καὶ οὗς προσηγαγόμεθα τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ οὕτως διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπολωλέκαμεν. τοῦ δὲ τοιαύτην γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην αἴτιος Εὐβούλος οὕτω διοικῶν τὰ πράγματα.

The scholiast does not say that Eubulus made the peace; he may have thought so, but he makes merely the more guarded statement that the character of the peace was due to the character of Eubulus's policy. But assuming—and there is no reason to assume this—that the scholiast meant to suggest, however obscurely, that Eubulus made the peace, one must ask, whence did the scholiast gain his information. Demosthenes, in the phrase to be explained, mentions a war and the period of peace afterwards; the scholiast identifies the war with the Social War. He knows that by the peace ending the Social War the allies of Athens were declared free; he does not appear to know that under the peace-terms some of the former allies remained members of the Athenian Confederacy while others did not. He identifies those attacked by Demosthenes with Eubulus; this may be a conjecture, and it may well be right. But there is no reason to suppose that he had any further sources; he merely interprets the statement of Demosthenes and uses his general knowledge of the

¹⁹ Diog. Laert. ii, 59; Schäfer, *op. cit.* I², p. 192, n. 3; but see below.

²⁰ Aesch. iii, 25; cf. Schäfer, *op. cit.* I², pp. 197-204.

²¹ *CAH VI*, p. 221.

²² Diog. Laert. ii, 59; Schäfer, *op. cit.* I², p. 192, n. 3.

²³ Isoc. xv, 101-28.

²⁴ [Dem.] lix, 3-8; cf. Libanius *Argument to Dem.* i; Dem. i,

²⁵ iii, 10-13.

²⁶ Pickard-Cambridge in *CAH VI*, p. 223.

period. In particular, there is no reason to suppose that he had any literary or documentary source which said that Eubulus made the peace with the allies.

So the observation of the scholiast has no authority for the interpretation of Demosthenes's remark. The orator mentions a war in which the Athenians gained some allies. This cannot be the Social War, although the scholiast thought that it was; for in the Social War the Athenians did not gain allies but lost them. The war in which the Athenians gained allies abundantly was the Greek War of 378-362. Demosthenes complains, in the statement which the scholiast tries to explain, that his political opponents, by whom he probably means Eubulus and his friends, have lost, in the condition of 'common peace' prevalent since 362,²⁶ the allies won in the period 378-362. His statement has nothing to do with the peace made at the end of the Social War, and so there is no reason to suppose that Eubulus made that peace.

The second argument assumes that the *Poroi* and the pamphlet *On the Peace* were both published about the end of the Social War. The pamphlet *On the Peace* is securely dateable to the end of the Social War (cf. §§ 2 and 16), and has some resemblances of content to the *Poroi*: §§ 21, 30, 42, 53, 138. But they are not sufficiently close to prove borrowing, and if one writer borrowed from the other, it is not clear which borrowed from which.

The *Poroi* has the following indications of date:

(i) it alludes to how Athens helped the Arcadians in the sixties (iii, 7; Hegesileos was general at Mantinea²⁷);

(ii) it meets the objection that the Athenians have paid so much in taxes ἐν τῷ νῦν πολέμῳ that they cannot provide capital for enterprise in the mines, and it refers to the peace as already made (iv, 40); the peace may be either that made with the allies in 356/5 or that made with Philip II on 19th Elaphebolion 347/6;

(iii) it mentions contemporary 'disturbance' among the Greeks, and suggests that Athens should act as mediator between states or within states (v, 8);

(iv) it suggests that Athens should work for the autonomy of the Delphic sanctuary, not joining in the war but sending out embassies (v, 9): the wording implies a date when the Athenian alliance with Phocis was either still in force or had been so very recently;

(v) it suggests that the Athenians might lead a general Greek alliance against any who should try to seize the Delphic sanctuary, 'the Phocians having left it' (v, 9); this could be said either if the Phocians had already left the sanctuary or if the writer merely considered the possibility that they might do so in future.

These indications are compatible with a date either soon after the peace of 356/5 or soon after the peace of Philocrates. Perhaps the wording of v, 12, is in favour of the latter rather than the former: 'One will see that our revenues have increased, since a state of peace has arisen at sea' (γνώσεται . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰρήνη κατὰ θάλατταν γένηται, ἡϋξημέναις τε τὰς προσόδους . . .). Εἰρήνη, as distinct from ἡ εἰρήνη, probably means 'a state of peace', rather than 'the peace', that is, than a specific peace-treaty.²⁸ The state of peace at sea must have been existent long enough for the Athenians already to notice some increase in their revenues. This seems to suit the situation of 347/6 better than that of 355. This indication may be considered inconclusive, and the possibility that the *Poroi* belongs to 355 cannot be excluded.

Nevertheless, the argument from the *Poroi* and *On the Peace* is weak. The evidence that Eubulus carried the recall of Xenophon is the statement of Istrus,²⁹ not a very reliable authority, that Eubulus was responsible both for the exile and for the recall of Xenophon. Xenophon was exiled in 400 or possibly in 401;³⁰ it is not likely that Eubulus was active so early. Possibly the statement refers to another Xenophon, namely the one who wrote lives of Epameinondas and Pelopidas.³¹ Yet even if the statement refers to the more famous Xenophon and is true in its second half, this fails to establish any close connexion between Xenophon and Eubulus. For, if Xenophon was a controversial figure at the time of his banishment, he was probably no longer so at the time of his recall, which was many years later. For his recall is likely to have taken place after the Athenians sent help to the Spartans in 370, since the original complaint against him had been Laconism.³² When the Athenians themselves Laconised, his recall was a matter of common justice; so whoever proposed the recall of Xenophon did not thereby commit himself strictly to any policies which Xenophon might represent.

Again, any attempt to associate Timotheus with the policies of the speech *On the Peace* would be most unhappy, for in the campaigns of 366-363 Timotheus proved to be the most successful exponent

²⁶ εἰρήνης οὐσης = 'in the state of peace', not 'under the peace-terms'; the distinction between εἰρήνη and ἡ εἰρήνη was drawn by Professor F. Wüst (*Philipp II*, 1938, pp. 69-71) in discussing [Dem.] vii, 18 and Didym. viii, 9. It might be objected that, from the Athenian point of view, the state of peace had been interrupted since 362 by the Social War, so that 'the state of peace' should refer to a condition existing only since 356/5. But the war with Philip, in progress when Demosthenes spoke, did not prevent him from referring to the

state of peace as existent; so the Social War need not have prevented him from referring to it as existent since 362.

²⁷ Diog. Laert. ii, 54.

²⁸ See note 26.

²⁹ Xen. *Anab.* vii, 7, 57.

³⁰ The reason for banishment: Diog. Laert. ii, 51.

³¹ Xenophon sent his sons to Athens, when Athens sent help to the Spartans: *ib.* ii, 53. This was in 370: Xen. *Hell.* vi, 5, 19 (or 369: *ib.* vii, 1, 15). The recall will have been later.

³² *ap.* Diog. Laert. ii, 59.

³³ Diog. Laert. ii, 59.

of Athenian imperialism since Thrasybulus.³³ The supposition, based on the laudatory remarks of Isocrates,³⁴ that Timotheus was kinder to the allies than other generals were, should not be entertained. For when Timotheus approached a Greek city which had not paid tribute to Athens, he used to send envoys ahead to present his compliments;³⁵ and this was the normal practice of Athenian generals.³⁶

Above all, neither of the two pamphlets is by a practical politician, and although admittedly Xenophon is more realistic in his proposals than Isocrates, both stand outside the increasingly exclusive circle of *οἱ πολιτευόμενοι*.

The only real argument in favour of supposing that Eubulus stood for a policy of peace is that drawn from his measures concerning the theoric fund, which were something of a hindrance to war.³⁷ Yet it would be erroneous to take this consequence as characteristic of his policy in general; for the general impression which his policy makes is not markedly pacific. He should probably bear much of the responsibility for Athenian intervention in Euboea in 349. At least Meidias, who was a friend of Eubulus,³⁸ seems to have promoted the intervention.³⁹ Demosthenes, who wanted the Athenians to devote their main attention to the Olynthian War,⁴⁰ should perhaps be believed in his statement, made three years later, that he opposed the intervention in Euboea.⁴¹ Cephisodotus, who attacked Chares for his activities in aid of Olynthus, seems to have been in favour of the intervention in Euboea.⁴² So apparently the policy of Eubulus in 349 was not to refrain from all intervention but to direct Athenian energy to Euboea rather than to Chalcidice. And who shall say that he was wrong? For Euboea was of more direct concern to Athens than Olynthus was.

Again, it should not be forgotten that Demosthenes was not the only Athenian politician to advocate firm resistance to Philip II in the years 346-40; Demosthenes had occasion to remind an Athenian jury that others, including Eubulus, carried decrees for opposing the increase in Macedonian power.⁴³ Very little is known about the policy of the opponents of Demosthenes in the years 346-39; the only reliable source of information is his speeches. He names one of these opponents; it is not Eubulus but Aristomedes.⁴⁴ In general, the main charge which Demosthenes makes in these years is that the Athenians are slow to act;⁴⁵ this hardly indicates the nature of his opponents' policy. The charge was, indeed, a stock-topic of political oratory, for it had been used by Meidias.⁴⁶ On one point the policy of the opponents is known with some precision. When Philip II demanded the recall of Diopieithes from the Chersonese, Demosthenes spoke for continuing Diopieithes in his command, but his opponents, who perhaps included Eubulus, proposed to recall Diopieithes and send out another general.⁴⁷ Perhaps they felt that it would be difficult to justify some of the actions of Diopieithes, and that therefore Athens would have a stronger case against Philip II if she recalled Diopieithes. Since they wanted to send a replacement, they were willing to resist Philip II at some stage. If the proposal to replace Diopieithes is typical of their policy in these years, they disagreed with Demosthenes as to the occasions when Athens could best resist Philip II, but not necessarily on the need to resist him.

Thus in 349 and perhaps in 341 Eubulus disagreed with Demosthenes on the course which Athenian intervention should follow; but there is no good reason to attribute to him a policy of non-intervention on either occasion. Unlike Isocrates, he did not stand for pacifism on any and every occasion; as an active statesman he judged each problem as it arose and advised what he thought to be in the interests of Athens.

It is equally groundless to suppose that Aristophanes invariably advocated war. In 371 his son Demostratus served on the embassy sent to Sparta to make peace.⁴⁸ Apart from his hostility to Eubulus, which is inconclusive, the only reason for supposing that he stood for war in 356/5 is his prosecution of the three generals; but this can be adequately explained without that supposition. For there was a need to find scapegoats for the disasters of the war, and there may have been competition between rival groups for leadership in the Social War.⁴⁹

Thus the grounds for supposing that in 356/5 Aristophanes and Eubulus stood respectively for fighting the allies and for making peace with them are valueless, and while the tenet cannot be conclusively disproved, the burden of proof should surely rest with those who hold it. In particular, it would be bold to suppose, in the absence of evidence, that Aristophanes opposed the final vote of peace; for a man of even moderate political wisdom and experience might realise that in face of Persian threats Athens had no choice.

³³ He captured Samos, Sestos, Crithote, and Potidaea (Isoc. xv, 111-13).

³⁴ E.g. xv, 121-2.

³⁵ Dem. viii, 24-5.

³⁶ In 339 a decree—not a law—was required to transfer revenues to the military fund (Philoch. *FGH* III B 328 F 56A).

³⁷ Dem. xxi, 205-7.

³⁸ *Ib.* 110; 200.

³⁹ Dem. i, ii, iii.

⁴⁰ v, 5; the statement displays wisdom after the event, but there are no positive grounds for doubting its truth.

⁴¹ Arist. *Rhet.* iii, 10, 1411a 6-11. The remark about an expedition to Euboea is commonly referred to the expedition of 357. This is a conjecture made by Sauppe (*Orat. Att.* II,

p. 220). The expedition of 349 is equally probable; perhaps, since Aristotle quotes the two remarks together, they were both made in the same period, that is, in 349/8.

⁴² Dem. xviii, 70; 75.

⁴³ x, 70.

⁴⁴ E.g. vi, 1-5; viii, 21-3; ix, 5; x, 1.

⁴⁵ Dem. xxi, 203.

⁴⁶ Xen. *Hell.* vi, 3, 2.

⁴⁷ Dem. viii, 28.

⁴⁸ It is worth noting that, apart from the supposed share of Eubulus in recalling Xenophon and in making peace with the allies, his first recorded political activity is in 355/4 (Dem. xx, 137); but the statement of Dem. iii, 28, as interpreted above, implies political activity sometime between 362 and 349.

The second topic on which Aristophon and Eubulus are held to have opposed one another in these years concerns finance. Because of the campaigns of the Social War the Athenians ran short of money,⁵⁰ and so they took measures to use what have been called *klägliche Auskünfte*.⁵¹ Three such measures are known, and they probably all belong to the year 356/5. Androtion carried a decree giving him powers to exact arrears of *eisphora*.⁵² Although Demosthenes does not explicitly date the commission, the general tenour of his account of it in Speeches xxii and xxiv strongly suggests 356/5.⁵³ Leptines carried a law annulling grants of exemption from fiscal burdens, except the grants to the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton.⁵⁴ Aristophon passed a decree towards recovering sums of money which belonged to the state but were withheld; a commission of inquiry was appointed to receive information about such moneys.⁵⁵

It happens that three speeches composed by Demosthenes for public trials (xx, xxii, and xxiv) deal partly with the consequences of these measures. Schäfer⁵⁶ put forward the theory that the three measures were sponsored by the party of Aristophon and opposed by that of Eubulus and that Demosthenes, attaching himself to the party of Eubulus, used the occasion of the speeches to attack the measures. The attitude of Demosthenes is here of less interest; for the main part of the theory, Schäfer stated more clearly the reasons in its favour and acknowledged more frankly at least one of the objections than his successors have done.

He put forward three reasons for his theory. First, he drew attention to the similarity in policy between the three measures: they all try to meet the financial difficulties by gaining the utmost from existing sources of revenue.⁵⁷ The second reason depended on the alleged attitude of Demosthenes to Timotheus. The speech against Androtion, without naming Timotheus, praises his father, Conon,⁵⁸ and speaks with approval of the expedition to Euboea in 357,⁵⁹ which was largely due to Timotheus;⁶⁰ the speech against Leptines praises Conon⁶¹ and speaks with approval of Iphicrates and Timotheus.⁶² Schäfer believed that the trial of Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Menestheus took place later than the speeches against Androtion and Leptines, but could already be foreseen when these were spoken; accordingly, he held that in them Demosthenes tried to influence public opinion in favour of Timotheus. Thus Demosthenes would set himself against the party of Aristophon, who prosecuted Timotheus. Now the one speech is primarily an attack on the law of Leptines, and in the other, although the technical point on which Androtion was prosecuted was something else, much is said against his activities in collecting arrears. Thus Demosthenes, opposing Aristophon, would also oppose two of the measures for *klägliche Auskünfte*.⁶³ The third reason concerned the prosecution of Androtion. The legal argument was that he had proposed a decree honouring the Council of Five Hundred, though because of the immediate circumstances such a proposal was allegedly illegal. When he made the proposal in the Assembly, Meidias, who was a friend of Eubulus,⁶⁴ spoke against it.⁶⁵ So it might be supposed that, when Demosthenes composed the speech against Androtion, he acted in support of the party of Eubulus.⁶⁶

The third reason is the least conclusive. Neither Meidias nor any certain friend of Eubulus is known to have taken part in the prosecution of Androtion; the technical plea was a mere pretext and, as Demosthenes wrote,⁶⁷ the prosecutors, Euctemon and Diodorus, acted mainly in pursuit of private quarrels. So there is no adequate reason for associating the party of Eubulus with the prosecution of Androtion. Indeed, the subsequent prosecution of Timocrates followed up the decree of Aristophon. Schäfer⁶⁸ noticed that this is rather odd on the supposition that the prosecutors were opponents of Aristophon.

The second argument is also weak. As has been shown,⁶⁹ the trial of Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Menestheus took place before the end of the Social War, and therefore before the speeches against Androtion and Leptines. Therefore their comparative silence⁷⁰ about Timotheus may reflect a prudent reluctance to antagonise public feeling; Conon, on the other hand, was a figure of the past and an honoured protagonist of Athenian freedom and power. Even if an attempt to salvage the memory of Timotheus is read into the speeches, it will remain uncertain whether the party of Eubulus sympathised with this; for the fact that Aristophon prosecuted Timotheus need not imply that Eubulus supported him. And even if this assumption is granted, it still remains uncertain whether Eubulus opposed the policy of *klägliche Auskünfte*—for the attack on that policy and the remarks about Conon and Timotheus are distinct topics, although both happen to occur in the speeches.

By far the strongest argument for Schäfer's theory is the first, that from the similarity between

⁵⁰ Cf. Dem. xx, 115; iii, 28.

⁵¹ Schäfer, *op. cit.* I², p. 179.

⁵² Dem. xxii, 48-9.

⁵³ Whether the similar activities of Satyrus (Dem. xxii, 63) belong to the same year, as supposed by Glotz (*Hist. Grecque* III, p. 201), is quite uncertain.

⁵⁴ Dem. xx, 127; for the date cf. *ib.* 144 and second Argument to the speech 3.

⁵⁵ Dem. xxiv, 11; the dating depends on the similarity of this to the other two measures.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.* I², pp. 179-80; 361.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.* I², pp. 179-80.

⁵⁸ Dem. xxii, 72.

⁵⁹ *Id.* viii, 74-5.

⁶⁰ *Id.* 84-5.

⁶¹ *Op. cit.* I², pp. 362-3; 415-16.

⁶² Dem. xxi, 205-7.

⁶³ *Id.* xxii, 10.

⁶⁴ Schäfer, *op. cit.* I², p. 362.

⁶⁵ xxii, 1-3; xxiv, 6-8.

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.* I², pp. 415-16.

⁶⁷ See above, p. 74.

⁷⁰ For, *pace* Schäfer, they are comparatively silent about Timotheus, as opposed to Conon; see last paragraph but one.

⁵⁹ *Ib.* 14; 72.

⁶¹ *Id.* xx, 68-74.

the three measures to a single party as originator of the policy.⁷¹ This argument begs an important question: whether the policy of *klägliche Auskünfte* was the programme of a single party or a national necessity acknowledged by all parties. Any answer to this will influence the treatment of the general question, whether it is on policy that Athenian parties differ. The more specific question is to be answered by considering some of the relevant personalities. Those who accept Schäfer's theory suppose that, since Androtion followed this policy in collecting arrears, he belonged to the party of Aristophon; is this correct?

Several friends of Androtion can be identified. In the Council of 356/5 he belonged to a group which had considerable influence; it included Philippus, Antigenes, and the secretary, and these men were expected to plead for Androtion at his trial in the next year.⁷² Nothing more is known of them. A better known friend of Androtion is Timocrates, who was about the same age as he.⁷³ They co-operated when they repaired the sacred vessels carried in processions.⁷⁴ Timocrates, assisted Androtion on the commission for collecting arrears of *eisphora*.⁷⁵ In the summer of 353, when Diodorus and Euctemon prepared to prosecute Androtion for withholding some moneys from the state, Timocrates carried in his friend's favour a law alleviating the condition of public debtors.⁷⁶ The friendship continued into the next generation; in 347/6 Androtion carried a decree honouring the three sons of Leucon of the Bosphorus; by an oversight he named only two of them, and Poly-euctus, the son of Timocrates, added an amendment naming the third.⁷⁷ Demosthenes, who wrote Speeches xxii and xxiv for those prosecuting Androtion and Timocrates, had a standing feud with the latter. When Demosthenes prosecuted his guardian Aphobus, Timocrates took part in an intrigue to save Aphobus from restoring any property;⁷⁸ and when Demosthenes prepared to prosecute Meidias for assault, Timocrates and Polyeuctus were expected to plead for Meidias.⁷⁹ Two other friends of Androtion may be mentioned. In 354 or 353 he went with Glaucetes and Melanopus on an embassy to Mausolus.⁸⁰ About the former nothing more of interest can be stated. Melanopus came of a family which was already prominent in politics in the Peloponnesian War; so did Androtion, and this was not a common distinction in the fourth century.⁸¹ Melanopus's grandfather, Laches, distinguished himself as a general and a statesman in the Archidamian War; he was one of the Athenian commanders at the Battle of Mantinea, where he fell.⁸² The friendship between Androtion and Melanopus may have been lasting; in his *Atthis*, written later,⁸⁴ Androtion mentioned the death of Laches,⁸⁵ a remark which seems out of proportion to this part of the work, since apparently the Peloponnesian War occupied only one book.

It appears that Androtion, so far from being a political hanger-on of Aristophon, belonged to a far-reaching and lasting group; but it remains an open question whether in 355/4 this group supported Aristophon or acted independently. Some members of the parties of Aristophon and Eubulus deserve note. When the law of Leptines was tried, four men were chosen to speak for it: Leodamas, Aristophon, Cephisodotus and Deinias.⁸⁶ Demosthenes names them in this order, and it may well be the official order, for there was doubtless an official list showing the succession of their speeches. Demosthenes also says that each of them has a personal enemy: *ἔστι δ' ἐκάστῳ τις αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐχθρὸς, τῷ μὲν Διόφαντος, τῷ δ' Εὐβούλος, τῷ δ' ἰσως ἄλλος τις*.⁸⁷ Here Demosthenes does not say that the party of Eubulus opposes that of Aristophon on matters of policy; he says that some men, including Eubulus, are individually enemies of some others, including Aristophon; but doubtless there was friendship, on the one hand, between Diophantus and Eubulus, and on the other, between Leodamas, Aristophon, Cephisodotus, Deinias, and presumably Leptines. If the supporters of the law are named in their official order, their enemies may well be in the corresponding order. If so, Eubulus will be the personal enemy of Aristophon, as is known independently, and Diophantus will be the personal enemy of Leodamas; the latter point may derive some confirmation from the following facts.

In the sixties Diophantus supported Callistratus: in 368/7 he carried a decree honouring the Mytilenaeans, after Callistratus had proposed a similar decree in the previous year;⁸⁸ in 367 he carried a decree honouring the Lacedaemonian Coroebus,⁸⁹ which agrees with Callistratus's policy

⁷¹ Schäfer gave more weight to it; some later writers (e.g. W. Jäger, *Demosthenes*, pp. 56-9) mention it alone of the grounds for the theory.

⁷² Dem. xxii, 38.

⁷³ Polyeuctus, the son of Timocrates, was active in politics by 346 (*IG* II², 212, l. 65 = Tod 167); so Timocrates will have been born before 400.

⁷⁴ Dem. xxiv, 176; cf. *IG* II², 216 and 217. These decrees do not, *pace* Köhler and Kirchner, imply a date about 377/6; a date not before 358/7 appears from Dem. xxii, 72 and xxiv, 180.

⁷⁵ Dem. xxiv, 162; 166; 169; 172-3.

⁷⁶ Dem. xxiv, 11-16; 39-46.

⁷⁷ *IG* II², 212 = Tod 167.

⁷⁸ Dem. xxx.

⁷⁹ Dem. xxi, 139.

⁸⁰ Dem. xxiv, 12.

⁸¹ The Peloponnesian War seems to have impoverished many families who were previously influential; cf. Lys. xix, 45-9; 52; Isoc. viii, 126; xv, 161; Aesch. ii, 147.

⁸² He commanded in Sicily in 427/6 (Thuc. iii, 86; 90; 103; 115), fought at Delium in 424 (Plat. *Lach.* 181b; *Symp.* 221a), proposed the truce with Sparta in 423 (Thuc. iv, 118), swore to the peace and alliance with Sparta in 421 (Thuc. v, 19; 24) and his share in making the peace aroused the jealousy of Alcibiades (Thuc. v, 43, 2).

⁸³ Thuc. v, 61, 1; 74, 3.

⁸⁴ The statement of Plutarch (*Mor.* 605c = *de exil.* 14 = *F. Gr. Hist.* III B 324 T 14) need not be doubted: he says that Androtion wrote his *Atthis* in exile at Megara. The doubt expressed by Schäfer (*op. cit.* I², p. 390) should be dispelled by the discovery of parts of Didymus's commentary on Demosthenes.

⁸⁵ *F. Gr. Hist.* III B 324 F 41.

⁸⁶ Dem. xx, 146.

⁸⁷ *Ib.* 137.

⁸⁸ *IG* II², 107 = Tod 131.

⁸⁹ *IG* II², 106 = Tod 135.

of keeping on good terms with Sparta at this time. Leodamas, however, opposed Callistratus. He attacked the decree honouring Chabrias after the Battle of Naxos,⁹⁰ and Chabrias and Callistratus appear as friends in 373.⁹¹ In 366/5 Leodamas attacked Callistratus and Chabrias because of the loss of Oropus.⁹² Sometime he went on an embassy to seek Theban friendship.⁹³ This may have been the embassy immediately preceding the making of peace with Sparta in 371,⁹⁴ and it may have been intended as an alternative to Callistratus's policy of reaching an understanding with Sparta. Thus there was long-standing opposition between Diophantus and Leodamas. The attitude of Melanopus is also of interest. He was an enemy of Callistratus, who often prosecuted him on financial charges⁹⁵ but sometime he said that, although Callistratus was his enemy, the interest of the state should prevail.⁹⁶ This remark belongs to a context where Melanopus supported a policy advocated by Callistratus; it may have been the policy of making peace with Sparta in 371, for Melanopus served on the embassy then.⁹⁷ (The varying attitudes of Diophantus, Leodamas, and Melanopus to Callistratus are interesting; did some elements in the alliances which are being traced at the end of the Social War exist long before?)

Two facts about the personal relations of politicians at the end of the Social War indicate that the party of Androtion was not subordinate to Aristophon. First Melanopus was related by marriage to Diophantus;⁹⁸ that is, there was a personal tie between the parties of Androtion and of Eubulus. Secondly, one of the men from whom Androtion exacted arrears of taxes was Leptines,⁹⁹ the friend of Aristophon¹⁰⁰—surely no way to preserve friendship. Neither of these facts alone would be at all conclusive; together they have some cumulative force, especially as there is no reason to suppose that Androtion was a supporter of Aristophon, for the argument from their financial policy begs the question.

It is possible that this policy should also be attributed to Eubulus. Sometime before 343 he prosecuted Cephisophon and Moerocles for embezzling public money;¹⁰¹ sometime before 347/6 he prepared to prosecute Aristophon for withholding some money due to Athena, but Aristophon forestalled the prosecution by repaying the money.¹⁰² Schäfer¹⁰³ suggested that these trials took place about the end of the Social War, because they suit a man rising to power. It may be further suggested that they are part of the policy of *klägliche Auskünfte*.

It has here been maintained that, at the end of the Social War, Athens had not two political parties but at least three. It has been shown that there is no good reason to regard Androtion as a supporter of Aristophon, that indeed the evidence, so far as it goes, suggests that the party of Androtion was independent. It follows that the policy of *klägliche Auskünfte* was common to at least two of the parties; Eubulus may also have promoted it. It was also shown to be doubtful whether parties diverged on the question of peace or war in 356/5.

It has thus been established that Athens may have independent parties (Aristophon and Androtion), whose members injure one another (for Androtion exacted arrears from Leptines), although the parties promote the same policy (*klägliche Auskünfte*). Perhaps this result has some general significance. Many modern writers have assumed that Athenian parties constantly differed on very general questions of principle, and the supposed parties have sometimes been given such names as 'conservative', 'moderate', 'radical', 'oligarchic'. There is no reason to doubt that parties sometimes disagreed on immediate issues of policy; but it has been shown that sometimes they agreed on such matters. Therefore it was not taken for granted that politicians of different parties would disagree on immediate problems; different political groups did not lose their reason for existence if they failed to propose different ways of handling a specific situation which confronted the Athenians. *A fortiori* it was not taken for granted that political groups would disagree on very general questions.

In some modern states one may sometimes see election-posters which state the name of the candidate and that of his political party. Such party-names are often such as to indicate very general differences of opinion between the parties. Do those who use very general designations for the parties they discover in ancient Athens suppose that elections there were similar, and that politicians professed allegiance to parties defined by the general principles they allegedly acknowledged, so that (for example) a man seeking election as general might describe himself as 'the extreme democratic candidate in the tribe Aeantis'? If they do not mean this, they ought to say more clearly what they do mean.

If, however, they believe in such a similarity between conditions in Athens and those in modern states, perhaps they will claim that the appearance of such words as 'oligarchic', 'well-to-do',

⁹⁰ Dem. xx, 146.

⁹¹ Xen. Hell. vi, 2, 39.

⁹² Arist. Rhet. i, 7, 13, 1364a19; Schäfer, *op. cit.* I², pp. 107-10.

⁹³ Aesch. iii, 138.

⁹⁴ Xen. Hell. vi, 3, 2.

⁹⁵ Anaxandrides *ap. Athen.* xii, 553d; cf. Arist. Rhet. i, 14, 1, 1374b25.

⁹⁶ Plut. Dem. 13. Plutarch says that Melanopus often made the remark; but its anecdotal character requires a specific

situation, and Plutarch's generalisation may merely indicate his ignorance of the circumstances.

⁹⁷ Xen. Hell. vi, 3, 2.

⁹⁸ Harpocration *s.v.* Melanopus. Diophantus even named one of his sons Melanopus—[Dem.] xxxv, 6.

⁹⁹ Dem. xxii, 60.

¹⁰⁰ For Aristophon spoke in defence of the law of Leptines—Dem. xx, 146.

¹⁰¹ Dem. xxi, 218 and schol. *ad. loc.*

¹⁰² *Op. cit.* I², pp. 179-80.

¹⁰³ Dem. xix, 293.

'reputable', 'demotic' in ancient literature shows that these words were used in practical politics. This is not the place to inquire into the sources and reliability of some tendentious chapters of the Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens*; but at least the writer's treatment of very general party-designations does not suffice to show that such words were used in practical politics and not superimposed on practical politics in the studies of the rhetorician and the historian.

Moreover, it is far from clear that the word 'oligarch' was used in real politics of real politicians. The language of Demosthenes¹⁰⁴ suggests that no one who sought advancement in Athenian politics would dare to call himself an oligarch. The word was used of some amusing eccentrics who took no part in public life.¹⁰⁵ Such people were often young men, who gave themselves bold names and worked off their high spirits by brawling; sometimes they wore Spartan cloaks, and it was said that they would give false evidence in court to defend one another.¹⁰⁶ From the career of Andocides it appears that Athens had oligarchs of this type before 415. Clearly such people, with their exhibitionism¹⁰⁷ and their after-dinner speeches,¹⁰⁸ were harmless, because they had no influence and did not belong to the circle of practical politicians.

Perhaps those who use very general designations for the supposed parties in ancient Athens have been misled by an analogy, drawn perhaps unconsciously, with conditions in modern states, where it is taken for granted that parties differ on matters of principle and policy. But the pre-suppositions of politics differ in different states to-day. So the effect of the analogy may be illustrated from some remarks of Beloch which suggest conditions possible in a system of many parties, where governments are normally coalitions, but not possible in two-party systems, such as those of Great Britain and the United States. Beloch wrote that, after the loss of Oropus, Callistratus and Chabrias were attacked by *der äusserste Flügel der Gemässigten* among others;¹⁰⁹ and that, after the attack of Aeschines on the decree of Ctesiphon in 330 had failed, the Government of Athens was a 'compromise-government' representing four parties: macedonian-conservative, macedonian-radical, anti-macedonian-conservative and antimacedonian-radical.¹¹⁰

Such are the effects of the attempt to impose modern schemata on ancient politics. It has appeared in part what motives influenced Athenian politicians. The quarrel between Demosthenes and Timocrates manifested itself sometimes in private affairs but sometimes in political trials. When Demosthenes says that each of those defending the law of Leptines has an enemy, ἐχθρός must be understood, as often, as meaning a personal enemy. Euctemon and Diodorus prosecuted Androtion and Timocrates on political charges but because of a private feud: Diodorus, according to his own account, had been slanderously charged with parricide by Androtion; the latter had accused Euctemon of withholding arrears of *eisphora* and thereby had him deposed from a minor office. Athenian public life was the scene of personal and family-feuds; party-alignments depended sometimes on men, not measures. Demosthenes, in describing the political career in general, says nothing about programmes but much about prestige.¹¹¹ Above all, while politicians doubtless disagreed sometimes on immediate problems, it is quite unnecessary to suppose constant differences of general principle.

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¹⁰⁴ xv, 17-21.

¹⁰⁵ Theophr. *Char.* 26.

¹⁰⁶ Dem. liv, 14-37.

¹⁰⁷ Some were proud of their broken cars (Plat. *Gorg.* 515c).

¹⁰⁸ The fragment in which Andocides talks about vegetables (fr. 4 Blass) may come from the speech *To his Comrades*.

¹⁰⁹ *Attische Politik*, p. 154.

¹¹⁰ *Op. cit.* pp. 249-50.

¹¹¹ xix, 99-100.

PLATO AS DRAMATIST

EDITORS and translators have long recognised the dramatic element in Plato's work. It might seem superfluous to take up this subject in detail; but the detail in some aspects does not, in fact, appear to have been closely studied or recorded.

The desire to honour the personality and to perpetuate the method of Socrates is an obvious motive for Plato's choice of the dialogue form as medium for his own published expositions of philosophic thought. Such thought takes naturally, for him, the form of Socratic inquiry and response. But much more than this, in interest, inspiration, and technique, goes to the making of the Platonic dialogue. It is this background and this execution that are now to be considered.

We have the familiar tradition, recorded by Diogenes Laertius (III. 6) as received from Dicaearchus, that Plato wrote dithyrambs, lyrics, and tragedies, and was about to compete with a tragedy in the theatre of Dionysus when, still at an early age, he 'heard' Socrates, burnt his poems, and took up philosophy. Diogenes illustrates at length his affinity in thought with Epicharmus, and mentions the general belief (*δοκεῖ*) that Plato was the first to bring the mimes of Sophron to Athens, and based upon them his method of characterisation. We can no more rely upon all this as authentic than upon the rest of the gossip retailed by the chronicler, though Aristotle's association of the mimes of Sophron with Σωκρατικοὶ λόγοι (*Poet.* 1447b 11) may suggest an early source for this part of the tradition. But indeed Plato's interest in drama and his knowledge of its technique do not need the support of precarious hearsay.

Internal evidence in the way of allusion and imagery points to the place held in his thoughts by the literature and the practice of the stage.

Plato's quotations from the dramatic poets are by no means so frequent as those from Homer (which derive of course, from a long-standing tradition), and only about as many as those from other epic or from lyric sources. But they are made with effective point. Explicit or identifiable quotations are from Aeschylus 8, Sophocles 1, Euripides 7, Aristophanes 2, Eupolis 1. There are, besides, his many casual citations, or again conversational 'tags', usually burlesque in tone, mostly epic in origin but some of them clearly or apparently from dramatic sources. Among these we can definitely trace from Aeschylus 1, Sophocles 4, Euripides 5.¹

Apart from all special and overt references or quotations, there are found a number of illustrative or figurative uses of instances and words from dramatic sources, which prove an underlying and prevailing interest. These similes and metaphors from drama occur in dialogues of all periods. Some of the metaphors appear as single words, others in compound phrases which emphasise the association of thought.

These instances may be arranged in some order, beginning with explicit similes from the field of drama and passing to metaphorical usages traceable to the same source.

Similes.

Charm. 162d. ἐμοὶ ἔδοξεν ὀργισθῆναι -- ὥσπερ ποιητῆς ὑποκριτῇ κακῶς διατιθέντι τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ποιήματα.

Euthyd. 276b. ὥσπερ ὑπὸ διδασκάλου χορὸς ἀποσημήναντος.

Crat. 425d. ὥσπερ οἱ τραγωδοποιοὶ -- ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανάς καταφεύγουσι θεοὺς αἵροντες.

Rep. 580b. ἔγωγε ὥσπερ χοροὺς κρίνω.

Polit. 260c. ἀρ' ἐν τῇ κριτικῇ (sc. θετέον) καθάπερ τινὰ θεατὴν;

Polit. 303c. τοῦτο μὲν ἀτεχνῶς ἡμῖν ὥσπερ δρᾶμα -- καθάπερ ἐρρήθη νῦν δὴ (291a-b) Κενταυρικὸν ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ Σατυρικὸν τινὰ θιάσον -- ἐχωρίσθη.

Phaedo 115a (virtually a simile). νῦν ἐμὲ καλεῖ, φαίη ἂν ἀνὴρ τραγικός, ἢ εἰμαρμένη.

Prot. 327d is apparently an illustration from a specific drama. ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χορῷ μισάνθρωποι. (Adam suggests a play 'Ἀγριοί.)

Metaphors.

In several passages a metaphor suggests the parallel between the assembled company and the audience or the chorus at a theatre. This not only illustrates the tendency to use such terms, but emphasises further that to Plato the dialogue is itself a drama.

Symp. 194a-b is the most striking instance. φαρμάττειν βούλει με, ὦ Σώκρατες, -- ἵνα θορυβηθῶ διὰ τὸ οἰεσθαι τὸ θέατρον προσδοκίαν μεγάλην ἔχειν ὡς εὖ ἐροῦντος ἐμοῦ -- ἰδὼν τὴν σὴν ἀνδρείαν -- ἀναβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὸν ὀκρίβαντα μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, καὶ βλέψαντος ἐναντία, τοιοῦτῳ θεάτρῳ μέλλοντος ἐπιδείξεσθαι . . . οὐ δὴ που με οὕτω θεάτρον μεστὸν ἡγεῖ, κτλ.

¹ See my article in *CQ.* April 1951.

Prot. 315b. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τινες τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐν τῷ χορῷ. Description follows of the evolution of Protagoras' attendant band.

Critias 108b. προλέγω σοι - - τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου διάνοιαν, ὅτι θαυμαστῶς ὁ πρότερος ἠὺδοκίμηκεν ἐν αὐτῷ ποιητής. - - d, τῷδε τῷ θεάτρῳ δόξομεν κτλ. (Here it has been implied that only four persons are present, as in the *Timaeus*.)

More subtly metaphorical uses may be listed under the dramatic word employed.

χορός. Used figuratively of any group.

Euthyd. 279c. τὴν δὲ σοφίαν τοῦ χοροῦ τάξομεν;

Rep. 490c. οὐκ ἂν - - φαίμεν αὐτῇ χορὸν κακῶν ἀκολουθῆσαι . . . τὸν ἄλλον τῆς φιλοσόφου φύσεως χορὸν τί δεῖ - - τάττειν;

Rep. 560c. ὕβριν - - μετὰ πολλοῦ χοροῦ κατάγουσιν ἐστεφανωμένας.

Phaedr. 230c. ὑπηγεῖ - - τῷ τῶν τεττίγων χορῷ.

Phaedr. 247a. φθόνος γὰρ ἕξω θείου χοροῦ ἴσταται.

Phaedr. 250b. σὺν εὐδαίμονι χορῷ.

Theaet. 173b. τοὺς τοῦ ἡμετέρου χοροῦ.

cf. 173d. οὐχ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε χορεύοντες.

Polit. 291c. κατιδὼν τὸν περὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων πράγματα χορὸν.

δρᾶμα. Of any performance, task, business.

Symp. 222d. τὸ Σατυρικὸν σου δρᾶμα τοῦτο καὶ Σειληνικὸν κατάδηλον ἐγένετο.

Rep. 451c. μετὰ ἀνδρείῳ δρᾶμα - - τὸ γυναικεῖον αὐτὸ περαίνειν. (Adam sees reference to Sophron's mimes.)

Theaet. 150a. ἔλαττον τοῦ ἐμοῦ δράματος.

Theaet. 169b. κατ' Ἀνταῖον τὸ δρᾶμα δρᾶν.

εἰσάγω. To 'stage'.

Ap. 35b. τοῦ τὰ ἐλλείναι ταῦτα δράματα εἰσάγοντος.

Crat. 409d. ἦν εἰσάγω μηχανὴν ἐπὶ πάντα.

τραγικός. Theatrical, so high-flown, etc.

Men. 76c. τραγικὴ γὰρ ἐστίν - - ἡ ἀπόκρισις.

Rep. 413b. τραγικῶς - - κινδυνεύω λέγειν.

Rep. 545c. φῶμεν αὐτάς - - τραγικῶς - - ὑψηλογοιμένας λέγειν.

σκευή. Costume, so disguise.

Rep. 577b. γυμνός - - τῆς τραγικῆς σκευῆς.

Crito 53d. σκευὴν τέ τινα περιθέμενος καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ σαυτοῦ μεταλλάξας.

σχῆμα. Appearance (as in last example), so posture, rôle.

Gorg. 511c. περιπατεῖ ἐν μετρίῳ σχήματι.

Rep. 576a. πάντα σχήματα τολμῶντες ποιεῖν ὡς οἰκεῖοι.

Polit. 267c. σχῆμα βασιλικόν.

Laws 859a. ἐν πατρός τε καὶ μητρός σχήμασι φιλοῦντων.

ὄγκος. Aid to bulk, so pomp, impressiveness.

Rep. 373b. ὄγκου ἐμπληστέα καὶ πλήθους.

Theaet. 155b. μηδὲν τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὄγκου ἀφαιρεθέντος - - c, μηδὲν - - ἀπολλύς τοῦ ὄγκου.

Polit. 277b. θαυμαστὸν ὄγκον ἀράμενοι τοῦ μύθου.

Cf. *Men.* 90a. οὐδὲ ὄγκωδής τε καὶ ἐπαχθής.

ἐξοδος. Finale, so outcome.

Prot. 361a. ἡ ἄρτι ἐξοδος τῶν λόγων.

Two passages are of special interest:

Phil. 50b, a single instance of a metaphor which has become traditional. μηνύει - - ὁ λόγος - - μή (ἐν) τοῖς δράμασι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου συμπαθῇ τραγωδίᾳ καὶ κωμωδίᾳ λύπας ἡδοναῖς ἅμα κεράννυσθαι.

Theaet. 193c, a metaphor which clearly implies reference to an actual incident in an identifiable play. ὅταν . . . προθυμηθῶ - - ἐμβιβάσας προσαρμόσαι εἰς τὸ ἐαυτῆς ἴχνος, ἵνα γένηται ἀναγνώρισις. (Cf. *Aesch. Cho.* 203-10, *Eur. El.* 532-3.)

Special evidence of acquaintance with contemporary drama, and of attitudes toward it, is found in those passages of the *Republic* which discuss critically the dramatic poets and their work and prescribe for the ideal city restrictive action. Plato's longest actual quotation from tragedy is in fact made in criticism of the sentiment expressed—*Rep.* 383c, nine lines believed to be from Aeschylus' *Ὀπλων κρίσις*. In 395a ff. and 603c ff. it is the situations presented, and the stagecraft used, that come under examination and censure. Dramatic poetry is to be excluded because it involves μίμησις, too often of unworthy or trivial models. The numerous identifiable parallels, in extant or known plays, to the types of excess here condemned make it clear that Plato is writing of what he knows by actual observation.

The first impersonations censured are those of women—in moods of pride, vanity, or excessive grief, in situations of sickness, childbirth, passion. Here are allusions perhaps to Aeschylus' *Niobe*, pretty certainly to heroines of Euripides, traceable in part through the similar strictures spoken by Aeschylus in the *Frogs* 1043-4 and 1080, where Phaedra in the *Hippolytus*, Sthenoboea in the *Bellerophon* and *Sthenoboea*, and Auge in the play of that name are cited by the Scholiast. Next, the dramatists are condemned for representations of men of evil character, of slaves, of drunkenness and violent abuse, of madmen; on this last point it is obvious to refer to the end of the *Choephoroi*, to the *Ajax*, and to the *Herakles*. The introduction of smiths or other craftsmen (compare perhaps the action assigned to Hephaestus at the beginning of the *Prometheus*), or of rowers (are we to think of the ferry-boat in the *Frogs*?), leads on in order of indignity to stage-effects which produce horses neighing, bulls bellowing, rivers and seas roaring—effects perhaps to be ascribed rather to dithyrambic than to properly theatrical performances.

In the arguments used in *Rep. X* against dramatic art we find ample evidence of Plato's own reactions to its stimulus. Both drama and epic can over-excite emotion. When Homer or a tragic poet represents some suffering hero ἐν πένθει ὄντα καὶ μακρὰν ῥῆσιν ἀποτείνοντα ἐν τοῖς ὀδυρμοῖς, ἢ καὶ ᾄδοντάς τε καὶ κοπτομένους (the chorus of tragedy) - - ἐπόμεθα συμπάσχοντες. We share the feelings expressed (605d). Tragic drama gives the rein to τὸ ἐλεεινόν, the sense of pathos (606a-b). Comedy indulges unworthy direction of the sense of humour, always ready to betray us (606c); and Plato's own sense of humour is, as we know, abundant. The spectator may be himself ἐξενεχθεὶς ὥστε κωμωδοποιὸς γενέσθαι. Drama (ἡδιστος τύπος τῆς λέξεως, 397d) carries always the appeal to mass-emotion in all its strength. Appreciation of the wise and calm character is not easy in the atmosphere of the theatre—ἄλλως τε καὶ πανηγύρει καὶ παντοδαποῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς θέατρα συλλεγομένοις. ἄλλοτρίου γὰρ πάθους ἢ μίμησις αὐτοῖς γίνεται (604e). Again at *Laws* 800c-d we have a description of the effect wrought upon an audience by harrowing themes treated in dithyramb or tragedy. χορὸς - - πᾶσαν βλασφημίαν τῶν ἱερῶν καταχέουσιν, ῥήμασί τε καὶ ῥυθμοῖς καὶ γοωδεστάταις ἀρμονίαις συντείνοντες τὰς τῶν ἀκροωμένων ψυχὰς, καὶ ὅς ἂν δακρῦσαι μάλιστα τὴν θύσασαν παράχρημα ποιήσῃ πόλιν, οὗτος τὰ νικητήρια φέρει. We may recall the emphasis laid, at *Rep.* 492b-c, on the effect of any strong mass-feeling, in a public gathering, upon the young and sensitive hearer. All this suggests autobiography. Indeed, while Plato carries out to the end his metaphysical argument that poetic μίμησις is twice removed from reality, and his ethical denunciation of all that would develop the two lower parts of soul at the expense of the faculty of reason, there are signs that his condemnation of drama is not whole-hearted. Room is left for positive work on right lines; poets and craftsmen must be bidden τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ εἰκόνα ἡθοὺς ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς ποιήμασιν ἢ μὴ παρ' ἡμῖν ποιεῖν (401b ff.). This condition for toleration follows the passage (398a) prescribing a ceremonious dismissal of poets from the ideal city, and confirms the impression, given by its ironic and half-playful tone, that Plato is not, after all, entirely serious over this wholesale eviction. In the *Laws*, where training in choric song and dance is expressly prescribed, it is recognised (655d) that μίμησις is an essential part of such χορεία.

Plato is, then, by experience and by inclination, a dramatist at heart. It is time to consider some expressions of this attitude and this gift in his own practice of writing. While all his works except the *Apology* and the *Letters* are cast in dialogue form, the variation between directly dramatic and narrative presentation is interesting matter for study. The majority of the dialogues (fifteen of those agreed to be genuine) are in simple dramatic form. The only ones purely narrative are two short early works, the *Charmides* and the *Lysis*, and the *Republic*. Others exhibit complex structure of several kinds. The *Parmenides* begins with simple narratives, passes into continuous oblique narrative, and ends with all the effect of a simple dramatic dialogue. The *Theaetetus* begins dramatic and proceeds to the record, also dramatic, of an earlier talk. The *Protagoras*, *Euthydemus*, *Phaedo*, and *Symposium* show a dramatic framework enclosing long passages of narrative; in the *Protagoras* and *Symposium* only the brief introduction is in the dramatic form, and in the *Symposium* the narrative is in continuous *oratio obliqua*, enclosing again long speeches in *recta*. This variety of form amply illustrates Plato's mastery as a writer, and it has, of course, been discussed with reference to the order of his works. The most spectacular conclusion was perhaps that of Teichmüller (*Über die Reihenfolge der platonischen Dialoge*), who took the *Theaetetus*, in which the dramatic form is explicitly adopted, to be a turning-point in Plato's literary career, and proposed to place all the narrative dialogues earlier and all the dramatic dialogues later than that promulgation of a new method. If we take the reasonable line in recognising development of thought, and follow the now generally accepted order of the dialogues as confirmed by stylistic study, it becomes obvious and interesting that both in his earlier and in his latest phase of writing Plato preferred the simple dramatic form. Of the earlier group, 8 are dramatic, 2 narrative, and 2 mixed; of the central four as usually distinguished, 1 dramatic, 1 narrative, 2 mixed; of the later works, 6 dramatic, 1 narrative.

Taylor (*Plato, The Man and his Work*, pp. 177 ff.) has stressed the complex form of 'four great dialogues which exhibit Plato's dramatic art at its ripest perfection.' These are, in his grouping, the *Phaedo*, *Symposium*, *Protagoras*, and *Republic*, all of which narrate 'conversation supposed to have taken place before a numerous audience and subsequently described'. This 'difficult literary

form' has, he remarks, already been used in 'comparatively short dialogues (e.g. *Charmides*, *Euthydemus*)'. The *Lysis* should be included; and the *Euthydemus* is not, in fact, so very short. After the *Republic*, Taylor points out, this form is used only in the *Parmenides*, and 'there is a formal explanation of its abandonment in the *Theaetetus*'. Taylor feels that this complex type of writing belongs to Plato's 'prime of maturity as a writer'. Against his grouping one or two things have to be said. The *Protagoras* is, from its content, clearly earlier than the other three included, and after a very brief dramatic introduction it is all narrative. The *Republic* is entirely narrative. The *Phaedo* is closely similar in form to the *Euthydemus*, in that both enclose narrative within a recurring dramatic structure. Of these two the *Euthydemus*, plainly the earlier from its content, is the more regular and complete in this arrangement. To this point we shall return later. In general tone, content, and richness of literary effect the natural companion to the *Phaedo*, *Symposium*, and *Republic* in a central group is the entirely dramatic *Phaedrus*.

It is perhaps worth noting that, while the *Republic* is purely narrative, the *Timaeus* and the *Critias*, ostensibly completing a trilogy, are in structure purely dramatic. This supports the theory of an actual interval of some time between the writing of the *Republic* and of the two others, with a change of method corresponding to change of outlook and thought.

While it is clear that Plato usually preferred the dramatic form in its simple presentation, and while he further employs it as a framework for narrative, the genuinely dramatic elements in his work do not by any means attach only to that structure; they are found no less in narrative dialogues and passages. For our appraisal of scene-setting, characters and their delineation, give-and-take of discussion, and progress of plot or argument, his choice of direct or indirect method is really unimportant. It is in these techniques, combining to give to the presentation of abstract thought the verisimilitude of human encounters in real life, that his mastery as a dramatist is essentially found.

Before considering some of the detail of these effects, it is necessary to face a matter in which the dramatist may be found open to criticism. In any of its forms a Platonic dialogue purports to be the representation or the record of a conversation actually held. In estimating the degree of realism purposed or achieved, the question of length must arise. We know that the literary mime was not intended for performance, but to be read. Presumably it was to be read at one sitting, and should depict a conversation held within an actually possible time. Our only extant mimes, those of Herodas and the three mimic idylls of Theocritus, are in fact quite short, none exceeding 200 lines. Our extant stage plays are singly of reasonable length, but the dramatic contests involved all-day sittings. Plato's dialogues are all implied to represent unrehearsed and informal encounters; and while exceeding the brief mime formula, they should come fairly within the probable limits of such intercourse. Except for the *Republic* and the *Laws*, they do nearly all conform to this requirement. To estimate the time involved, a personal experiment was needed. The average time taken to read aloud one page of Stephanus' text, at a fairly deliberate speed, was found to be about four minutes. In none of the dialogues is enough action indicated to take up any appreciable time. Working out, then, as closely as possible on this basis the time needed for the supposed conversation, some results for longer dialogues were as follows:

<i>Protagoras</i>	3½ hours	<i>Theaetetus</i>	4 hours
<i>Gorgias</i>	5½ hours	<i>Sophist</i>	3½ hours
<i>Phaedo</i>	4 hours	<i>Politicus</i>	3½ hours
<i>Symposium</i>	3½ hours	<i>Philebus</i>	3½ hours
<i>Phaedrus</i>	3½ hours	<i>Timaeus</i>	5 hours
<i>Parmenides</i>	2½ hours		

Thus among the earlier dialogues the *Gorgias*, along with its strained earnestness of content, goes to a length beyond normal probability; among the later, the *Timaeus* does also, but nearly all of it is a continuous discourse in which the dramatic setting is forgotten and the effect of a dissertation remains.

The *Republic*, on this reckoning, would take 18½ hours, from which just a little could be deducted for episodes or descriptions narrated by the way. The *Laws*, purely dramatic in form, runs to 21½ hours. Plainly neither of these will do as a credible record of one continuous conversation. But it is of some interest to compare the treatment and presentation, in the two dialogues, of this excessive length.

The *Republic* is entirely narrative, and no recipient of Socrates' story is indicated. At the outset some action is recorded, and in the earlier books there is give-and-take among a group of speakers. It is implied that Socrates is lingering in Piraeus to enjoy dinner and an all-night festival. The last bit of action described is early in Book V, where (449b ff.) Polemarchus intervenes with Adeimantus to put difficulties to Socrates. After this, there is only periodic exchange of speaker between Glauco and Adeimantus. There are some striking moments (e.g. 509c, 515a), and some shrewd replies and comments are given; and though in Book X Socrates, in the myth of Er, carries us beyond our bourne of time and place, his final addresses to Glauco (618b, 621c) remind us lightly of his friend's remarkable feat of endurance. But Glauco is given no reply.

The setting of the *Laws* is a walk taken by three elderly men; the scene and the destination are described. We are told (683c) that it is the day of the summer solstice, so that there is plenty of time in hand. At 722c, after continuing from daybreak to noon (by our reckoning they have talked for about 6½ hours), they have reached a *παγκάλη ἀναπαύλη* ('harbour', Taylor calls it), and presumably they sit down in it. There is no further, or final, reference to the scene or occasion, though there are numerous figurative allusions to the 'path' of their discussion. The conversation goes on, though at several points it gives way to long speeches by the Athenian. At 781e (after another four hours) he remarks that *σχολῆς ἀπολαύομεν*—'we have plenty of time and no hurry'. And so on to the remaining eleven hours or so. Cleinias and Megillus continue to make replies and ask leading questions. Cleinias shows himself the more robust of the two, but at the end it is Megillus who winds up with a reminder that he is still there, and still awake.

It is clear that neither the *Republic* nor the *Laws* manages to avoid the incongruity of a conversation of superhuman length. But it may certainly be said that the *Republic*, with its greater animation and its variety of content, is the more successful attempt. Taylor, in discussing the *Laws*, hardly faces the problem of its unrealistic length. He writes (*Plato*, p. 463): 'The dramatic element is reduced to a minimum. To all intents and purposes the book is a monologue, interrupted only by formulae of assent or requests for further explanation.' This may in general terms be allowed. But when he goes on to say (p. 466) that 'The long day will suffice for a full discussion', our answer must be that even the longest day will not accommodate this discussion as it is presented.

In the choice of scene, where this is indicated, Plato shows full regard to verisimilitude. These conversations of Socrates are as a rule set, or are implied to be set, in Athens or in its near neighbourhood. The *Euthyphro* is in the porch of the King Archon; the *Charmides*, *Laches* (by implication), and *Lysis* in palaestrae, the narrated conversation of the *Euthydemus* in the Lyceum. The *Protagoras* moves from the house of Socrates to that of Callias, the *Gorgias* is in that of Callicles, the *Republic* in that of Cephalus at Piraeus; the *Symposium* moves from a street to the house of Agathon, the *Parmenides* from the Agora to the house of Antiphon, then to that of Pythodorus in the Outer Cerameicus. The *Theaetetus* begins in the house of Euclides and moves to a palaestra. The *Crito* is set in the prison of Socrates; the *Phaedo* gives a meeting of surviving friends at Phlius and then records conversation in the prison. The *Meno*, *Ion*, *Cratylus*, *Sophist*, *Politicus*, *Philebus*, *Timaeus*, and *Critias* give no indication of scene. Two dialogues only suggest open country—the *Phaedrus*, in which Socrates has been lured out to the banks of the Ilissus, and the *Laws* (where Socrates does not appear) on a road in Crete. There is little description of local colour or of stage 'properties', apart from the rather elaborate setting of the *Protagoras* and the *Symposium*, and the realistic detail of the *Phaedo*. In general, the narrative dialogues give hardly more in the way of background than the dramatic; indeed, the most vivid description of scene is found in one of the latter—the setting of the *Phaedrus*, river-bank, grass and trees, and shrine, its sights and sounds conveyed in clear detail through Socrates' words of admiration. Touches here and there do help to avoid as a rule the suggestion of mere interchange of argument *in vacuo*. It is in some of the later dialogues that we come nearest to such impersonality.

The number of characters indicated as present is as a rule small. Socrates meets only one other person in the *Crito*, *Euthyphro*, *Ion*, *Phaedrus*, and in the dramatic framework of the *Protagoras* and the *Euthydemus*. There are, again, two characters only in the formal introductions to the *Symposium*, *Theaetetus*, and *Parmenides*. Socrates talks with two other speakers in the *Charmides*, *Cratylus*, *Theaetetus*, and *Philebus*; with three in the *Lysis*, *Meno*, *Sophist*, *Politicus*, *Timaeus*, and *Critias*; with four in the *Gorgias*, *Phaedo*, and *Republic*; with six in the *Laches*, and with seven in the *Symposium*. In the *Laws* the Athenian talks with two others. In a number of the dialogues (as already noted) there is reference to the presence of persons besides the speakers—a stage-crowd, or an audience, interested in the argument. This kind of setting is found in the *Charmides*, *Gorgias*, *Protagoras*, *Euthydemus*, *Phaedo*, *Symposium*, *Republic*, *Sophist*, and *Philebus*. The supporting company may be a general party as in the *Protagoras* (where several besides the speakers are named), a group of keenly-interested friends, as in the *Phaedo* (several again named), or a more slightly indicated 'ring', as in the *Gorgias*, *Sophist*, and *Philebus*, where references to the assent or approval of these bystanders suggest a rudimentary analogy to the chorus of a play, and also add a little human interest to the two later dialogues. (See *Gorgias* 458b–c, 473c, 506a; *Sophist* 217d, 218a, 234c; *Philebus* 16a–b, 20a, 23b, 67b.)

The delineation of individual characters has been emphasised by the commentators, from Jowett onwards, as the most obviously dramatic trait in Plato's work. These participants in discussion exhibit a double quality; they are human beings, individually realised, and they are also in many cases personifications of moral qualities or of philosophical points of view. Characterisation is strongest in the earlier and middle dialogues. The several sophists are the most broadly drawn, on lines near to caricature—Protagoras, bland and pontifical; Prodicus, hypochondriac and pedantic; Hippias, vain of omniscience and grandiloquent; Gorgias, pompous and condescending, ready to leave debate to his junior, the impetuous Polus. Euthydemus and his brother are farcical in their extravagant disputation. Thrasymachus stands out for violent rudeness; Anytus is surly, Callicles is the man of the world who has no use for philosophers. The persons in the *Symposium*

are clearly delineated, Alcibiades with the strongest effect. Crito is an affectionate and loyal friend. In discussion, Kebes in the *Phaedo* is forthright and clear-headed, Simmias sensitive and sometimes confused; the brothers in the *Republic* are both able and vigorous, Glauco taking the major part. Euthyphro is smugness personified. Hippocrates, Ctesippus, and Theaetetus are eager disputants, Charmides and Cleinias are shy youths. The old soldiers in the *Laches* are shrewdly drawn. In the later dialogues, *i.e.* after the *Theaetetus*, the presentation of individual characters declines in clearness.

As for the central character, we are not now concerned with problems of the authenticity of the Platonic Socrates. It need only be emphasised that the Socrates of the dialogues is a fully-rounded personality; no one delineation suffices, nor of course are we to look for any process of development in his character, as distinct from the thoughts he is made to express. His outstanding traits are always there—friendliness, irony, courage, intellectual integrity, searching interrogation, homely use of analogy, love of poetry and myth. He is encouraging to genuine seekers for truth, stern to impostors. In the *Phaedo* and the *Republic* above all, along with the tribute of Alcibiades in the *Symposium*, his lineaments are clearly drawn. In the later dialogues Socrates, too, loses in individuality. His youthful reincarnation in the *Parmenides* has little human interest.

Special episodes have the effect of introducing extra characters, real or imaginary. Such scenes are the personification of the Laws, *Crito* 50a-54d; the conversation on geometry between Socrates and the slave, *Meno* 82b-85b; the argument imagined as taunting the disputants, *Protagoras* 361a-c; the parable of the prisoners in the cave, *Republic* 514a-517a; the prolonged imaginary address to Protagoras, *Theaetetus* 170a ff., and in the same dialogue the delineation of the lawyer (172d-173b) and the philosopher (173c-176a), with the encounter between them; the contest with philosophers of the schools, *Sophist* 243d-248e; and finally, in the *Laws* the challenge to lawgivers, 885c ff., and the address to the young atheist, 899d-900b. The myths further introduce their own characters, traditional or allegorical. Anecdotes bring in the persons of Stesilaus, *Laches* 183c ff.; of Gyges, *Rep.* 359d ff.; of Leontius, *Rep.* 439c ff.; of Thales, *Theaet.* 174a ff.

In the *Republic* types of individual character are shown in development, parallel to the types of political constitution; the philosopher in a long evolution, with a final portrait emerging at 496a-497a; the timarchic man, 548c-550b; the oligarchic, 553a-555a; the democratic, 558c-561e; and the tyrannic, drawn at greatest length and with most vivid detail, 571a-576b. Throughout this passage the use of present participles is noteworthy as stressing the fact of γένεσις, change and development.

It would be of interest further to explore the dialogues for examples of especially dramatic effect—exhibited, as is natural, more often in turns of speech than in incidents of action. A few instances may be taken. The violent irruption of Thrasymachus, pouncing like a wild beast, does import exciting action (*Rep.* 336b); later in the *Republic* we find (509c) the sudden change of tone from rhapsody to dry argument, occasioned by Glauco's lively comment, "Ἀπολλὼν - - δαμονίας ὑπερβολῆς. Again at 515a there is Socrates' startling rejoinder to his comment on the picture of the cave—ἀτοπον - - λέγεις εἰκόνα καὶ δεσμώντας ἀτόπους. 'Ομοίους ἡμῖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ. At *Phaedo* 115c, Socrates in his last hour is ready with unexpected irony. θάπτωμεν δέ σε τίνα τρόπον; 'Οπως ἂν, ἔφη. βούλησθε, ἔάνπερ γε λάβητέ με καὶ μὴ ἐκφύγω ὑμᾶς. Effective, too, are his serious rejoinders to flippancy remarks, *e.g.* *Rep.* 339a-b, 498d; *Gorg.* 473b.

Beyond these matters of *apparatus*, the technical aspects of Plato's work as a dramatist, it remains to consider some questions of the relationship between the stage setting of his dialogues and their content as expressions of philosophic thought. In some, the relation is clear and vital; in others, partial and intermittent. The dramatisation of the process of inquiry varies from (say) the introduction of a fresh point of view by a change of interlocutor to the evidently studied arrangement in scenes or episodes which marks several of the dialogues of the middle period.

The *Crito* stands, in a sense, apart.² In this short and early dialogue the points of ethical theory developed—the duty of independent thought and obedience to its findings, and the claim of the city's laws upon the citizen—are ancillary to the brief human drama here enacted, the ἀγὼν of Crito's attempt to persuade Socrates to escape and his refusal to do so. Here character is displayed as consistent in holding to purpose in the face of trial, the latter embodied in Crito's strong pleas in the name of reputation, friendship, and family duty. Socrates' invocation of the personified Laws gives him a victory that cannot be questioned; Crito, his antagonist in the name of friendship, has in the end nothing to say. The *Crito* is not a frame for theory, but a drama in its own right.

Of the philosophical dialogues the two most elaborate in structure are mixed in form, narrative predominating within a dramatic framework. These are the *Euthydemus* and the *Phaedo*. The *Euthydemus*, by all criteria the earlier of the two, is the more symmetrical in arrangement; its pattern as a comedy is recognised and clear, and need be only briefly recalled. The meeting between Socrates and Crito provides a prologue, interlude, and epilogue. Within this frame we have five scenes of the narrated encounter between Socrates, the young Cleinias and the two sophists; others are present, Ctesippus in particular sharing in the argument. In Scene 1, the sophists are described

² I am indebted to Professor A. W. Gomme for suggesting this point, and for criticism in some matters of detail besides.

as reducing Cleinias to perplexity; in Scene 2 Socrates reassures him that wisdom can in fact be taught. Scene 3 shows the sophists turning upon Socrates and Ctesippus with a series of fallacies of logic. In Scene 4 Socrates debates seriously the question what art can make life happy. The interlude comes here, before the climax of the narrative; Socrates and Crito briefly ponder the same question. In Scene 5 of the narrative the Sophists produce more eristical subtleties, based mainly on ambiguities of language; Ctesippus is routed, but Socrates remains unmoved. In the epilogue Socrates and Crito discuss the position of an unnamed friend and the education of Crito's sons. In the arrangement of this dialogue the frivolity of the sophists, self-regarding and idly destructive in debate, is admirably contrasted with the serious attitude of Socrates, helpful to the young, practical and devoted to truth.

In the *Phaedo* the element of balance and contrast is less prominent; one topic leads on to another, and the argument takes the more familiar form of successive hypotheses, destroyed or confirmed, mounting to an agreed conclusion. But the phases of the action are clearly marked. The dramatic prologue sets the mood of expectancy for such a story; the descriptive beginning and end of the narrative provide the appropriate framework for the argument about immortality. The main topic having emerged, early proofs are countered (after a silence, 84c) by the objections of Simmias and Kebes. Here, in a dramatic interlude before the argument moves forward, Echecrates and Phaedo comment on the position. After disposal of the harmony-theory advanced by Simmias, the more serious problem of answering Kebes is prepared for as Socrates, after a long pause (95c), offers the story of his progress in the search for causes. The development and the acceptance of the final proof brings in fact the end of suspense. For the real protagonist in this drama, as an evolution of fortune, is not Socrates, whose death has been determined from the first and kept in view by many a touch of language, and whose behaviour at the end is consistent with his attitude from the beginning; the hero of the *ἀγών* is the *λόγος*, whose fate has been repeatedly at stake—see 89b, where Socrates playfully suggests that its demise may become a cause for mourning—and with it the human soul whose survival has been throughout in question. The proof of immortality from the Forms once accepted, and the soul made safe from annihilation, the action moves to imaginative description of the real earth and of the destiny of spirits—a lyrical meditation on the general theme, a passage comparable to a choric ode. The final scene follows with studied restraint, and lastly Phaedo's comment, its calm in true affinity with the close of an Attic tragedy. There is no actual return to the enclosing dialogue, but a reminder of it when Echecrates is addressed in the last sentence. A measure of light relief has been supplied by touches of by-play, some of them with mythological reference, between the episodes, and by the prevailing cheerfulness of Socrates himself. It is interesting that he makes the final transition from myth to reality with an allusion to the theatre, apologising for applying to his own position the term *ἐμπαρμένη*, more fitted for the lips of an *ἀνὴρ τραγικός* (115a), and also that, to complete the lowering of tone in Phaedo's final comment, the characteristic metaphor of departure (*ἀποδημία*, etc.) is replaced by the ordinary prose word for death, *τελευτή*.

In the *Symposium*, narrative in form, the presentation of different views of *ἔρως* is made entirely dramatic under the form of a series of speeches; and the impressiveness of the account given by Socrates is enhanced by the device of ascribing it to the utterance of a priestess. The entry of Alcibiades, with his tribute to Socrates, makes a brilliant climax, after which this dialogue again falls away into unemphatic calm. The use of set speeches appears also with dramatic effect in the earlier part of the *Phaedrus*.

In dialogues less obviously dramatic in point of atmosphere and development of content, the tendency is found to divide the argument into sections or scenes of comparable length, with or without a change of interlocutor. The *Meno* falls neatly into five such episodes (*cf.* Seymer Thompson's edition, *Intr.* xxvi–xxvii), with a special interest attaching to the introduction of the slave-geometrician, a scene which clinches the proof of *ἀνάμνησις*. In the *Gorgias*, one of the least dramatic of the earlier dialogues in any but the formal sense, there is balance in the length of sections as divided between the several interlocutors. Thus: introduction, Socrates and Gorgias, 14 pages; Socrates and Polus, 20; Socrates and Callicles (his main antagonist), two sections of 24 and 16 pages, divided by an interlude in which Gorgias arbitrates; Socrates alone, the last 4 pages—the myth and its application. We have already noted that a background audience is implied at several points.

To take one more instance, in the *Republic* with its much greater length there is a similar alternation of speakers, with Glauco in the main as Socrates' chief disputant. There is obvious dramatic value in the opening scene and the emergence of the main topic, the attack by Thrasymachus, the difficulties put by Glauco and Adeimantus, the introduction of the theme of a *πόλις* and the stages of its growth. The interlude (449b ff.) in which Polemarchus and others hold up the discussion leads to the encounters with the three 'waves' of objection, the last of these introducing the central theme of the philosopher-king and his training. Books VIII and IX, in some sense a passage of anticlimax, exhibit the degenerate states and individuals with constant interest in detail and development, and culminate in the decisive comparison of lives. Book X is saved from the position of a mere appendix by the relevance of its first part to the earlier incomplete discussion

of poetry, and by the grand finale given in the myth of Er. Here again there is quiet dignity in the last sentence, with good omen in the closing words—εὖ πράττωμεν.

The dramatic quality found in scene, arrangement, and characterisation varies, obviously, in the dialogues of all periods. It becomes weakest in some of the later works—in the latter part of the *Parmenides*, with its colourless pattern of leading question and impersonal reply, or in the continuous discourse (following a fairly animated introduction) of the *Timaeus*. But in Plato's more characteristic moods the instinct for drama not only determines the framework of his dialogues, but equally operates in the development of the arguments they contain. In the early successions of inadequate hypotheses, destroyed by ἐλεγχος and resulting in ἀπορία, in the examination and assessment of contrasting standards in ethics and contrasting methods of debate, in the introduction of the concept of ἔρως and the transcendent Forms, in successive studies of the up-building of communities of men—throughout the range of his works, whether in single dialogues or in the pattern of the whole, there is the constant sense of development and change. While οὐσία remains the eternal and changeless παράδειγμα, the human activity of thought proceeds by way of γένεσις, through the interplay of individual minds—a δράμα proceeding to an ἐξοδος that is not yet. The dénouement waits, like the unsolved problems of the *Republic*, εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν βίον ὅταν αὐθις γενόμενοι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐντύχωσι λόγοις.

DOROTHY TARRANT

KROKOTOS AND WHITE HERON

PROFESSOR HASPELS in her *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* has described the work of the Theseus painter and analysed his style.¹ In this account of him she naturally gives more consideration to his lekythoi than to the other shapes that he decorated, but his numerous skyphoi, painted in the 'White Heron' workshop, are listed in full and briefly discussed. Miss Haspels describes the Theseus painter as the moving spirit in this busy undertaking, until at last, she suggests, he may have 'got weary of inspiring the hacks in the "Heron workshop" and of witnessing their decay' and so left and went elsewhere.² Later³ she adds that 'that workshop apparently turned out skyphoi before he joined', but the theme has never been developed, and there is now a general tendency to attribute all skyphoi from this shop that are not by his hand to followers or imitators of the Theseus painter without further qualification. This may be somewhat misleading, since followers and imitators are necessarily later than what they follow and imitate. I hope to show that the shop in which the Theseus painter painted his skyphoi was a flourishing concern, making both skyphoi and kylikes, before he entered it, and that some of his companions, so far from being imitators, were his seniors and to some extent his teachers.

There are certain large skyphoi of the same general type as the White Heron group, about 0.16 m. high with a diameter of about 0.22 m. at the lip, that is, rather broader than the majority of the skyphoi decorated by the Theseus painter. The rim normally shows well-shaped ivy leaves. Between the figures and the tongues, alternately black and red, that border the bottom of the vase there are five or six horizontal lines, generally thin, in various groupings. There is a red fillet at the junction of body and foot, and the base within the foot ring is left plain, with no painted circles. These skyphoi are very colourful, much use being made of yellow as well as white, and their women generally wear the krokotos, a chiton of plain yellow,⁴ unrelieved except for white buttons or brooches down the sleeves. We will call this group of skyphoi the Krokotos group.

(1) Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 343. *CV* Bibl. Nat. fasc. ii, pl. 69; de Ridder *Catalogue* fig. 43. *A* and *B*. Dionysos riding on a mule among white-haired satyrs and dancing maenads wearing the krokotos. Beneath handles a black krater with red neck and white dots on the shoulder.

(2) Heidelberg University 277. Plate IV 1, VII 3, XV 3, 8. *CV* fasc. i, pl. 42. 3-5. *A* and *B*. In a vine arbour between two flute-girls a big naked man reclines on a yellow cushion with a black kylix in his hand. The girl at his feet wears a krokotos under a himation. The yellow sleeves of the krokotos are plainly visible, and the lower part can be seen from knee to ankle, though on side *A* this is partly obscured by the leg of the man. On side *B* it is further obscured by a yellow dog, but a small part of the krokotos is visible above the dog's shoulder. The flesh of the women, as well as their undergarment, is rendered in yellow instead of the normal white. Beneath handles (*a*) krater as on 1, (*b*) yellow dog with red collar.

(3) Athens, Nat. Mus. 14906. Plate V 1. Smaller than normal (ht. 0.12 m.), black rim, black tongues. *A* and *B*. In a vine arbour a big naked man reclines on a white cushion with a white kylix in his hand; beside him is a woman in a krokotos dancing; at his feet a flute-girl. Beneath handles (*a*) black krater with red neck, (*b*) white dog.

(4) London, Brit. Mus. 1920. 2-16. 3. Plate IV 2. *A* and *B*. A lion on the left of a tree facing three bulls on the right of it. One bull is black with a red neck, one yellow, and one white. Beneath handles only the hind parts of the white bulls.

(5) Athens, Nat. Mus. 12532 Nicole 924. Plate V 2. Smaller than normal (ht. 0.13 m.), black rim, black tongues. *A* and *B*. A lion, partly concealed by a yellow bull, facing three bulls, one black with a red neck, one white, and one yellow. Beneath handles tails of bulls.

(6) Thebes, Rhitsona 31. 172. *Ure, Sixth and Fifth*, pl. xviii (side *B*). *A*. Dionysos on a mule with a satyr walking beside him; in front a flute-girl and behind a lyre player both wearing the

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¹ *ABL* 141 f.

² *Op. cit.* 146.

³ *JHS* LVIII (1938) 257.

⁴ The yellow, inclining to biscuit, is unmistakable on the two skyphoi from Rhitsona (6 and 7 of the above list) which came out of the grave looking bright and new, and on a number of others. In some cases it has faded almost to ivory and has sometimes been mistaken for a dirty white. It is here referred to throughout as yellow, regardless of its present condition.

krokotos (sleeve only visible) under a himation; on each side a maenad in a krokotos dancing. *B* as *A*, but satyrs take the place of the maenads. Beneath handles a dolphin.

(7) Thebes, Rhitsona 31. 173. *BSA* XIV, pl. xi, 1 (side *A*). *A*. In a vine arbour a man in a gaily patterned himation reclines with a white kantharos in his hand, the mattress decorated with a wavy white line, the pillow yellow; at his head a flute-girl and at his feet a lyre player wearing a krokotos under a himation; on each side a woman in a krokotos dancing. *B* as *A*, but the man is naked, there is no mattress and the pillow is white. Beneath handles a dolphin.

(8) Athens, Nat. Mus. 368 CC 799, from Tanagra. Plate V 3. *A* and *B*. In a vine arbour a man in a plain black himation reclines on the ground; standing over him a flute-girl; on each side a woman in a krokotos (now faded to a dirty white) dancing. Beneath handles a dolphin. On the base two black circles.

(9) Athens, Nat. Mus. 416 CC 792, from Thebes. Plate VI 1, 2, 3. Heydemann *Gr. Vasenbilder*, pl. iv 1; Brommer *Herakles und Hydra auf attischen Vasenbildern*, pl. 2 (Marburger Winkelmann-programm 1949). *A* and *B*. Athena and Herakles on each side of a tree round which the hydra is twined. On *A* Herakles attacks the hydra with a white stone,⁵ while he supports a pile of similar stones on his left hand and arm. Athena wears beneath her black himation an archaic foldless chiton, which was originally painted in colour, applied over the black, which has now turned grey. It is not unlikely that, like the chitons of the flute-girls of 2 (Plates IV 1, VII 3), it was yellow.⁶ On *B* Herakles attacks with his club; Athena wears a full black chiton with folds. Beneath handle an eagle devouring a hare.

Characteristic of this group is the use of yellow for large surfaces, and in particular for the krokotos, which is seen in its entirety on maenads or dancing girls on 1, 3, 6, 7, and 8; under a black himation with the lower part from knee to ankle and the sleeve showing on 2; with the sleeve alone showing on 6, 7, and 8. It is not certain that the chiton of Athena on side *A* of 9 was originally yellow,⁷ but the vase is entitled to a place in this group, as it accords with the formula in other respects.

The skyphoi in the Cabinet des Médailles and in Heidelberg (1, 2) are by the same painter, whom I will call the Krokotos painter. From his hand comes also, I believe, the large skyphos with cattle in the British Museum (4), which Professor Haspels has attributed to the Theseus painter.⁸ A comparison with the Theseus painter's skyphoi with cattle in Taranto and Boston (*ABL* 250, nos. 17 and 26) shows considerable difference in treatment. The heads of the black bull and the lion on the London vase have a boldly incised outline; those on the Taranto skyphos⁹ and the Boston skyphos have not. The Theseus painter always draws the creases at the base of the bull's horn; they are lacking on the London vase. The Theseus painter generally indicates the jaw by two parallel curves close together; the London skyphos has a single line for the jaw and another smaller curve across the cheek, often ending in the neighbourhood of the eye. The horns of the Theseus painter's cattle curve back, while those on the London vase are straight. Finally, the Theseus painter's animals are stockier and plant their feet more firmly on the ground than those of the London skyphos. The front legs and paws of the London lion resemble those of the yellow dog on 2 (Plate XV 3) rather than those of the lion on the Theseus painter's Boston vase, and the same dog also supplies a parallel to the curve on the cheek of the bulls. The absence of black circles on the base, and the fact that below the figures there are fine lines only, accord with the practice of the Krokotos painter, while they are unusual in the Theseus painter's work. I venture, then, to attribute the London cattle to the Krokotos painter. The smaller black-rimmed cattle vase in Athens (5) and the skyphos with a krokotos-clad dancer which pairs with it (3) are apparently the work of pupils. A late skyphos by the Krokotos painter himself, black rimmed and with no yellow, is Louvre CA 443 (Fig. 1) with wrestlers and trainers. Like all his skyphoi, it has no circles on the base, and the fillet between foot and body is red. Beneath each handle there is a tall krater with white dots along the rim. The drawing is hasty, but the anatomy generally is like that of the satyrs on the skyphos in the Cabinet des Médailles. Several of the figures have the pear-shaped eye normally reserved for animals, e.g. the dog under the handle of 2 (Plate XV 3). The Krokotos painter also painted kylikes, which will be dealt with later.

The Rhitsona skyphoi 6 and 7 together with 8 form a group parallel to 1-3 with similar subjects. They must be the work of a colleague or colleagues of the Krokotos painter.¹⁰ Here there is a dolphin in place of the krater under the handles. The men of these skyphoi, in contrast to the burly creatures of the Krokotos painter, are lean and meagre. The composition is mechanical and on 6 meaningless, for the flute-girl and lyre player who enliven the arbour are absurdly out of place standing in the path of Dionysos' advancing mule. These skyphoi also connect with a group of kylikes and will be discussed together with them on p. 101.

⁵ So Collignon and Couve, *Cat.* 251. For this view compare the Corinthian amphora in Berlin, Pfühl, *MuZ.*, fig. 190, where Perseus attacks the monster with stones, of which a pile lies ready for use at his feet. Alternatively, he offers the hydra a bait, perhaps some drugged substance which he has detached from a mass held on his arm; so Brommer, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁶ I did not observe on the vase anything corresponding to the

group of white spots shown on the drawing figured by Heydemann and Brommer.

⁷ Athena's chiton is yellow on skyphoi 10 and 12 of the following group.

⁸ *ABL* 250 no. 27.

⁹ *CV*, Taranto fasc. ii, pl. 11.

¹⁰ I was wrong in attributing nos. 6-8 to the same hand as 1 and 2 in *Sixth and Fifth* 60.

Skyphos no. 9 is by another painter, who may be called the Hydra painter. He stands very close to the painter of a skyphos (10) showing Herakles cutting up a ram before a herm, whom I name, from the subject of this vase, the Herm painter.¹¹ The latter heads the next group, which we will call the Sub-krokotos group.

The skyphoi of the Sub-krokotos group are generally more slender, the ivy on the rim has degenerated into dots, there are black circles on the base (hitherto seen only on 8), the arrangement of lines below the figures is various, but there are always one or more thickish bands among them.

(10) Athens, Nat. Mus. 12626 Nicole 922. Plates V 4, VI 4, VII 5. *A.* Judgement of Paris. Hermes escorts Aphrodite (with yellow mirror) and another goddess to Paris; in front of Paris a pseudo-inscription. *B.* Herakles cuts up a ram before a herm in the presence of Athena. Both goddesses on *A* and Athena on *B* have a yellow hem showing at the bottom of their black chitons. Beneath handles (*a*) black krater with white dots on the shoulder, (*b*) nothing but the sacrificial tray that stands on the platform behind the herm.



FIG. 1. LOUVRE CA 443.

(11) Athens, Nat. Mus. 1110 CC 804, from Tanagra. Plate VIII 1. *A* and *B.* Procession of four women. On *A* the two on the right have yellow hair bound with a red fillet; on the rest the hair is black with white fillets. All the chitons have a yellow hem, as on 10. Beneath handles a black dog.

(12) Paris, Louvre CA 792. Plate VIII 2 (side *B*). *A.* Hermes pursues a man (Argus?) in the presence of Athena. *B.* Hermes kills Argus (white eyes painted all over his body) in the presence of Athena. Athena's hair is yellow under her helmet, and there is a yellow hem at the bottom of her chiton and a yellow patch at her neck. The petasos of Hermes on side *A* has a white crown and a yellow brim. Beneath handles a black dog with a white collar.

(13) Athens, Nat. Mus. 12585 Nicole 927. Plate VIII 3. *A* and *B.* Dionysos seated between two maenads. They carry branches and wear black chitons with a yellow hem showing at the bottom and large skins with white spots. One has yellow hair bound with a red fillet, the other a black turban with white folds. Beneath handles a black deer with red neck.

(14) Thebes, Rhitsona 18. 95. *Sixth and Fifth*, pl. xviii (side *A*). *A.* Beside a tree a man

¹¹ For the setting up of the herms by Hipparchos and the consequent popularity of the cult see *AM* 60-1 (1935-6) 300 f.; *CQ* XLV (1951) 31.

seizes a woman with castanets; on the right a woman carrying a dolphin and a yellow garland wound round with red ribbon runs away. *B.* Komos: a lyre player followed by a man, on the right a woman with a dolphin. The woman on the left on both *A* and *B* has yellow hair bound with a red fillet, that on the right a black turban with white folds. All four have a yellow hem at the bottom of their chitons, and two also have a yellow patch at the neck. Beneath handles a black dog with white markings.

(15) Athens, Nat. Mus. 12584 Nicole 928. *Cat. Suppl.* pll. xii, xiii. *A.* Beside a tree a man seizes a woman who carries a black snake; on each side a maenad dressed as those on 13 carrying a yellow snake. *B.* Similar, but there is no tree, one maenad carries a ram and the other a branch like those of 13. Two of the women have yellow hair, the other four wear black turbans with white or yellow folds. The chitons of all six have a yellow hem showing at the bottom. Beneath handles a white heron.

(16) Athens, Nat. Mus. 15372. Plate VIII 4 (side *A*). *A.* Satyr playing flutes between maenads with castanets. *B.* Similar, but the satyr plays a lyre. One maenad has yellow hair, and so probably had two of the others; the fourth has black hair with a fillet that may have been yellow. Three of the four have yellow hems showing at the bottom of their chitons. Beneath handles a white heron.

To these we may add the following skyphos, although it does not fully qualify for inclusion in the list:

(17) Athens, Nat. Mus. 362 CC 795, from Tanagra. Plate IX 3 (side *A*). Procession of four old men in yellowish-buff chitons beneath black himatia. On *A* the hair, eyebrows, moustaches, and beards are white; on *B* some are white and some yellowish-buff. Beneath handles a white heron.

In the group 10-16 the krokotos is no longer worn, at least not by itself. It is a question what the yellow hem at the bottom of the chiton, accompanied in some cases (12, 14) by a yellow patch at the neck, is intended to represent. Twenty-five years ago when describing a skyphos from grave 18 at Rhitsona (14 above) I explained it as a krokotos¹² worn beneath the chiton as an undergarment. It seemed, like the chiton of the Peplos kore,¹³ to be peeping out several inches below the thicker garment worn above it. Professor Rumpf¹⁴ has suggested that the yellow round the ankles may be only a border on the chiton. But we may compare the very similar white hem on the Theseus painter's skyphos in Professor Robinson's collection, CV Baltimore fasc. i pl. xxiii, which can hardly be anything else than the bottom of the short white chiton, so plainly seen on the shoulder and chest, showing below the lower edge of the cloak. Examples of two chitons, worn one below the other, are not wanting.¹⁵ This is, however, not a point of great importance in this connexion. The sequence of skyphoi here given makes it plain that those with chitons having a yellow hem showing at the bottom, whether it indicates the presence of a yellow underchiton or not, are the direct successors of the skyphoi with the krokotos pure and simple. The vases listed in the Sub-krokotos group all have this puzzling type of dress, generally accompanied by yellow hair; their style is later than that of the Krokotos skyphoi,¹⁶ and with them we meet for the first time the white heron.

It is not intended to suggest that the two groups are sharply differentiated. On the contrary, they run into one another, and some painters worked in both groups. (8), although it has figures clad in the complete krokotos and on the rim good ivy leaves, nevertheless has black circles on the base and two thick bands below the figures, both deviations which would tend to put it in the Sub-krokotos group. Again, the Hydra painter began to work in the earlier period, but continued in the Sub-krokotos manner. The Herm painter, although his work falls in the later group, uses the broader proportions of the Krokotos skyphoi, and the krater under the handle of his skyphos 10 indicates that the influence of the Krokotos painter persisted. In the manner of their drawing, however, the Herm painter and the Krokotos painter are markedly different. The Herm painter's mouths are rendered by a single straight line or sometimes two parallel lines. His ears can be seen on the Hermes and on the herm of 10 (Plates V 4, VI 4), and show within the outline a pothook, the lower half of which forms the lobe, with the neck line of the hair taking off from the lobe. The drawing of the mouths and ears of the Krokotos painter can be seen in Plate IV 1, XV 7 and CV Bibl. Nat. fasc. ii, pl. 69. 7. Near to the Hydra painter and the Herm painter is the painter of the Louvre Argos (12), who also painted the procession of women (11). In the work of these three painters colour is still laid on lavishly, but in a different way. They paint cursive zigzags in red, sometimes running horizontally, more or less parallel with the incised edge of a garment but with a complete disregard for it (see Plate VI 4), or coming down vertically on hanging drapery, again with no relation to the incised folds. The red is dull and often not easy to detect. On some of their vases we find white

¹² *Sixth and Fifth* 60.

¹³ Acropolis 679, Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture*, pl. 30.

¹⁴ *Gnomon* VI (1930) 326.

¹⁵ See, e.g., for B.F. the Thetis of the Munich amphora 1415, CV, fasc. i, pl. 46. 2, and for R.F. the Artemis in the Chicago cup by Douris, Beazley, *ARV* 291, no. 175, Harrison and MacColl, *Greek Vase Paintings*, pl. xix.

¹⁶ Apart from style grave contexts point to a considerable difference of date between the *floruit* of the two groups. At Rhitsona two Krokotos skyphoi were found in grave 31 and two Sub-krokotos in grave 18. The evidence of the Corinthian aryballoi, black glaze kantharoi, and vases in the local Boeotian Kylix style (all of which were found in large numbers) shows that the burial in grave 18 was distinctly later than the burial in grave 31; see the chronological table *Sixth and Fifth* 78.

and yellow zigzag lines as well. There is a skyphos by the Herm painter in the Louvre ¹⁷ (Plate VII 1, 4), on each side of which we see beneath a tree a winged goddess supporting a wounded or dying man, while an old man with white hair and beard (the white largely lost) watches, leaning on a staff. Little light is thrown on the subject by the inscription behind the back of the dying man—omicron (or rather a horseshoe), epsilon, nu.¹⁸ The figures are no doubt Eos, Memnon, and Tithonos. Eos is not, as one might expect, κροκόπεπλος, though the folds of the sleeve of her black chiton



FIG. 2. BRIT. MUS. 1925, 12-17. 1.



FIG. 3. BRIT. MUS. 1925, 12-17. 1.

hanging over her shoulder and upper arm are partly incised and partly painted in narrow yellow stripes, and she has yellow hair. Yellow is, however, used in quantity for the whole of the body of Memnon,¹⁹ and the rather ghastly effect of this strange colour is enhanced by the black of his hair and beard and by the stark whiteness of the supporting arms of Eos. The himation of the white-

¹⁷ CA 1812. Ht. 0.16 m., diam. 0.22 m. Two black circles on base. Beneath handles, white heron.

¹⁸ These letters occur with variations and permutations on a number of skyphoi from this shop painted by various hands, e.g. Plates V 4, VII 2, IX 2, and others not figured here. Their presence on this particular vase invites the speculation that the

inscription may have originated in a scene in which Eos figured, and that in the hands of illiterate painters the letters degenerated into mere space fillers, the sigma becoming nu or just a smudge.

¹⁹ Compare the yellow flesh of the women of the Krokotos painter's skyphos 2.

haired Tithonos has painted folds and zigzags of red, yellow, and white. This polychromy, now largely faded, is seen in startling freshness on a small skyphos in the British Museum²⁰ with Atalanta wrestling with Peleus (Figs. 2, 3), which seems to be very careless work of the Hydra painter. The dots on the rim are diversified by a row of wave pattern, which we have met before on the quivers of no. 9. The trees bear on their stiff, straight branches large fruit, both white and yellow. Atalanta's gleaming white body is surmounted by a head of thick yellow hair confined by a garland of white flowers worn over a red fillet, and Peleus's garland is equally gay. Beneath the handles there is a white dog of the Krokotos painter's breed with red collar and eye, and the cup has the broad proportions of the Krokotos painter's skyphoi. Another, somewhat less colourful, is later, and of the kind with the figures limited to a comparatively narrow frieze—class C 1 of the skyphoi found at Rhitsona.²¹ In an extremely sketchy style it depicts Herakles with white club, white sword belt, and white zigzag down the cloak that serves him for a shield, facing a lion across a palm-tree (Plate VII 2). The lion recalls that on the Theseus painter's early skyphos in Boston with lion and cattle, Haspels *ABL* 250, no. 26. It may be by the Hydra painter, copying from the Theseus painter, or from some model common to both. On one side of the vase there is the same pseudo-inscription as on the Judgement of Paris (10): a little horseshoe, an epsilon, and a smudge.

The last skyphos of the list (17, Plate IX 3) shows no woman in a krokotos. We have, it is true, a yellow garment, but the old men can hardly be regarded as wearing the saffron robe, nor is it likely that the hair that is left on their bald heads was intentionally represented as golden. The use of a yellowish pigment in this way is difficult to explain. Very possibly the painter had recourse to it simply because his white paint had run out. A replica of this skyphos, with paint white throughout, was found at Rhitsona.²² Both are by the painter of a skyphos in Philadelphia that shows Herakles attacking with an axe a man armed with a club, who attempts to flee in company with two terrified women²³ (Plate IX 1, 2). Other skyphoi from his hand are one in Winchester College with boxers (Plate IX 4) and one from Grave 82 at Rhitsona with an ass and a satyr under a tree.²⁴ This last is of the Rhitsona class C 1 with narrow picture zone. The painter of Philadelphia 5481 is lavish in his use of red and white, generally inadequately fortified by incision, so that his beards tend to look like cotton-wool. He apparently does not normally use yellow. Like the Herm painter, he paints zigzag lines, both red and white, on clothing, and he also uses the Herm painter's pseudo-inscription: horseshoe, epsilon,²⁵ nu, varied to horseshoe, nu, epsilon on the Philadelphia vase, or three shapeless spots on the careless Winchester skyphos. The leaves of his background foliage, unlike those of the Herm painter, are small and set close together, and the branches have a much less pronounced curve. The interlacing stems of the tree on his Rhitsona skyphos resemble those of the Krokotos group²⁶ rather than those of the Theseus painter, to whose circle this vase and three others of his have been assigned.²⁷ In some respects he seems to be nearer to the Athena painter.

It remains to consider where the Theseus painter and his white heron first come in. We have no skyphoi of his showing the krokotos pure and simple. It is possible that this was becoming outmoded when he entered the shop, and that his advent coincided with the beginning of the change over from the krokotos in its entirety to the more discreet yellow hem plus yellow hair. One of his earliest vases is the Winchester skyphos with maenads on goats, attributed to him by Professor Haspels²⁸ and published by Mrs. Oakeshott.²⁹ It has the broad proportions characteristic of the Krokotos group,³⁰ but there is a thick black line as well as three thin below the figures, and there are black circles on the base, which relate it to the Sub-krokotos group. All four maenads have yellow hair with the peculiar Thesean curl.³¹ Three of them wear black chitons of the old-fashioned foldless variety, two with patterned borders incised at the bottom, the other with a yellow hem. I know of no parallel for this use of a yellow hem at the bottom of a foldless chiton. It may perhaps be meant to represent a border of a different colour attached to the black dress, or it may be a krokotos showing below a shorter chiton, as I have suggested in the case of the ampler chitons of 10–16. The undulating lower edge, which does not run strictly parallel to the upper, is in favour of the latter view. In the middle of each side of the vase there is a yellow heron, corresponding to the yellow dog of the Krokotos painter's Heidelberg skyphos. The branches of the tree follow closely those of the tree under which the Krokotos painter's cattle shelter on the London skyphos (4) with white fruit added, but the double trunk is the Theseus painter's own invention.³²

²⁰ Inv. 1925. 12–17. 1. Ht. 0.115 m., diam. 0.162 m. Two black circles on base.

²¹ *Sixth and Fifth* 61.

²² In grave 18; *Sixth and Fifth* 60, pl. xviii 18. 99. Found in the same grave as no. 14 of our list. My inventory gives the paint as white. I have had no opportunity of verifying it.

²³ Philadelphia University Museum MS5481, Haspels 253 no. 1; *AJA* 1922 174–5, figs. 1, 2; *Philadelphia Museum Journal* 1919, 16–17, figs. 6, 7. Generally interpreted as Herakles attacking Nereus when on his way to the garden of the Hesperides, but the club seems inappropriate to Nereus. I am

much indebted to Professor Rodney S. Young for having the vase cleaned and rephotographed.

²⁴ *Sixth and Fifth* 61, pl. xviii 82. 35.

²⁵ More correctly, the lower half of an epsilon surmounted by a dot.

²⁶ See below, p. 98.

²⁷ Haspels *ABL* 253, nos. 1, 10, 11, 17.

²⁸ *ABL* 251, no. 36.

²⁹ *JHS* LIX (1939), pl. XV.

³⁰ Ht. 0.153 m., diam. 0.217 m.

³¹ *ABL* 143.

³² Cf. the feet of his vines, e.g. *CV*, Brussels fasc. iii, pl. 26. 4. Copenhagen fasc. iii, pl. 119. 9a.

In Syracuse Museum there is a skyphos from Camarina (Plate X 1, 2)³³ which has all the characteristics of the Krokotos group (proportions, good ivy on rim, red fillet at foot, no circles on base) and beneath each handle the Krokotos painter's emblem, a krater with a red neck and white dots on the shoulder. The central figure on each side is a satyr, one playing the flutes, the other testing a trumpet,³⁴ between maenads dancing with castanets. There is a good deal in the figures that recalls the Krokotos painter, but the hand is that of the Theseus painter. The lines beneath the figure zone are the Winchester system doubled, i.e. one thick, three thin, one thick, three thin. Two of the maenads wear yellow caps or kerchiefs, the other two black-and-yellow turbans.³⁵ All four maenads originally had a yellow hem showing at the bottom of their full black chitons, though it is only on the figure to the left of the trumpeter that it is well preserved. On this figure the incised edges of the folds show clearly where the black upper garment ends, while the soft billowy lower edge suggests the more delicate material of the krokotos. In all cases the yellow hem covers both legs, so it cannot be explained as the far side of the chiton, hanging lower than the near side, as it is often depicted on early R.F. vases.³⁶ The maenads also wear large panther skins with white spots. Skyphoi such as this would seem to have been before the eyes of the painters of 13-15 of our Sub-krokotos group. At any rate the subject was closely copied by the painter of 16 (Plate VIII 4).³⁷ Together with the Winchester skyphos with maenads on goats, the vase in Syracuse forms a bridge between the two groups and illustrates the earliest stage of the Theseus painter's activity, when he was still influenced by the Krokotos painter. Near to the Camarina skyphos is the Acropolis fragment 1299³⁸ showing a woman's head wearing a yellow cap and the head and spotted neck of a fawn.

Miss Haspels attributed only two kylikes to the Theseus painter,³⁹ and of these two the cup in Copenhagen is now assigned by Sir John Beazley to another hand. The White Heron workshop has never been regarded as a kylix shop. There is, however, a group of kylikes which have such close affinities with the skyphoi listed above that they must have issued from the same shop, which in these early days I should prefer to call the Krokotos workshop. The shape and the section of the foot of no. 1 of the kylix list that follows are given by Professor Bloesch in *Formen attischer Schalen*, pl. 4. 3 a and b, and they are typical of the class. The features these cups have in common, beside their shape, are, first, at the top of the stem a light black moulding which invariably has a reserved band immediately below it; secondly, the gorgoneion inside the bowl, which is remarkably similar all through the series; and thirdly, the pattern made by the vine sprays around the handles and the drawing of the interlacing vine stems from which they spring. These stand on spreading feet which form a strong contrast to the high stilted stems of the Theseus painter, such as those of the ephedrimos skyphoi in Copenhagen⁴⁰ and Brussels.⁴¹ Between the figure zone and the rays there are generally five thin lines grouped two-one-two, like those on the Krokotos painter's skyphoi 1 and 2 and Louvre CA 443. Exceptions are 4, 6, and 10, which have three-one-three like the Herm painter's skyphos 9; 11, which introduces thick lines into the vacant spaces of a three-one-three system; and 12, which shows an extension of the pattern of 11.

The large prophylactic eyes of normal shape have the sclerotic white on 1, 2a, 4, 6, and 8; reserved on 3, 7, 9, and 11. There are generally three rings for the iris, coloured red, white, black (reading from the pupil outwards), but 6 and 8 have only two rings, omitting the white. Yellowish-buff is used for the middle ring of the iris of 3 in the only eye which has not been overpainted (the eye to the left of Plate XI 1).⁴² The eyes of 5, 10, and 12 are almond shaped, the sclerotic pale yellow, pupil black, iris red, white, black on 10 and 12. On 5 the original colour of the sclerotic is uncertain. It has been overpainted white; the iris omits the white ring.

The 'Krokotos group' of kylikes is as follows:

(1) Munich 2050, from Etruria. Plate XI 4, XIV 1, Fig. 4. Bloesch, *Formen*, Pl. 4. 3 a, b. Two komasts, on A advancing side by side, on B passing one another.

(2) Vatican 466,⁴³ fragmentary. Plate XIV 2. A. Dionysos and Ariadne. B. Dionysos and satyr. On each side only feet and legs are preserved.

(2a) Heidelberg S109, fragment. CV fasc. i, pl. 44. 11. Heads of Dionysos and satyr side by side. Possibly from side B of 2.

(2b) Inghirami, *Monumenti Etruschi* V, pt. 2, Tav. LV 3. Fragment. Heads of Dionysos and satyr facing.

(3) Munich 2049, from Etruria. Plate XI 1, 5, XIV 3, Fig. 5. Dionysos and Hermes. The himatia and branches in part restored.

³³ Camarina 26857. Ht. 0.16 m., diam. 0.225 m.

³⁴ For trumpeters testing trumpets see Haspels *ABL* 104, n. 3.

³⁵ The yellow folds of the turban of the maenad on the right of the flute-player are very faded and do not show in the photograph.

³⁶ E.g. Pfuhl, *MaZ*, fig. 362, from the workshop of Pamphaios. See also p. 99 n. 48.

³⁷ The drawing of the satyr is not at all Thesean, but nearer to that of the painter of the Louvre Argus.

³⁸ Graef, pl. 72. I am indebted to Sir John Beazley for pointing out this fragment to me.

³⁹ *ABL* 252.

⁴⁰ CV, fasc. iii, pl. 119. 9a.

⁴¹ CV, fasc. iii, pl. 26. 4. Cf. the skyphos by the same painter in Naples, CV, fasc. i, pl. 46. 5.

⁴² Unfortunately there is much overpainting in white on these kylikes, and it is possible that in several cases modern white may conceal parts that were originally yellow.

⁴³ The photographs on Plate xi of the Vatican cups 466, 454, and 458 are from the photographic archives of the Vatican Museums. I am much indebted to the Director of the Vatican Museums for permission to publish them.

- (4) Vatican 455. Albizzati, *Vasi del Vaticano*, pl. 68. Dionysos and Hermes.
 (5) Munich 2082. Plate XI 3, XIV 5, Fig. 6. Two youths feasting, with a dog picking up scraps under the table. The white parts repainted.
 (6) Vatican 454, fragmentary. Plate XIV 6. Albizzati 207, figs. 154, 155. A. Herakles with the tripod. B. Herakles and the Cerynian stag. Foot abnormal.
 (7) Basle, Monnaies et Médailles, *Vente XIV* Jan. 23/4 1953, pl. xvii 324. Mask of Dionysos.
 (8) Louvre F 131. *CV* fasc. x, pl. 99. 7, 8, 100. 3. Mask of Dionysos.
 (9) Vatican 458, fragmentary. Plate XIV 9. Albizzati 210, fig. 159. Mask of Dionysos.
 (10) Boston MFA 01.8057. Plate XII 1, XIV 10. Mask of Dionysos.
 (11) Munich 2051, from Etruria. Plate XI 2. A. A white-tailed satyr seizing a maenad with yellow hair. B. Similar, but the maenad's hair is black. Restorations: on A arm of maenad, tail of satyr and sprays near it; on B most of the satyr.
 (12) British Museum B 428, from Vulci. *CV* fasc. ii, pl. 20. 1 a, b; Hambidge, *The Diagonal*, no. 6 116, fig. 1 a, b, whence Bloesch, *Formen* Textabbildung. Poseidon with long yellow hair riding a hippocamp.

Gorgoneia defy description, and I have therefore figured a considerable number of them on Plate XIV. In this first group of twelve kylikes all are framed by three concentric circles, except those of 7 and 10, which have four. The ears are empty outlines, the eyebrows rather flat and bow-shaped, the teeth round. When all so closely resemble one another it is a delicate task to distinguish between them, but three groups may perhaps be discerned. The gorgoneia of 1 and 2 (Plate XIV 1, 2, the right ear and eyebrow of 1 modern) have numerous stiff block curls and a three-tier nose carelessly drawn and steep at the sides. Those of 3 and 4 (Plate XIV 3 and Albizzati, pl. 68. 455) go with them. A second group begins with 6 (Plate XIV 6), which has in the main fewer curls, while the three tiers of the nose lie flatter and the nose broadens out at the base, assuming a more triangular shape. At the same time the ends of the beard are more tapering and draw in nearer to the nose. These characteristics of 6 are shared by 7, 8, and 9 (Plate XIV 9), 8 and 9 having as few as six curls. The third group is composed of the Boston mask cup (10: Plate XIV 10) and the Munich cup with satyr and maenad (11). The latter was destroyed in the war, and I am very much indebted to Professor Bloesch for lending me his pre-war photograph of the gorgoneion. It shows that the Munich as well as the Boston gorgoneion had very round, wide-open eyes, locks of hair behind the ears, a four-tier nose, and finely pointed tips to the beard. Both these gorgoneia appear to be from the same hand. That of the Poseidon cup in the British Museum (12: *CV* fasc. ii, pl. 20. 1 a) gives the impression of being a careless later development of the gorgoneia of 10 and 11. It has the same free swing to the curls above the forehead and the same locks of hair behind the ears. The double curve of the lower lid of the right eye is a new experiment, and the incisions along the edge of the beard are carried farther up than before. One would guess it to be by an imitator or pupil of the painter of the gorgoneia of 10 and 11. The careless Munich cup with boys feasting (5: Plate XIV 5) has the only tondo with an ornamental border.⁴⁴

The Munich cup with satyr and maenad (11) is by the Krokotos painter. Eye, nose, lips, moustache, and muscles correspond with those of his satyrs on the skyphos in the Cabinet des Médailles with which we started. With it goes the Boston mask cup with almond eyes (10). The undulations of the sprays flanking the mask and their small grape clusters are best matched on the satyr and maenad cup, and, as we have just seen, the two are connected by their gorgoneia. They are linked also by a trifling detail that occurs on these two kylikes and nowhere else in this group: between the rays and the foot both have a broad black band between pairs of fine lines. The satyr and maenad cup is a fairly late work of the Krokotos painter, for yellow hair comes later than the krokotos in the sequence of work from this shop, and the system of lines below the figures on 11 connects it with the late cup 12.

The kylix with komasts (1) is a carefully painted piece and the only cup where the grape clusters in the handle vines are well shaped and the fruit delicately incised (see Fig. 4). By the same painter, but done with less care, are the kylikes 2-5. He seems to have been the originator of the gorgoneion that distinguishes this shop, and to have been painting kylikes for some time before the Krokotos painter turned his hand to them. He and the Krokotos painter must have worked close together, for their kylikes are remarkably similar.

The Vatican cup with Herakles and the tripod (6) has a foot of the Nikosthenic type described by Bloesch in *Formen* 23, which has not the broad resting surface usual in B.F. eye cups, but rises underneath gradually into a hollow cone and is black all over, within and without. It has, however, the regulation reserved band below the black moulding at the top of the stem, which appears to be exclusively the practice of this workshop. The cup goes with the group of mask cups 7-9,⁴⁵ partly from the similarity of the gorgoneia (see above) and also from its special likeness to the Louvre mask cup, both of them having prophylactic eyes with white sclerotic and an iris of only two rings.

⁴⁴ Cf. the border round the gorgoneion from the workshop of Nikosthenes, Louvre F 122, *CV*, fasc. x, pl. 98. 7.

⁴⁵ The eye cup Munich 2053, *AM* XXV (1900) 58, fig. 18, VOL. LXXV.

has a mask very like these, but the gorgoneion and the treatment of the vines put it in a different category.



FIG. 5. MUNCH 2049.



FIG. 7. WALTERS ART GALLERY, BALTIMORE 43. 42.



FIG. 4. MUNCH 2050.



FIG. 6. MUNCH 2082.

The masks are not identical with that on the Boston cup but closely resemble it, notably in the delicate mouth pointed at the corners, and the backing of hair behind the ears. This group lies between the group of the Munich komast kylix and the two kylikes by the Krokotos painter, but whether it represents later work by the painter of the komast kylix or is from the hand of an associate of them both I am not able to say.

Lastly, the British Museum cup with the yellow-haired Poseidon (12) has almond eyes that match those of the Boston cup, a gorgoneion with the Boston curl behind the ear, and beneath the figures a system of thick and thin lines that is an extension of that on the Krokotos painter's satyr and maenad cup. It seems to be the latest cup in the Krokotos group, and is no doubt the work of a pupil of the Krokotos painter.

The five cups following form a separate, parallel group, which we will call the Winchester group. The gorgoneion is framed by one circle of thinned glaze with generally a second, very dilute, within it, forming the bounding line of the face; the eyebrows are more steeply arched than those of the Krokotos group, the teeth broader; the ear, which in the former group was left an empty outline, has inner markings and a lobe added, similar to those of the mask of the Boston cup; behind the ear there is always a lock of hair.

(13) Villa Giulia 3560, from Falerii. *CV*, fasc. iii, pl. 30, 3-5, 32. 2. Artemis and deer. Gorgoneion nearly all lost.

(14) Munich 2052. Plates XII 3, XIV 14. Maenad wearing a wolfskin complete with head. The ears of the gorgoneion restored.

(15) Winchester College 40. Plates XII 4, XIV 15; *JHS* LIX (1939) 285, figs. 2, 3. Maenad wearing a wolfskin without a head.

(16) Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 48. 42. Plate XII 2, Fig. 7; *Handbook of the Walters Art Gallery*, fig. p. 31. Mask of Dionysos.

(17) Fulda, Dr. Welz. Neugebauer, *Antiken in deutschem Privatbesitz*, no. 153, pl. 64. Dionysos. The gorgoneion has spiral curls and no lobes to the ears.

The last three cups of this list go very closely together. The vines differ in several respects from those of the Krokotos group (contrast Figs. 4-6 with 7). The stems are drawn more perfunctorily (only two twists) and stand isolated, whereas in the former group the sprays grow out from the top of the stems and curve round above the handles to continue downwards between handle and eye. Here the main spray springs from the handle itself. The sprays are comparatively scanty and always of the same pattern. The grape clusters have stalks to attach them to the sprays,⁴⁶ while in the Krokotos group they normally have none. The two earlier and finer cups in the Villa Giulia and Munich have the same sprays as the other three, but the stems are less schematic. Those of the Munich cup stand more realistically on uneven feet, one of them humped, and there are no less than five twists. This recalls the interlacing stems on the Krokotos painter's Heidelberg skyphos (Plates IV 1, VII 3), which have six twists and uneven feet, one of them humped. The very much damaged Villa Giulia kylix has, as far as can be seen, fewer twists but a similar hump, and also an incised line running up the stem.⁴⁷ This cup has lost its foot and all but a tiny fraction of its gorgoneion, but in every other respect, vine stems apart, it agrees with the other cups of this group. The five vases are also linked together by the drawing of the figures. Compare the himation of Artemis with that of the Fulda Dionysos and the treatment of their hair. The maenads in Munich and Winchester are extremely like.⁴⁸ The Winchester gorgoneion is almost identical with that in the Walters cup. The Walters mask, compared with those of 7-9, has a heavier mouth, square at the corners instead of pointed, while the ears stand out from the head without any backing of hair. Nevertheless, the similarities between the Winchester group and the Krokotos group so far outweigh the differences that one is driven to the conclusion that the painters of both groups all worked together. Bloesch⁴⁹ puts both the Villa Giulia Artemis and the Munich maenad cup (14), together with 1, 3, 11, and 12 of our Krokotos kylix group, all in one class within the circle of the Andokides group. This classification on grounds of shape accords well with the range of subject and the style of painting. These point to Andokides and still more to his predecessor Exekias. Our painters in both the Krokotos and the Winchester groups were brought up in the tradition of Exekias. We shall return to this later.

So far we have seventeen kylikes that fall into two compact groups, the first twelve by the Krokotos painter and his associates, and the five of the Winchester group probably all by the painter

⁴⁶ The Walters kylix has now been cleaned, and Miss Hill has kindly sent me a new photograph. This shows that a small part of the lower end of the handle on the right in Fig. 7 and the bunch of grapes hanging from it are restorations, and the stalk of the bunch hanging from the base of the handle on the left is touched up. The slender stalk in thinned glaze at the top on the right is untouched and shows the normal practice.

⁴⁷ The incised line is found earlier in the vine stems of Exekias and later in those of the Theseus painter.

⁴⁸ There seems to have been some uncertainty about the treatment of the bottom of the chiton. On the Munich

maenad there appears behind the legs a black hem which must be taken to represent the far side of the chiton dropping below the hem of the near side, as on a Siana cup by the G painter in California *CV*, pl. xiv 1 b, or the vase by Olto from the workshop of Pamphaios mentioned above, p. 96, n. 36. This is quite different from the yellow hems of the Theseus painter's Camarina and Winchester skyphoi, which cover both legs. The maenad on the Winchester kylix combines the two, having a red hem that covers the advanced left leg but passes behind the other, which is senseless.

⁴⁹ *Formen* 15 f.

of the Villa Giulia Artemis. The cups that follow are less standardised. The two that come next both have the foot customary in the Krokotos shop, with moulding and reserved band on the stem. Below the figures they have a system of lines which has not occurred before: three thin, two thick, three thin. Below the rays there is a black band bordered by a fine line.

(18) Villa Giulia, Castellani 616. Plate XIV 18. Mingazzini, *Coll. Castellani*, pl. 98. 8. Between eyes of the same shape and colouring as those of 10 and 12 (sclerotic yellow)⁵⁰ interlaced stems standing on widely splayed out feet like those of 10 and 12 and with sprays of ivy growing from the top; between eyes and handles maenads mounted on donkeys; beneath handles vine stems. The cup is very much damaged, but there are traces of a short yellow chiton reaching to the thigh on two of the maenads. The only head preserved wears a turban with white folds. The gorgoneion reproduces several of the peculiarities of that of the Boston cup: frame of three circles set back from the face, four-tier nose, a small incised chevron formed by the junction of the central curls with a deep inlet leading up to it (compare 18 and 10 of Plate XIV). It seems to be a deliberate imitation of a gorgoneion of the Boston type drawn in a totally different manner by a hand we have not met hitherto. Entirely new in gorgoneia are the pear-shaped eyes.⁵¹

(19) Munich 2100. Plate XIV 19. Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 288; *JHS* XIX (1899) 217, fig. 2; Harrison, *Prolegomena*, fig. 58; Heinemann, *Landschaftliche Elemente*, fig. 7. In a vineyard *A* four snake-maidens with yellow hair, one of them wearing over it a red alopekis; *B* goats. In the centre of each side, as well as beneath the handles, vine stems similar to those of 18; midway between each pair of stems a prop. There are no prophylactic eyes. The gorgoneion is framed, like those of the Winchester group, by a single circle outside the almost imperceptible bounding line of the face, but otherwise it is near to that of the Poseidon cup (12).⁵²

The two kylikes following reveal a further break with tradition. Both have the foot peculiar to the whole series, but the lower part of the bowl is now black, relieved by one reserved band.

(20) Sydney 47.03. Plate XV 1. *Handbook of the Nicholson Museum* 280, fig. 61; Tischbein, *Collection of Engravings from ancient Vases* III, pl. 60. Between eyes *A* nose; *B* pair of birds. At each handle the forward halves of two ships uniting under the handle.

(21) Munich 2101. Plate XIV 21, XV 2. Black rim. In a vineyard similar to that of 19 four men recline on mattresses and pillows with patterns in white. Beneath each handle a vine prop. There are no prophylactic eyes.

The drawing of the gorgoneion of the Castellani cup, so close to that of the Boston cup and yet so differently treated, seems to indicate that it is by a newcomer trying, after a training in another school, to adapt himself to the traditional rendering of the Krokotos gorgoneion. On the other hand, the gorgoneia of the snake-maidens cup and the cup in Sydney (19, 20), which are remarkably similar, look like the work of one brought up in the Krokotos school, but active at a late period when the distinctions between the two main groups, Krokotos and Winchester, no longer held. Apart from the fact that they have the single framing circle of the Winchester group, they are very close to the gorgoneion of the Poseidon cup (12), the last of the Krokotos group of kylikes, and assumed above (p. 99) to have been the work of a pupil of the Krokotos painter. On all three gorgoneia the fringe of incisions at the edge of the beard is carried farther round than usual, practically reaching the tip. The narrow eye with the double curve for the underlid, used experimentally for the right eye of the Poseidon gorgoneion (*CV*, Brit. Mus. fasc. ii, pl. 20. 1 a) is more pronounced in the snake-maidens cup, though it is abandoned in the Sydney gorgoneion. On the outside also the snake-maidens cup shows affinities with the Poseidon—the interlacing vine stems with exceptionally squat feet, the small bunches of grapes, the undulations of the snake bodies and of the hippocamp, the long locks of yellow hair on the Poseidon and the second and third snake-maidens (in the case of the second hanging down over the shoulders below the alopekis). The Sydney ship looks odd in this company. Different hands may possibly have been employed on the insides and the outsides of these cups, but all our observations of the Krokotos and Winchester groups go to show that this was not the case. Judging by the gorgoneia, I assign both the snake-maidens and the Sydney cup to the painter of the British Museum Poseidon. The Munich cup with men in a vineyard goes externally with the snake-maidens and internally with the Sydney gorgoneion. It is, however, so slapdash that it is difficult to say whether it is unworthy work of the same painter, or from the hand of an imitator.

The four cups following go closely together. The pattern of lines below the figures on 22 and 23 is as on 18 and 19. There is no information about the pattern on the lost vase 26. The foot of 22 is of the same unusual shape as that of 6 above; the foot of 23 has been broken off, taking the gorgoneion with it.⁵³

(22) Louvre F 133. Plate XIII 3. *CV* fasc. x, pl. 108. 4, 5, 109. 6. On the rim, ivy on a pale yellow ground. Between almond eyes with different colouring from those listed previously (sclerotic white, pupil black, iris yellow, red, black) *A* Dionysos on a mule between a satyr carrying a wineskin

⁵⁰ Professor Mingazzini regards this as a discoloured white.

⁵¹ Found also in the workshop of Pamphaios, e.g. Vatican 453 Albizzati, pl. 68, where both eyes have the rounded end towards the right.

⁵² The teeth of the gorgoneion have been repainted on both 19 and 21.

⁵³ The foot now attached to the cup appears to be alien.

and a maenad wearing a large spotted skin. *B.* Similar, but the maenad wears no skin. The gorgoneion, much damaged, is of a new kind.

(23) Boulogne, Panckoucke 27. Between eyes of normal shape, the sclerotic white, pupil black, iris black, red, black, Dionysos and a companion (Hermes?). Gorgoneion lost.

(24) Oxford 1939. 117, fragment, formerly in Dorchester, *JHS* XLII (1922) 192, n. 2, no. ix. Plate XV 6. Winged goddess (Eos?) and a small part of a prophylactic eye with black sclerotic.

(25) Formerly Durand collection 126; Lenormant and de Witte, *Élite Céramographique* I, pl. 49 a. Between eyes of normal shape with white sclerotic, pupil black, iris white, red, *A* Dionysos riding among satyrs; beyond the eyes, left, man reclining on a black mattress with a black pillow; right, satyr reclining; *B* Dionysos and Ariadne with satyr and maenad; beyond the eyes, each side, seated satyr. The shape of the cup is not given, nor the gorgoneion, and side *B* is not figured.

The wreath of ivy on the rim of 22, most unusual in a kylix,⁵⁴ recalls the early skyphoi of the Krokotos group. In subject this cup is close to the Krokotos painter's skyphos in the Cabinet des Médailles, as Madame Lambrino has already pointed out.⁵⁵ In style it is nearer to the Krokotos skyphoi from Rhitsona with dolphins under the handles (6, 7). Actually the kylikes 22, 24, and 25 are from the hand of a single painter to whom Sir John Beazley has given the name of the Durand painter, and to him or to close associates of his we can assign also the Boulogne kylix (23), the skyphoi 6 and 7 from Rhitsona, and the Athens skyphos 8. Compare the almost noseless faces and staring eyes of Dionysos and the satyr on the Louvre cup with those of the reclining man on skyphos 8 (Plate V 3); also the fillet of the same man, making a right angle at the ear, with that of the Louvre satyr with the wineskin (Plate XIII 3). The garlands are of an uncommon kind with no leaves but with small flowers indicated by a single white dot on the tip of an incised stalk. Sometimes the flowers are omitted, leaving an austere wreath of stalks only, as on the Oxford goddess (Plate XV 6) and the Louvre Dionysos. The flowery variety is worn by five of the six women on the Rhitsona skyphos 6⁵⁶ and by Dionysos on the Boulogne kylix. Peculiar to the Durand group is also the incised line running across the head of women, taking in the ear and the hair on the neck in one continuous line, and joined near the ear by a shorter line crossing the forehead, and so enclosing the roll of hair over the brow (see Plates XIII 3, XV 6; *BSA* XIV, pl. xi i).

The Durand painter's vines are close to those of the Krokotos group of kylikes. His gorgoneion is new. Chance has preserved for us only one (*CV*, Louvre fasc. x, pl. 108. 5), and that a much damaged specimen. Features unparalleled in the gorgoneia of this workshop are the dots on the forehead, the unbroken continuity of beard and moustache, the very small nose and the reserved band framing the whole, set some distance back from the tondo.⁵⁷ In the Boulogne kylix a similar reserved band occurs in the same position, though the whole of the gorgoneion is lost. In his most ambitious vase, the Durand cup itself, we are told that the gorgoneion was encircled by an ivy wreath.⁵⁸

There is a skyphos by the Durand painter in Boston⁵⁹ (Plate XIII 1, 2, XV 7) showing on one side an Amazon and on the other a hunter, each holding a horse on a halter⁶⁰; under each handle a white dog, but not the dog of the Krokotos painter (contrast Plate XV 3 with 7). The Boston vase has, like skyphoi 6 and 7, the plain reserved base of the Krokotos group of skyphoi.⁶¹ Fragments of a later skyphos, near to the Durand painter, were found at Gela⁶² (Plate XV 4). Each side has Dionysos on foot between maenads on mules. The maenads wear yellow caps with red fillets and have a yellow hem at the bottom of their short chitons, best regarded as the hem of a yellow underchiton similar to that worn by Penthesilea in the Penthesilea kylix.⁶³ One of the fragments shows the tail and part of the back of a white dog of the same kind as that on the Boston skyphos.

It will have been noticed that the design of the Sydney kylix follows that of Exekias in his famous eye cup with the ship of Dionysos⁶⁴ in placing the main subject beneath and around the handles, and a nose between the prophylactic eyes. That the painters of the Krokotos workshop followed in the ways of Exekias can be seen in other directions also. Sir John Beazley has pointed out that Exekias experimented with yellow or a yellowish brown.⁶⁵ This he used on his plaques not only for architectural features but also for the flesh of women. Judging from the coloured reproductions in *Antike Denkmäler* II, pl. 11, the pigment used by Exekias is duller and browner than that normally used by the Krokotos painter and his associates. Pictures such as those on the Exekias plaques may have been in the mind or even before the eyes of the Krokotos painter when he painted the Heidelberg skyphos, on which yellow is used for the flesh of women as well as for their chitons (though his is a true yellow, less appropriate to human skin), or the Herm painter when painting the dying Memnon. The yellowish buff pigment used by the painter of the Munich komast group of kylikes, notably in

⁵⁴ The kylix Munich 2081, destroyed in the war, also has an ivy wreath on a yellow ground round the rim and a mounted Dionysos, but it does not come from this workshop. I am much indebted to Professor Bloesch for information about this vase.

⁵⁵ *CV*, Bibl. Nat. fasc. ii, p. 51.

⁵⁶ *Sixth and Fifth*, pl. XVIII 31, 172.

⁵⁷ Most of these features are found on gorgoneia from the shop of Pamphaios, e.g. Madrid 10910, *CV*, fasc. ii, pl. 2. 1.

⁵⁸ J. de Witte, *Cabinet d'Antiquités de M. E. Durand*, p. 45, no. 126.

⁵⁹ Museum of Fine Arts inv. 99. 524; Caskey, *Geometry*, no. 106, p. 151. Ht. 0.168 m., diam. 0.225 m.

⁶⁰ The subject is akin to that of the Philadelphia fragments by Exekias, Beazley, *DABF*, pl. 31, where a warrior and a Scythian archer are grazing their horses.

⁶¹ The late Durand skyphos no. 8 is an exception.

⁶² Now in Syracuse Museum. See also *MA* XVII (1906) 219, fig. 175.

⁶³ Furtwängler and Reichhold, pl. 6, Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 501.

⁶⁴ Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 6.

⁶⁵ *DABF* 71.

the iris of the eye of 3 (Plate XI 1, eye on left), is perhaps nearer to the colour used by Exekias.

Further, the rich pattern of thick and thin lines of the Poseidon cup (13), seen in an abbreviated form on the Krokotos painter's satyr and maenad cup (12), is near to that on the Exekias cup in Munich, while the Theseus painter's skyphos from Camarina shows the true Exekian pattern in reverse. One may also compare the curling nostril, pouting lips, and moustache of the near faces of our kylikes 1, 2a, and 3 with such faces as Poseidon's on the calyx krater painted by Exekias from the Athenian Agora⁶⁶ or that of Herakles on the Louvre amphora signed by him as potter,⁶⁷ while the far faces of 1 and 3 are comparable to the more negligently drawn gods of the amphora Faina 78.⁶⁸ Much else in the decoration of the Krokotos skyphoi and kylikes could have been learnt from Exekias. The luxuriant vines on our cups derive from prototypes that must have resembled the vine on the Agora krater just mentioned. Compare the branches passing over the head of the maenad in fig. 3 of *Hesperia* VI 485 with those passing over the handles of our kylikes, e.g. Figs. 4-6. There is the same flat curve, the same sudden descent, much the same angle where the spray branches into two. These vines owe nothing to the Andokides painter. His vine kylix in Cambridge⁶⁹ shows a quite different rendering of stems, sprays, and grape clusters. Nor are they inspired by any other vines of his. The restless twists and turns of the vines on his bilingual Munich amphora⁷⁰ are reflected in the pretty curling and interlacing tendrils of the Copenhagen vine kylix⁷¹ and the Torr cup, now in San Simeon,⁷² which goes with it, rather than in the Krokotos group, which retains the comparatively austere parallelism of Exekias' design.⁷³ Exekias painted several little-master cups, but the only eye kylix of his so far known to us is the Munich cup with the ship of Dionysos.⁷⁴ Beazley has said of Exekias 'if he contributed to the development of the cup, the eye-cup will probably have been his field, not the little-master cup'.⁷⁵ Now there is in Oxford a fragment of a large eye cup (Plate XV 5), formerly in Dorchester,⁷⁶ which, as far as it goes, corresponds with what we should expect in an eye cup with vines from the workshop of Exekias. The cup was generally speaking of the same kind as those of the Krokotos group, but much finer. Little is left except part of the outline of a large eye, an ivy spray, a vine spray with a cluster of grapes lying along it, another cluster on a thick stalk springing from the handle, four leaves of another spray springing from the handle, and, below, thin lines in the familiar pattern of the Krokotos group, two-one-two. The shallow curves of the sweeping trails and the way the long, narrow clusters lie along the spray, parallel to it or covering it, are almost exactly matched on the Agora krater. The grapes themselves are half-way between those of the Agora krater and the Munich eye cup, in their long, tapering clusters resembling the former, but in their meticulous incisions nearer to the eye cup, though with a firmer, less ragged outline. The ivy has a gently curving stem and soft, blunt leaves similar to those on the Exekian amphora Faina 78,⁷⁷ but more carefully shaped. In fact, such evidence as this small fragment affords shows that it is very superior work from the shop of Exekias, if not from the hand of the master himself.

The White Heron workshop is usually assumed to have started production a little before 500 B.C. But the kylikes and skyphoi of its Krokotos period must fall early in the last quarter of the fifth century. There is a noticeable resemblance between some of our kylikes, especially 3, and the kylix Louvre F 127 bis,⁷⁸ which bears the signature of the potter Pamphaios, and is regarded by Bloesch⁷⁹ as the earliest of the cups from his shop. This kylix differs from our series in the heavy red moulding round the top of the stem and the spiral curls and cleft tongue of the gorgoneion, all of them features associated with Pamphaios and Nikosthenes. It could perhaps be the work of one who started learning his trade in the Krokotos shop but left it to join Pamphaios. In any case we can be certain that at the time when Pamphaios was just beginning to make cups there was already a flourishing Krokotos workshop, producing both skyphoi and kylikes.⁸⁰ In this early stage several personalities stand out. The Krokotos painter seems to have been the leading skyphos painter, though he painted both shapes. He took up and extended the use of yellow pigment for large surfaces initiated by Exekias. Beside him worked the painter of the Munich cup with komasts, and, associated with the latter, a painter of mask cups, though these two may have been one and the same. An early contemporary was the painter of the Winchester group (assuming that these are all the work of one hand), who decorated cups akin to those of the Krokotos group, elaborating the gorgoneia and simplifying the vines. He avoided yellow, except in the prophylactic eyes, and apparently painted no skyphoi. When the Krokotos painter ventured into the field of kylix painting he borrowed from both of these painters. At the same time the Durand painter was decorating both kylikes and skyphoi, similar in shape, subject, and colouring to those of the Krokotos painter,

⁶⁶ *Hesperia* VI (1937) 475, fig. 4.

⁶⁷ *CV*, fasc. iii, pl. 20. 3.

⁶⁸ Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 13.

⁶⁹ *CV*, fasc. ii, pl. IV 1.

⁷⁰ Pfuhl, *MuZ* 265.

⁷¹ *CV*, fasc. iii, pl. 115. 1, 116.

⁷² *Sotheby Sale Catalogue*, July 2, 1929, pl. 3.

⁷³ *Hesperia* VI (1937), fig. 1, 479, fig. 6, 481, fig. 7, 483, fig. 9.

⁷⁴ Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 5.

⁷⁵ *JHS* LII (1932) 200.

⁷⁶ *JHS* XLII (1922) 192, n. 2, no. v. Now in the Ashmolean Museum, inv. 1939. 114.

⁷⁷ Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 13 b.

⁷⁸ *CV*, fasc. x, pl. 101. 1-5; Hoppin, *Handbook BFV* 306-7.

⁷⁹ *Formen* 62.

⁸⁰ It is interesting to note that the majority of the kylikes were exported to Italy, while most of the skyphoi remained in Greece, being specially favoured by the Boeotians.

but using a gorgoneion quite independent of the two closely related types which served the Krokotos and the Winchester groups. The group consisting of the Hydra painter, the Herm painter and the painter of the Louvre Argos belongs to the second, Sub-krokotos period, but began work under the Krokotos painter, using his broadly proportioned skyphos shape and putting his emblem, the krater or the dog, under the handle, while close to them worked as pupil or partner the painter of Philadelphia MS5481. A contemporary of theirs, and the most able of the younger painters, was the Theseus painter, whose influence became dominant in the period of the Sub-krokotos group. A number of his early skyphoi reflect the milieu in which he worked. Those in Syracuse and Winchester have already been discussed. Near in date to the Winchester skyphos is that in New York, formerly in the Hope Collection, showing Poseidon with yellow hair and beard riding on a hippocamp with a broad yellow stripe across the wing.⁸¹ Different as the rendering is, this may well derive from the same source as the London kylix with the yellow-haired Poseidon (12).⁸² His Polyphemus on the Louvre oinochoe with the blinding scene (Haspels, pl. 42. 3) harks back to the reclining figures of the Heidelberg skyphos (2) and its companion pieces. The herm on his skyphos with kilns in Baltimore, *CV* fasc. iii, pll. 1, 2, recalls the earlier herm of the Herm painter. The influence of the Krokotos painter and his circle is seen also in the work of other younger painters of the school, contemporaries of the Theseus painter. It would be possible to classify much of the output of the less competent painters in this shop, and it would be found that a considerable part of it is not late work by imitators of the Theseus painter, but poor work of men who were fellow pupils with him in the early days of the Krokotos-White Heron workshop.

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NOTE. The following are reproduced by courtesy of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore: Plate XII 2, fig. 7; the following by courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Plate XII, 1, Plate XIII 1, 2, Plate XIV 10, Plate XV 7; the following by courtesy of the University Museum, Philadelphia: Plate IX 1, 2.

⁸¹ Tillyard, *Hope Vases*, pl. 7, no. 75. I am grateful to Miss Christine Alexander for sending me information about this vase and confirming the presence of yellow, mistaken by Tillyard for white.

⁸² This seems more likely than that the idea originated with the Athena painter, Haspels *ABL* 152. His Poseidon lekythos, *op. cit.* pl. 44. 4, though close to the New York skyphos, is clearly later.

CHARIOT GROUPS IN FIFTH-CENTURY GREEK SCULPTURE

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE MODES OF REPRESENTING CHARIOT GROUPS IN FIFTH-CENTURY GREEK RELIEF SCULPTURE AND THE CONNEXION WITH THE CONTEMPORARY COINAGE OF SICILY, PARTICULARLY SYRACUSE

INTRODUCTION

SOME of the most magnificent representations of chariots in mid career are seen on the coins of Sicily and Southern Italy toward the close of the fifth century B.C. There are two major theories concerning the appearance of these striking compositions in Sicilian numismatic art. One theory is that dies for these coins are the independent products of local, native artists of highest competence. The other is that the dies for these pieces are the work of Attic artists who migrated to the prosperous cities of Sicily to take up new careers as workers in the minor metallic arts, as gem cutters, and as die sinkers for the various local rulers.¹ We lack positive evidence. We cannot identify any artist who left Attica to pursue work of this type in Southern Italy or Sicily. Scholars have produced a mass of conjecture and speculation on this subject.

The treatment of space and depth in the chariot compositions seems to the writer to provide a new possibility for grouping and relating the representations of chariots in the late fifth century—both those on the major monuments in sculptured relief and those on the Tetradrachms and Dekadrachms of Syracuse and Akragas. From a restudy of the methods of relief representation and from a survey of information derived from such connecting links between major sculpture and coinage as silverware, gems, and vases further light may be thrown on the problems of the artistic derivation of the renowned die compositions of later fifth-century Sicily.

THE MAJOR MONUMENTS OF THE LAST QUARTER OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

In the major sculptural monuments of the fifth century the modes of representation in relief seem to fall into two categories. One category recognises the limits of low relief and represents the chariot group in profile. The other mode of representation employs depth and space to introduce foreshortening and perspective. The former, the profile-action method, appears in connexion with the Demareteion of Syracuse, a silver Dekadrachm struck after 480 B.C.² (Fig. 1). We shall term this the 'profile' method for short. The other major mode—illustrated here in a Tetradrachm of the last quarter of the fifth century by Euainetos (Fig. 2)—experiments with foreshortening, partial perspective, and depth.³ We shall call this the foreshortened-perspective-depth or 'foreshortening' method. The profile method of showing a chariot group and its horses in a series of partially overlapping silhouettes would appear to be the usual mode of representation in the first three-quarters of the fifth century, but in the monuments of the last twenty-five years before 400 B.C., there is an increasing number of deep reliefs in which chariot groups appear in widespread variations of the foreshortening method of use. Both high reliefs and curved surfaces give, as will be seen, an opportunity for representing the quadriga on a diagonal ground line with the foreparts of the horses brought out into the round and for heightening the simulation of lateral perspective by indicating the wheels and axle of the chariot on this diagonal ground line and giving the four horses a high degree of foreshortening. This turned foreshortening is carried quite often deliberately to the point of making the chariot appear to be rounding a real or imaginary post or meta with the horses turning to head directly toward the viewer.

The success of the foreshortening method can often be measured by the sculptor's ability to

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The writer wishes to acknowledge his debt to Professor Hanfmann for the kind encouragement received in the preparation of this paper and to a private collector in Boston, Mass., for unselfishly making available at all times his exceptional collection of Greek coins, especially of Southern Italy and Sicily.

¹ The most recent and most positive exponent of this second view is Dr. C. Seltman, who draws his conclusions from stylistic comparisons, the signatures of die cutters, from speculation, and the scant literary sources available. Charles Seltman,

Masterpieces of Greek Coinage, Oxford, 1948 (hereafter cited as Seltman, *MGC*). See especially the chapter entitled, 'The Travels of Artists', pp. 10 ff. As a result of plagues and the Peloponnesian War, 'It was now that so many of the finest artists left to take up new careers in Sicily and Italy—to which lands full Athenian art tradition was transferred.' In his *Approach to Greek Art*, London, 1948, pp. 73 ff., he states, 'The quality of some celature produced among the Greeks of Southern Italy appears to show a marked Athenian influence and might be called Athenian colonial art.'

² Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 35: 23. This is the choicest example of this issue with regard to condition; the most often photographed is the piece in the British Museum. Vide Hill, Sir George F., *Guide to the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum*, London, 1922. The B.M. specimen is beautifully reproduced in Seltman, *MGC*, pl. 15a, p. 47.

³ Illustrated from Seltman, *MGC*, p. 82, pl. 35a. The Lloyd Collection in the British Museum.



FIG. 1.—BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS. DEMARETEION OF SYRACUSE.



FIG. 2.—LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, LLOYD COLLECTION. TETRADRACHM OF SYRACUSE BY EUAINETOS.



FIG. 3.—ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. SATRAP SARCOPHAGUS.



FIG. 4.—LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM. CHARIOT GROUP FROM THE SOUTH FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON.



FIG. 5.—LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM. THE ELGIN RELIEF FROM THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.



FIG. 6.—BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN. THE RELIEF FROM RHODES.

detach his quadriga from the imaginary picture plane of his surface against the two-dimensional background and to set it at at least a three-quarter angle both in and out of the background, conveying complete mastery of this very complex perspective and removing the feeling of conflict between the natural two-dimensional tendency of the relief and the efforts of the sculptor to create this perspective-depth by certain superimposed distortions.

The complexities of foreshortening in the chariot group representations of the last years of the century did not entirely replace but paralleled the tradition of profiled action. This interest appears to be connected with the developments in painting of the generation of artists after Polygnotos. The painter Apollodoros is said to have brought the art of partial perspective to a high degree of perfection. These were the years in which the 'doors of art' were opening to new horizons and new interests in the representation of man's environment on the threshold of the fourth century. Various artists may be presumed to have first attempted innovations in perspective complexities similar to the representations which we encounter on reliefs, minor objects, and coins of the turning years of the end of the century.³⁰ Wherever the origins of the foreshortening method may lie, this is the mode of representation which the sculptors and craftsmen of these years brought to the fore. In some cases the two methods—profile and foreshortening—appear deliberately combined, but the majority of the monuments with which we are concerned tend to fall definitely within the foreshortening method.

The profile method of representation, which we saw on the Demareteion, appears on a relief on the Satrap Sarcophagus (460–450 B.C.) from Sidon in the Museum at Istanbul⁴ (Fig. 3). It is brought to a high point twenty years later in the frieze of the North and South outside walls of the cella of the Parthenon⁵ (Fig. 4). It appears in the late fifth century in two major monuments of marble sculpture, the Elgin Relief in the British Museum and the Relief from Rhodes in Berlin. In this marble votive relief, said to have come from the Acropolis and brought back to England by Lord Elgin (Fig. 5), the relief is higher than in the Parthenon frieze.⁶ The profile method is emphasised in the spacing of the horses, which are one slightly in front of the other front to rear with the heads separately defined in various profile positions. There is a slight suggestion that the ground line now begins to assume a diagonal position, the two farther horses rearing up a little higher than their nearer counterparts. The relief from Rhodes (Fig. 6) dated by Blümel and others about the last decade of the fifth century, is the latest monument which falls into the profile method symbolised by the chariot groups on the Parthenon reliefs.⁷ Although probably executed in Rhodes because of the type of marble used, Blümel conjectures that this work might have been either ordered in Attica or at least made in Rhodes by an Attic sculptor. Although lacking the subtlety of treatment of the Parthenon horses and horse groups, the four horses here are arranged rearing, in profile, one slightly in advance of another from off-side to near-side, an arrangement recalling the Parthenon examples. The relief is flatter and the ground line more horizontal than in the Elgin Relief; consequently the four horses are quite vividly profiled—especially the near and far animal. This series of chariot groups in profile view, which commences with the Demareteion and reaches its high point in the Parthenon frieze, culminates and concludes in a fitting insistence on the profiled-action view with this, the Rhodes Relief.⁸

From a consideration of the profile method of representing the chariot group in sculptured relief

³⁰ M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, New Haven, 1929, pp. 219, 225–6.

⁴ Photograph from C. Picard, *Manuel d'Archéologie Grecque*, Paris, 1939, pp. 890, 891, pl. xxvii. A. W. Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, London, 1929, p. 78, pl. 42. In this relief further technical advancement from the Archaic profile view is evident within the profiled-action method of representation. The sculptor has skilfully avoided the problem of quadruple reproduction in profile line of an original outside horse silhouette by moving the horses forward at regularly staggered intervals so that the heads, necks, and hindquarters of each horse are viewed successively while the trunks of the farther three are hidden behind the body of the near animal. This creates the same impression of profile layers that the artist of the Demareteion managed to secure by throwing back the head of one horse in order to vary the monotony of profile. Likewise the walking action of the Satrap Relief animals takes place on a flat ground line, and the horses are intended to be viewed from a central point perpendicular to the low relief plane of the composition.

⁵ Maxime Collignon, *Le Parthénon*, Paris, 1914; Gustave Fougères, *Le Parthénon*, Paris, 1910, illustration from pl. 86, 87, xxx, 73, 74, South Outside Wall, now in the British Museum. The same manner of superimposition of four horses found in the Satrap Sarcophagus is refined in the quadriga groups of this frieze. Some horses gallop partially ahead of others, and in many cases heads are thrown back to add to the effect of drawing and modelling of exceptional skill in indicating depth. As in the previous two monuments, a simple horizontal ground line is employed throughout. A. S. Murray, *The Sculptures of*

the Parthenon, New York, 1903, p. 95, notes, 'It was just here that the greatest damage was done by the gunpowder explosion (1687) which blew out the centre of the cella wall. From fragmentary slabs aided by Carrey's drawings we can in a measure see how this stirring series of chariots in the very middle of each side must have provided the most attractive feature of all.'

⁶ Illustrated in 'Eukleidas', article by G. E. Rizzo in *Bollettino D'Arte*, no. VIII, February 1938, p. 348. British Museum, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, number 814 (Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, B.M., London, 1892–1904. A. H. Smith). W. S. W. Vaux, *Handbook to the Antiquities in the British Museum*, London, 1851, no. 197. 'In subject and composition it bears considerable resemblance to many of the coins of Syracuse and Magna Graecia and therefore, perhaps, may be a votive monument . . . to commemorate victory.'

⁷ Photograph from Carl Blümel, *Katalog d. Antiken Ber. Skulpt.*, Berlin, 1928, III, p. 56, no. 280, pl. 68. The profile shows well in Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains*, Paris, 1909, vol. ii, p. 48, no. 1. T. Homolle, *Rev. Arch.*, XI (1920), p. 23. C. Picard, *op. cit.* vol. ii, 2, p. 833 and fig. 333.

⁸ Mention should be made of the continuance of the pure profiled-action tradition in the late Hellenistic or Roman painted terracotta reliefs from Southern Italia, etc., two of which are illustrated at the beginning and the end of the text of R. Kekulé von Stradonitz, *Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, no. 65, Berlin, 1905, article on the Rhodes Relief, 'Echeios und Basile, Attisches Relief aus Rhodes in den Königlichen Museen . . .'

we turn to examples of the foreshortened-perspective-depth method as it emerges on major sculptural monuments in the last quarter of the fifth century. This foreshortening method is strikingly displayed in the so-called Lycian Sarcophagus in the Museum at Istanbul (Fig. 7), which Picard dates after 420 B.C. Bearing in mind that the Parthenon frieze is perhaps the apogee of the profiled-action method in relief, Picard to a slight extent and Mendel somewhat further verge on inaccuracy in relating the two chariot groups on this relief to the Phidian formula.⁹ The foreshortened method was never more prominent than in the Lycian Sarcophagus. The heads of the horses are brought out into very high relief and are turned in varying directions; the forequarters of the animals are also modelled very fully so as to convey the appearance that the groups are viewed at a three-quarters angle from the right; and, finally, the legs fly up in a high gallop, giving emphasis to this right diagonal view—which is further borne out in the perspective position indicated by the wheels of the chariots.

The so-called Heroon or funerary monument of Gjölbaschi-Trysa in the Vienna Museum presents a curious complex of imported and local subjects and styles executed for this monument of Greek art from Southern Asia Minor. There are a mixture of Near Easternlike divinities recalling the reliefs of Persepolis dancing to the music of Egyptianised (Bes) creatures and two zones of frieze



FIG. 7.—ISTANBUL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM. THE LYCIAN SARCOPHAGUS.



FIG. 8.—BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN. THE OROPOS RELIEF.

slabs illustrating various tales from Greek mythology and legendary history in a style which sometimes reaches the level of the best exported classic art of the twenties of the fifth century. There are several chariot groups, but perhaps the most noteworthy is the one included in the 'Carrying Off of the Daughters of Leukippos' on the North Side.¹⁰ Although the legs of the four horses are somewhat damaged and the chariot itself, especially the wheels, is not clearly indicated, this group from the panels in which Picard sees the Attic style reflected through Ionian overtones is executed in excellent foreshortened-perspective-depth in low relief. The horses going to the left are viewed from an almost three-quarters angle, and the ground line appears to slope back in a diagonal so that the inner two horses appear to be no longer quite on the base line of the frieze but slightly suspended in air. Furthermore, the heads of the horses are varied in positions, such as turned about to three-quarters rear, which have an exact parallel in the best examples of this style in the contemporary coinage of Syracuse with which this paper will deal. There is also an exceptional similarity between

⁹ Illustration from Picard, *op. cit.* pl. xxix opposite p. 880; *vide pp.* 892, 893, esp. notes 1 and 5. Picard observes certain adaptations of non-Greek tendencies in this provincial work, and of the chariot-group side he notes, '... les chevaux de leurs attelages sont groupés avec quelque monotonie selon cette perspective fuyante, de trois quarts, que nous connaissons pour la fin du Ve siècle, par divers reliefs de l'Acropole, d'Oropos, de Rhodes, etc. et sur les monnaies syracusaines...'. About the sculptors of this scene of two drivers and two hunters in two quadrigae attacking a crouching lion, Picard further notices, 'Le sculpteur n'était pas certes d'Attique; ce fut sans doute un artiste lycien, travaillant au dernier quart du siècle. Sa science du relief est remarquable, mais ses formules, restées phidiennes, supposent des traditions d'école déjà un peu attardées.' Note 1 states, 'On a voulu parfois rapporter cette perspective oblique à une invention du peintre ionien Parrhasios.' For the dating *vide p.* 893, note 5. G. Mendel, *Catalogue* (Istanbul Museum), vol. 1, pp. 158 ff., no. 63 (369), (p. 169), figs. on pp. 161 and 164. He dates this relief 400 B.C. S. D. Markman,

The Horse in Greek Art, Baltimore, 1943, *vide p.* 123, Chronological Table and references at the end of the text, states that 'it does seem to be after the Kimon and Euainetos Dekadrachms.'

¹⁰ Otto Benndorf, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa* (Jahrbuch d. Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen), Vienna, 1889, and a volume of plates by Neumann. Picard, *op. cit.* pp. 884, 885, notes that the subject was treated by Polygnotos in painting in the sanctuary of Anakes at Athens (Pausanias I, 18, 1) and that the carrying off deals with a funerary motif. In contrast to the 'Carrying Off' scene, a rather clumsy articulation of the galloping quadriga motif can be observed in a chariot group on the inner right side of the South Wall. This is an excellent example of the (hybridisation) combination of the two methods with which we are dealing. The front two horses appear in a version of the foreshortened-perspective-depth style, while the rear animals and chariot are treated in the profiled-action method. (For photographs see Neumann or esp. Fogg Art Museum Photo (Joseph Wiha, Vienna) 231 G 8 (cc) 30)

the composition here and that of the Oropos Relief (Fig. 8) found at Oropos on the North coast of Attica.¹¹

This Relief, now in the Berlin Museum, is one of the outstanding examples of the foreshortened method at its complex best, and is dated generally in the last years of the fifth century.¹² The near three horses are treated in full relief, with heads turned in slightly varying directions and legs on a rising diagonal ground line; this produces the feeling that the group turns toward the viewer. For variance sake, the farthest horse is leaping ahead in profile, but his position off the ground fits in perfectly with the three-quarters perspective of the other three. This horse appears to be plunging ahead drawing the others through the air behind him. Professor Markman oversimplifies a trifle when he states that this specific type of horse group is first seen on the Kimon and Euainetos Dekadrachms, for both are similar parallel developments from the representational method whose history we have been tracing.¹³

The final major monument in relief in the foreshortened chariots of the late fifth century¹⁴ is the well-known relief found at Phaleron and now in the National Museum at Athens, called the Echelos-Basile Relief (Fig. 9) from its portrayal of a local interpretation of the Pluto and Persephone



FIG. 9.—ATHENS, NATIONAL MUSEUM. THE ECHELOS-BASILE RELIEF. (PHOTO ALINARI, NO. 24237.)

myth.¹⁵ This sculpture has been variously dated from shortly after the Parthenon frieze to the period of the Dexileos stele (394 B.C.). Professor Markman notes that the composition is exactly like that of the Syracusean Dekadrachms of 413 B.C. and after: 'four horses supposedly abreast, but actually arranged in three-quarters view, with only the outside horse in true profile'.¹⁶ In this use of profile in the outside horse, a further example of the complexity of the foreshortened mode is carried to a high point in these reliefs. The diagonal ground line and the foreshortening of the horses' forequarters are quite evident from the left three-quarters view. The heads of the horses carry out somewhat subtle variations in position, except for the third horse from the outside, whose head is turned so as to face the spectator. Unfortunately this uniformly consistent foreshortening is lost in the one wheel under the chariot body, which is shown in full, flat-groundline profile.

CHARIOT GROUPS ON THE COINAGE OF LATER FIFTH-CENTURY SICILY

It now remains to investigate the chariots designed by the Sicilian die cutters and to see where we might find sources for their inspiration in quadrigate compositions.¹⁷ Since there are many dies

¹¹ Vide particularly Rizzo, *op. cit.*, *Bollettino d'Arte*, February 1938, figs. 21, 22, and 23; the Oropos Relief is illustrated conveniently in fig. 24 (from which the illustration here included is taken) and further opportunities for comparisons such as are included here are offered.

¹² Blümel, *op. cit.* III, no. K80, pp. 57 ff., pl. 69.

¹³ Markman, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-7; a full bibliography of this monument is included.

¹⁴ Mention should be made of the so-called British Museum 'Satrap Sarcophagus', which bears a relief whose quadriga group appears to be executed also in the style of the Oropos Relief. Vaux, W. S. W., *op. cit.* (*vide supra*, note 6), no. 142 and drawn illustration.

¹⁵ Herbert Bloch, 'Echelo e Basile, Note sull' interpretazione dei rilievi di Falero, Rhodi, e Chio', *Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica*, Turin, 1935. Theophile Homolle, 'Sur Trois Bas-Reliefs de Phalère', *Revue Archéologique* XI (1920), pp. 1-81, part. 40-77.

¹⁶ Markman, *op. cit.* p. 90. Various references and opinions on dating are conveniently contained here, including J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, I, pp. 120 ff., no. 1783, esp. p. 129; Picard, *op. cit.*, fig. 332, and pp. 833 ff., '... on voit l'enlèvement sur le char d'Echelos, héros du temenos familial, de Basile (?) ou Iasilé: thème déjà apparu sur les tablettes de Locres. Hermès lui même entraîne l'attelage'. The illustration shown here is from Alinari photograph, no. 24237.

¹⁷ The works from which the material in this selection is chosen and correlated include: (a) Sir A. J. Evans, 'Some New Artists' Signatures on Sicilian Coins', *Num. Chron.*, no. 40, 1890, pp. 285-310; 'Syracusan Medallions and Their Engravers', *Num. Chron.*, nos. 43, 44, 1891, pp. 205-324, 325-76. (b) A. Gallatin, *The Dekadrachms of Euainetos*, Cambridge (U.S.A.), 1932. (c) J. H. Jongkees, *The Kimonian Dekadrachms—A Contribution to Sicilian Numismatics*, Utrecht, 1941. (d) Sir G. F. Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, London, 1903; *Historical Greek*

and many slightly varying designs produced by this school of artists, three reverse designs have been selected—a Tetradrachm by Euarkidas, a Dekadrachm by Euainetos, and the Dekadrachm of Akragas.

The complete break between the chariots of these artists and the earlier chariot group of Syracusan Tetradrachms extending back to the Demareteion is very remarkable and represents a revolutionary step for the designers of state coinages. The die cutters of Athens could do little more than refine the Archaic Athena and the reverse owls; Syracusan die cutters emerged unfettered by any rigid rules save the chariot group as a general iconographic subject. Euainetos and his contemporaries of late fifth-century Sicily did not start off their designs by following the most famous monument of the age—the Parthenon frieze, truly the noblest expression of the profile method of representation in sculptural relief. From the first they adapted the new, the modern mode of foreshortening in representation to their vocabulary of circular die cutting. The chariot design of the Oropos relief appears in a relatively large rectangular marble slab; it took great skill to adjust the same design to the small circular area of a coin die.

This was successfully done in the Tetradrachm of Euarkidas¹⁸ (Fig. 10). The design shows a quadriga galloping to the left, driven by Persephone holding the reins in her left and a torch in her right hand. The near horse is almost in profile, with his feet rising slightly in a diagonal from the horizontal ground line to the left. The angle of foreshortening increases with the three remaining horses. The head of the first is thrown violently upward, that of the second turned toward the viewer, and that of the third is again in profile. Their forequarters are brought out into the round in deep relief, and the forelegs of the animals give the feeling that the group is rising in deep aerial space. The two wheels and axle of the chariot itself are clearly defined in diagonal perspective, as if the whole group were here again in the process of turning toward the spectator.

In the renowned Dekadrachm of Euainetos (Fig. 11), the four horses are arranged with heads parallel and erect in a strong diagonal to the left; the high relief modelling of their forequarters and the parallel perspectives of their legs in two lines point up the feeling of foreshortening, creating again a three-quarters view from the left.¹⁹ The chief difference between the grouping of these horses and those on the Oropos relief lies in the containment of the composition close to the heavy ground line, creating the feeling that the horses are more flattened out in a gallop than previously. There is a rise from near to far horse, however. This is enough just to balance the three-quarters view and the parallel position of the heads. One feels that this design is the ultimate in viewing a four-horse chariot group in the foreshortened-perspective-depth manner while retaining the earth-bound or horizontal-angle perception in the viewer.

The Dekadrachm of Akragas (410 B.C.) (Fig. 12) is the fitting finale to the discussion of the development of the foreshortening method on major monuments and on coinage, for this piece is the superlative in representing the four-horse chariot group in relief against a surface background.²⁰ The effect of flying through air is achieved to perfection. The background seems almost to melt away, in such mastery of foreshortening that all tensions, incongruities, and difficulties of representational spacing have been eliminated. The horses lunge as if they were actually pawing the air in a space devoid of either upward or downward limitations. The off horse appears to plunge down actually lower than his mates—a touch which seals the perfection of the artist's treatment of the

Coins, London, 1906. (e) Giulio E. Rizzo, *L'Arte della Moneta nella Sicilia Greca*, Rome, 1938; *Monete Greche della Sicilia*, Rome, 1946. (f) A. Salinas, *Le Monete dell' Antiche Città di Sicilia Descritte e Illustrate*, Palermo, 1876. (g) C. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, London, 1933; new ed., 1954.

¹⁸ G. E. Rizzo, 'Eukleidas' (*vide supra*, note 6), pp. 346 ff., figs. 23 (this illustration) and 24. In a precise analysis of the 'new style' of these coins, Rizzo notes the introduction of the rush, excitement, and dash of the course in their design and compares the Euarkidas design-die to the Echelos-Basile, the Trysa, and of course the Oropos reliefs. Unfortunately, he includes the Rhodes Relief in Berlin and emphasises the Elgin chariot-group relief, both of which I place in the profiled-action tradition. They are not good comparisons or examples of the development of space-compositions in Syracusan numismatic art. Dr. Seltman links this die with 'another contemporary work of art—a splendid silver bowl in New York of the very same style and date'. This is the first of the two New York Metropolitan Museum Silver Phialai (*vide infra*, pp. 111 ff.). Dr. Seltman also calls this die a great *tour de force*, 'but it is really an uncomfortable design for one reason only—the goddess driver is much too big', Seltman, *MGC*, p. 77, pl. 31b.

¹⁹ Two illustrations of a specimen of this coin in the British Museum, one greatly enlarged (reproduced here somewhat reduced) and one in natural size, appear in Seltman, *MGC*, p. 92, pl. 40b. Evans, *op. cit.*, *Num. Chron.*, nos. 43, 44, 1891 (III and IV), pp. 235 ff., in speaking of the Euainetos reverses is sharply critical, 'There is an element of discord in the disposition of the hind legs of the horses upon the

dekadrachms of Euainetos. They intersect one another at broken intervals and in every variety of design. An ungraceful feature is supplied by two hind legs of the second horse being placed on the ground together. This is an impossible arrangement because it prolongs the horse itself over one half its natural length, while the foremost horse is shortened unduly. There is a tendency toward sensationalism.' On p. 209 he states, 'As to the actual school to which the works of Kimon and Euainetos are to be referred, Lenormant would detect that of Polykleitos rather than Pheidias; but there seems in truth, to be no good reason for seeking the artistic traditions here represented beyond the three seas of Sicily. Certainly we have not here the bold and simple style of some of the coins of Greece proper, and the detail and ornament of these "medallions" has been a stumbling block to some who would transfer the canons of high art in sculpture to the narrow field in which the die-sinker exercised his craft. But it is precisely because the great Sicilian engravers took a juster view of the requirements of their special branch of art that they attained, at such a surprisingly early date, a perfection not to be found elsewhere in Hellas, and that their masterpieces surpassed in beauty and interest all but a very few exceptional pieces to be found throughout the length and breadth of the Greek world.'

²⁰ The coin described here is the Munich specimen, illustrated here from pp. 104, 105, fig. 45b of Seltman, *MGC*. The writer, however, in describing this celebrated piece has had before him an example from the above-mentioned private collection in Boston, Mass. (*vide supra*, introductory note), on temporary loan on several occasions at the Fogg Museum of Art.



FIG. 10.—TETRADRACHM OF SYRACUSE BY EUARKIDAS.



FIG. 11.—LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM. DEKADRACHM OF SYRACUSE BY EUAINETOS.



FIG. 12.—MUNICH, STAATLICHE MÜNZSAMMLUNG. DEKADRACHM OF AKRAGAS.



FIG. 13.—MUNICH, LOEB COLLECTION. BRONZE VESSEL.

animals in the vast, open, three-dimensional space. Finally, the chariot wheels form another correctly proportioned and drawn diagonal. They are tilted forward in the front and up in the rear, as if needing no dependance on the ground line but rolling through the vertical freedom of space. In this Dekadrachm of Akragas, therefore, the final culmination of the efforts of the relief sculptor and the die sinker to depict the four-horse chariot group in relief space has been achieved in a coin of the last decade of the fifth century.

ARTISTIC EVIDENCE CONNECTING THE COINS OF SICILY WITH THEIR PROBABLE SOURCES AND PROTOTYPES

We have now seen the close connexion in style and method of representation. What evidences remain that these artists working at gem cutting and die sinking in Sicily at the end of the century could have been influenced by the types of major monuments investigated heretofore? The artistic centre of the major monuments, if we go by sheer numbers alone, appears to have been Attica, and those elsewhere have been connected with it to a greater or lesser degree. If these Sicilian artists did not originate in or travel to the cities of Greece proper—especially Athens—then they could have seen minor objects produced on the Greek mainland and capable of circulation through the trade characteristic of Greek Mediterranean civilisation. Small bronze objects, silver bowls, gems, and



FIG. 14.—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM. SILVER PHIALE. DETAIL. NIKE AND HERAKLES IN CHARIOT.



FIG. 15.—TETRADRACHM OF SYRACUSE BY EUKLEIDAS.

especially vases are known to have been transported quite freely about the ancient world, and the die cutters must have had a varied assortment of smaller objects at hand from which they could have chosen ideas, compositions, and designs to be adapted to the particular needs of their own crafts.

There are several well-known minor objects bearing chariot-group compositions in the foreshortened-perspective-depth method. These include the Loeb Cup in Munich and a silver phiale around in the Boston Museum Collection. In connexion with the influence of new developments in perspective drawing in the later fifth century, the Meidias Painter Hydria in London may be taken as an excellent example of such designs on vases.

The Loeb bronze vessel (Fig. 13) is the only composition dealt with here which does not contain an equestrian chariot group.²¹ In this bronze the foreshortening view is very gracefully developed using the bottom of the vessel as a flat ground line because the artist has taken full advantage of the object's curve to present the stag groups from the three-quarters angle between a front and side view as they appear to be wheeling around toward the acanthus-lotus design. By spacing the animals evenly on this level row so that the hindquarters of one disappear behind the forequarters of the next except for the near animal, whose body appears within the wheels, the artist has utilised the curved form to show in the turn of the vessel the bodies and legs of the animals in depth without creating any feeling of distortion.

In publishing the first of the two silver phialai (Fig. 14), which have been compared to a Tetradrachm of Eukleidas²² (Fig. 15), Miss Richter states, 'Can we go further and locate the industry

²¹ Johannes Sieveking, *Bronzen Terrakotten Vasen der Sammlung Loeb*, Munich, 1930, pp. 1, 2 and pl. I, II. This cup was found near Elis in the Alpheios Valley and, according to Sieveking, was probably a votive at a shrine for a victory in a chariot race. He dates it to the second half of the fifth century.

²² The illustration of the Tetradrachm appears in G. E. Rizzo, *Saggi Preliminari su l'Arte della Moneta nella Sicilia Greca*, p. 97, fig. 79, and is taken here from 'Eukleidas', *Boll. d'Arte*, February 1938, pl. opp. p. 329.

which produced the New York phiale? The resemblance of the quadrigae to those in Sicilian coins of the late fifth century is so striking that it can hardly be accidental. In fact, since the technique of bowl and coins is similar, one may even surmise that the artists of the coins—Kimon, Euainetos, Eukleidas—were also silversmiths and produced work similar to the bowl. At all events, a South



FIG. 16.—BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS. CHALCEDONY SCARABOID. BIGA WHEELING AROUND.



FIG. 17.—LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM. HYDRIA BY THE MEIDIAS PAINTER.



FIG. 18.—RUVO, FORMERLY JATTA COLLECTION, 1096. VOLUTE CRATER BY THE SIPPYOS PAINTER.

Italian or Sicilian origin of the silver phiale is made probable. One cannot be certain, however. Too little fifth-century embossed metalwork has survived for us to venture on the designation of schools. And though the stylistic connexions with Sicilian coinage are obvious, we must not forget the similar renderings on Attic vases'.²³ In other words, we may have an example of a metalwork

²³ G. M. A. Richter, 'A Greek Silver Phiale in the Metropolitan Museum', *AJA*, vol. 43, no. 3, July-September 1941, pp. 363-89, esp. p. 375. The detail illustrated here is from p. 365, fig. 2.

Two vases which bear quite similar quadriga groups in their treatment of the 'Apotheosis of Herakles' are illustrated on p. 371. They are: (1) A bell krater in the Rainone Collection at S. Agata de' Goti (Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, 31). (2) A pelike in the Museum für Antike Kleinkunst, Munich (FR II, pl. 109).

On p. 370, Miss Richter states, 'The frieze with the chariots must represent the Apotheosis of Herakles; at least this is suggested by its close similarity to representations on fifth- and fourth-century Attic and South Italian vases.'

In *AJA* vol. 54, no. 4, October 1950, pp. 357-70, Miss Richter publishes a companion bowl found at the same time (in Northern Italy), which had just been purchased by the Metropolitan Museum. Two somewhat similar phialai in the British Museum, found in Southern Italy (B.M. nos. 8 and 9), and one in the Museum at Barcelona are also illustrated.

object from or after the same school which produced the late fifth-century Sicilian coinage; furthermore, this sort of object may have been the direct type of importation or local product which suggested some of the reverse compositions in question.

Although the chariot group on the Boston gem (Fig. 16)—one of several possible selections—is a biga and the wheeling around movement in the composition involves a slightly different use of the foreshortened-perspective-depth method than has been the usual custom on the Syracusan Tetradrachms, the probable Attic origin of the gem, the date-range of its execution, and the similarity in many details to the reverse design of the Dekadrachms of Kimon and Euainetos open avenues for significant speculation on the relation between Athenian gems and Syracusan coins.²⁴

The vase designs, such as that on the Meidias Painter Hydria (Fig. 17), may represent one of the closest links between the innovations in painting toward the end of the century and the translation of these new modes in foreshortening to the dies of the celators of Syracuse.²⁵ In this scene, the 'Carrying Off of the Daughters of Leukippos', the galloping chariot group has the horses arranged in foreshortening nearly as on the Metropolitan Museum phialai, and consequently on the Tetradrachms of Eukleidas. Whereas the designer of the Metropolitan phiale adapted his composition successfully to the convex curve of the bowl's inside, the Meidias Painter has, on the other hand, suited his quadrigae to the concave curve of the neck of the hydria with the base line on the larger diameter, consequently pulling the bottom of the composition out instead of compressing it in. The perspective drawing and painting of both animals and wheels in this painted representation of the four-horse chariot group is, by the standards to which the various die cutters and sculptors with whom we have been dealing aspired, as technically perfect as any representation seen heretofore, and this vase, and the volute crater by the Sisyphos Painter from Ruvo (410-400 B.C.)²⁶ (Fig. 18), stand for directly traceable links with the products of the great die cutters of late-fifth-century Greek Sicily.

CONCLUSIONS

We now may sum up these findings. We have dealt with chariot groups of the fifth century and have divided these into two groups according to their treatment of problems of space and depth. We have termed these the profiled-action and the foreshortened-perspective-depth methods. The profiled-action type is the earlier of the two. It is seen in the Demareteion of 480; it is magnificently diversified in the Parthenon; and it is still vigorously employed in the Elgin and Rhodes Reliefs in the latter part of the century. The foreshortened method flourished in the last quarter of the century coincidental with the new interest in optic innovations. A considerable array of sculptures of Attic origin or inspiration fall into this category; these include the Lycian Sarcophagus, the Funerary Monument of Gjölbaski-Trysa, and the Oropos and Echelos marble reliefs. Our comparison seems to prove that the famous chariot groups on the coins of Syracuse and her neighbours must be included in this group.

Our survey of minor objects leads to a second conclusion. Silver vessels, bronzes, vases, and jewels may well have provided the necessary stimuli in the derivation of the composition and style of the chariot groups of Sicilian coins from the great workshops of the sculptors and painters of later fifth-century Attica. But the Sicilian artists produced no uninspired or provincial copyism. These men created in their unrivalled series of coins a monument worthy of any age in the history of art. That they re-created and re-interpreted in their own peculiarly delicate and difficult medium the most advanced experiments of Attic artists does not in any way detract from the monumental greatness of their achievements.

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²⁴ Sir John D. Beazley, *The Leves House Collection of Ancient Gems*, Oxford, 1920, no. 55. Boston Museum of Fine Arts Collection, no. 23, 582; photograph courtesy of the Museum. All that can be said about the provenience of this gem is that it was purchased in Athens; Beazley dates this work as falling between ca. 413-403 B.C. He also notes that, 'the horses are the same general type as those on the coins of Syracuse from the later fifth century onwards', having, 'small heads with hogged manes, powerful cylindrical bodies, and solid hind-quarters'. Horses of a similar breed are to be found on a chalcedony scaraboid in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, published in Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, Leipzig, 1900, vol. i, pl. 9, no. 54; *vide* also, pl. 14, no. 15 (Petrograd scaraboid). Beazley adds, 'The head of the hither horse is in perspective, the upper part being more prominent than the lower, and the orbit of the off eye is visible. This foreshortening of the horse's head is found on the Amazon Krater in Bologna, but is not used in sculptured relief until rather later. The Echelos Relief has it but not the Berlin relief of the same subject (Beazley here means the Rhodes relief discussed above as an example of the profiled-action mode of relief) which Kekulé von Stradonitz considers somewhat earlier than the other and nearly contemporary with the Parthenon frieze (Kekulé von Stradonitz, *op. cit.*, pl. I; *vide*

supra, note 8). The hither horse has all four feet lifted and advanced, while the off horse has its hind legs thrown back with its hind feet on the ground. This motif is found on the Dekadrachms by Kimon and Euainetos and subsequent Syracusan issues but not later.'

For some other examples of chariot groups in gems, *vide*, James Prendeville, *The Poniatowski Gems*, London, 1859, Series I: 'Pluto Carrying off Persephone in a Quadriga', 91; 'The Fall of Phaeton', 182; II: 'Victory in a Car Driven by Two Horses', 334.

²⁵ J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases*, Cambridge (U.S.A.), 1919, 'Meidias', p. 177; London, BMC E 224 (1264), dated at the end of the fifth century. Georges Nicolle, *La Peinture des Vases Grecs*, Paris, 1926, pp. 31, 32, pl. XLIV, dated 410-375 B.C. in the refined, flowering style from Zeuxis and Parrhasios, Assteas, and Phythos. *Meidias et le Style Fleuri dans la Céramique Attique*, p. 117, fig. 27. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase Painters*, p. 831. Markman, *op. cit.* p. 123, mentions the Pelops and Hippodameia Vase by the Meidias Painter (?) in Arezzo. Swindler, *op. cit.* pp. 188-9, 335-6, fig. 342. The photograph is taken from a negative in the Fogg Museum Collection.

²⁶ The illustration is reproduced from *Bilder Griechischer Vasen*, 1938-39, vol. xii, pl. 18b.

THALES' DETERMINATION OF THE DIAMETERS OF THE SUN AND MOON

CLEOMEDES, *De motu circulari corporum caelestium*. II. 75 (p. 136 Ziegler). 'Ελέγχεται δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑδρολογίων τὸ εὐθεῖς τοῦ λόγου [viz. ὅτι ποδιαῖός ἐστιν ὁ ἥλιος]. Δείκνυται γὰρ δι' αὐτῶν, ὅτι, ἂν ᾖ ποδιαῖος ὁ ἥλιος, δεήσει τὸν μέγιστον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κύκλον ἑπτακοσίων πεντήκοντα ποδῶν εἶναι. Διὰ γὰρ τῶν ὑδρολογίων καταμετρούμενος εὐρίσκεται μέρος ἑπτακοσιοστὸν καὶ πεντηκοστὸν¹ τοῦ οἰκείου κύκλου. Ἐάν γάρ, ἐν ᾧ αὐτὸς ἀνέρχεται πᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ὀρίζοντος ὁ ἥλιος, κύαθος, φέρε εἰπεῖν, ρέυση, τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφεθὲν ὅλη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ ρεῖν εὐρίσκεται κύαθους ἔχον ἑπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα. Λέγεται δὲ ἡ τοιαύτη ἔφοδος ὑπὸ πρῶτων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπινοηθῆναι.

The writer is here trying to prove that the sun is very much greater than some people² suggest. In the course of this demonstration it emerges:

- (a) That the size of the sun (i.e. its diameter) is $\frac{1}{720}$ part of the (daily) orbit of the sun.
- (b) That this measurement was obtained by observing the amount of water passing through a water clock³ between the first appearance of the upper limb of the sun on the horizon and its complete rising, and comparing it with the amount passing through the clock in the course of a whole day and night. The comparison yields a ratio of 1:720; and the conclusion is that the distance covered by the sun in a period of twenty-four hours is 720 times greater than the diameter of the sun. It follows from this that the size of the sun must be very great; for, suppose its diameter were only one foot long, then the whole orbit of the sun would be no longer than 720 feet, which is plainly absurd.
- (c) That this method of calculating the size of the sun is ascribed to the Egyptians. We note here that Cleomedes does not mention any Greek authority for the method.

It is tempting to connect the procedure described in this passage, of calculating the size of the sun relative to its daily orbit, with the notice found in Diog. Laertius I. 24 (Al, Diels⁴, p. 68) to the effect that Thales held that the size of the sun (i.e. the length of its diameter) is the 720th part of its orbit. . . . πρῶτος τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μέγεθος (τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ κύκλου ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ τῆς σελήνης μέγεθος) τοῦ σεληναίου ἑπτακοσιοστὸν καὶ εἰκοστὸν μέρος ἀπεφάνητο κατὰ τινος. (Emended by Diels, *Hermes*, 24, 1889, p. 306). See also Apuleius, *Flor.* 18, p. 37, 10 Helm (A19 Diels⁵, p. 78) idem sane iam proclivi senectute divinam rationem de sole commentus est quam equidem non didici modo verum etiam experiundo comprobavi, quoties sol magnitudine sua circulum quem permeat metiatur.

If the tradition is trustworthy, i.e. if we can accept the report that Thales calculated the size of the sun's diameter as $\frac{1}{720}$ of its orbit, it seems at first sight reasonable to suppose that the method of calculation described by Cleomedes was employed by him.⁴ Tannery thinks that what Cleomedes says can be taken as an explanation of the calculation ascribed to Thales.⁵ And Hultsch⁶ also thinks that Thales knew this result and that it was obtained with the help of the water-clock. This would be acceptable were it not for some details that, taken together, create some doubt; and doubt here leads to a different explanation.

Before discussing the points that lead us to doubt the accepted interpretation I may add here that the κλεψύδρα method of measuring the size of the sun and the moon was supplemented by, and used alternatively with, measuring by sun-clocks (solaria). This is described by Macrobius, *Comm. In Somn. Scip.* I. 20, 25-30. He computes the size of the sun relative to its orbit by the observation of the displacement of a shadow on a solarium. Like the water-clock method, this is based on the length of time that passes between the sun's first appearance and its complete emergence over the horizon. He finds that the sun in one hour passes through a part of its course nine times greater than its own diameter: i.e. its whole orbit, through which it passes in twenty-four hours, is 216

My thanks are due to my friend, Dr. T. R. Tannahill of the Department of Astronomy, University of Glasgow, who kindly read the manuscript of this article and made valuable suggestions in matters of astronomical information.

¹ This figure is repeated at II. 82 (p. 150 Ziegler).

² E.g. Heraclitus: see fragment 3 (Diels⁴, p. 151) (περὶ μεγέθους ἡλίου) εὖρος ποδὸς ἀνθρώπου. Cf. Diog. L. IX. 7 (Diels⁴ I, p. 141) and Theodoretus Graec. Aff. Cur. IV. 22, p. 106 (Raeder): Ἡράκλειτος δὲ ποδιαῖον.

A useful résumé of various interpretations of the Heraclitus fragment is given by G. S. Kirk, *The Cosmic Fragments of Heraclitus*, 1954, pp. 280 sq. (He mentions only Cic. *de fin.* I. 6, 20 and *Acad.* II. 26, 82 as suggesting that Epicurus compared the size of the sun to that of the human foot. Cleomedes is, of course, arguing primarily against Epicurus; and he confirms much more certainly than Cicero that Epicurus held this opinion. Both the Cicero passages do indeed mention the foot measure in connexion with Epicurus. But on both occasions

the comparison seems to be that of the speaker, while what is actually ascribed to Epicurus is only the opinion that the sun is about as big as it seems.)

³ For the use of the κλεψύδρα, etc., in astronomical observation cf. Mart. Cap. VIII 847, 860 (pp. 446 and 452 Dick); Macrobius, *Comm. in Somn. Scip.* I. 21, 12 sq. (for which see now the excellent translation with notes, etc., by W. H. Stahl, Columbia University Press, 1952); Ptolem. *Synt.* V. 14.; Theon Alex. in Ptol. *Synt.* ed. Camerarius, Basileae 1583 quoted by Manitius, *Procli Hypotyposis* (Teubner), pp. 309 sq.

⁴ It does not matter whether we are dealing here with Thales himself or one of his successors. What is important is the fact, if it is a fact, that the tradition embodies a piece of knowledge known to pre-Alexandrian science.

⁵ See P. Tannery, *Pour l'histoire de la Science Hellène*, 1930, p. 71.

⁶ F. Hultsch, *Winkelmessungen durch die Hipparchische Dioptra*, *Abh. Gesch. Mathem.* IX. 1899, p. 193.

times (9×24) greater than its diameter. This wildly inaccurate result was obtained in spite of the fact that the observation was to be undertaken *aequinoctiali die*, a natural condition, since only on that day would there be no distortion through the difference between the $\omega\rho\alpha\iota$ καιρικαὶ and the twenty-fourth part of the period between one sunrise and another. All such methods are, as we see from this and other results reported by ancient authors (*cf. e.g.* Martianus Capella VIII. 860, pp. 452-3 Dick, who obtains a result of 1 : 600 for the diameter of the moon), extremely unreliable and inaccurate. This is due, not only to the distortion occasioned by the refraction of the sun, but also to the generally unsatisfactory degree of accuracy obtainable by the technique of measuring time either by the flow of water or the sun-clock. The unsatisfactory nature of these methods was recognised in antiquity.⁷ Ptolemy thought that all methods of measuring the diameters of the sun and the moon based on the measuring of water or of time are to be rejected because of their inexactitude. He says (*Synt.* V. 14, Heiberg pp. 416 sq.): τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπίσκεψιν ἐφόδων τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ὅσαι δι' ὑδρομετριῶν ἢ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἡμερινὰς ἀνατολὰς χρόνων δοκοῦσι τὴν φῶτων ποιεῖσθαι καταμέτρησιν, παρητησάμεθα, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὑγιᾶς δύνασθαι διὰ τῶν τοιούτων τὸ προκείμενον λαμβάνεσθαι.⁸ The method described by Cleomedes, then, was not the only method available to ancient observers. But both it and the alternative, sun-clock measurement, led to inaccurate results. However, if we look more closely at the Cleomedes passage we find some justification for doubting its accepted relation to the Thales tradition and for supposing an interpretation of the latter that, though not radically different in theory, is yet based on the assumption of a different technique.

We notice that Cleomedes does not mention Thales (or, for that matter, any other Greek) as an authority for the method he describes. He refers it to the Egyptians. Had he known of a tradition to the effect that Thales, the father of Greek astronomy and mathematics, had used the method he now recommended, he would surely have mentioned it.

Another point is the fact that there is a difference in the two results mentioned: Thales had computed a ratio of 1 : 720; Cleomedes' method gives 1 : 750 as the result. The discrepancy is indeed not great; but it may be significant. For, if we examine these two results, we find:

(a) That the earlier computation, *i.e.* that ascribed to Thales, is more nearly correct than the later one.

(b) That, quite apart even from its greater accuracy, *i.e.* even if we regard it only as an intelligent approximation that by accident happens to be more accurate than another no less intelligent one, one feature of the earlier result strikes the reader at once as significant and suggestive: the fact that $\frac{1}{720}$ seems so obviously connected with a sexagesimal system of reckoning and mensuration, or, to be more precise, that it is exactly one half of $\frac{1}{360}$; one is immediately tempted to conjecture that a result of this nature is more likely to be obtained by an observer dividing the ecliptic into 360° . On that basis $\frac{1}{720}$ is the natural result: for the angle subtended by the sun is almost exactly half a degree.⁹

We may then state this to be our assumption: the result obtained by Thales (or whoever else was the originator of the tradition) is based on a system of mensuration of the zodiac divided into 360° and on a measurement of the angle subtended by the sun as half a degree. This is a point of some importance. For (a) it presupposes an accuracy of measurement that is at first sight surprising; and (b) it would militate against the view put forward by Hultsch, according to which the measurement of small angles by Greek astronomers arose out of their computation of the angle subtended by the sun, this computation being based on the water-clock method.¹⁰ The fact is that before Heron the technique of measuring time by the flow of water was an extremely haphazard affair. He perfected a technique ensuring greater reliability and accuracy. Before him the sources of error would make any result very unreliable.¹¹ A point that must be made here is this: the impression that one gains from most of the modern authorities on the problem is that Greek authors ascribe to early times, perhaps to the Babylonians, the measurement of the sun's diameter as $\frac{1}{720}$ of its orbit on the basis of the water-clock method.

The ease with which error is first generated and then propagated is well illustrated by the history of this misconception originating in a conjecture made by L. Ideler (*Über die Sternkunde der Chaldäer, Abh. der Akademie, Berlin* 1814-15, p. 214). He conjectured that the method described by Cleomedes, Proclus, and Pappus of determining the diameter of the sun δι' ὑδρολογίων was known already to the Babylonians. Brandis (*Das Münz- Mass- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien bis auf Alexander den Grossen, Berlin* 1866, p. 19) transforms this conjecture into a certainty. Ideler had written '... eine Art hydraulischer Zeitmesser die sie (*i.e.* the Chaldaeans) vermutlich gebraucht

⁷ Cf. Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis* 2, 'horam non possum certam tibi dicere: facilius inter philosophos quam inter horologia conveniet'.

⁸ In the same chapter Ptolemy gives the angle subtended by the moon as $31\frac{1}{2}$ sixtieths of a degree. He obtained this, not by measuring with the dioptra, but by calculation, ἐπιλογίζουνοι (*ibid.*).

⁹ The angle subtended by the sun and the moon as given

by Thales is $\frac{1}{2}^\circ$; as given by Cleomedes ($\frac{1}{720}$ of the circle) = $28' 48''$; the best modern measurements are: for the sun *ca.* $32' 35''$ max., $31' 30-8''$ min., $31' 59-2''$ mean; for the moon *ca.* $33' 32''$ max., $29' 20''$ min., $31' 5-2''$ mean.

¹⁰ Hultsch, *Winkelmessungen etc.*, p. 193.

¹¹ Cf. Proclus, *Hypotyp.* iv. 74, p. 120 Manitius, and *ibid.* pp. 309 sq.; Pappus ap. Theon. in Ptolem. *Synt.* p. 262, given by Manitius, *loc. cit.*

haben'. Brandis not only writes as if this were certain but also as if it were equally certain that the ratio 1:720 was due to this method. Two conjectures were combined into what looked like one certain piece of knowledge. Brandis' argument was repeated by Lehmann,¹² who even perpetuates a printer's mistake in Brandis' book (who has 'Aufsaugen' [of the water] instead of 'Auffangen' in Ideler). Hultsch then (in his paper *Winkelmessungen etc.*, p. 193) not only repeats Ideler's conjecture elevated to the status of a certainty by Brandis, but, in addition to representing it as certain that the result of $\frac{1}{720}$ as the ratio of the sun's diameter to the greatest circle was obtained by the Babylonians and after them by Greek astronomers δι' ὑδρολογίων, proceeds to argue as equally certain that in this method we have the origin of Greek attempts at measuring small angles. After Hultsch, Manitius, in his edition of Proclus' *Hypotyposis* (p. 291 in a note on IV. 77) proceeds to amplify the remark of Proclus¹³: καὶ τοῦτο . . . ἔσται ἀνάλογον τῷ χρόνῳ, καὶ ὡς τὸ ὕδωρ πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ, οὕτως ὁ χρόνος πρὸς τὸν χρόνον. Ἐπελογίζοντο οὖν ἐκ τούτου, πρὸς ἀπλάσιον καταμετρεῖσθαι δύναται ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας διαμέτρου ὁ ἡλιακὸς κύκλος. In this amplification he gives the result achieved as 1:720, basing himself on Hultsch. It is true that Aristarchus knew the ratio 1:720 as the measure of the solar diameter;¹⁴ but it is misleading to suggest, as Manitius does, that this result was obtained by measuring the flow of water. Archimedes, who reports the result obtained by Aristarchus (*Aren.* p. 222, Heiberg), makes no mention of the method.

All this is misleading. While the Babylonians doubtless related the divisions of the circle to the diameter of the sun,¹⁵ the authorities quoted by Ideler, Brandis, and Hultsch do not prove any connexion between the fact of the measurement ascribed to the Babylonians and the method described by Cleomedes, Pappus, Proclus, and others. Thus it is by no means certain that the ratio 1:720 as between the sun's diameter and the length of its greatest circle is obtainable by the water-clock method, or for that matter, that the Babylonians used this method at all.¹⁶ On the other hand, it is certain that the Babylonians employed the sexagesimal system. There is no evidence for the priority of the sun's measurement as compared with the sexagesimal system and the system of dividing the circle into 360°.¹⁷ If that is accepted, then there is no difficulty in assuming that Thales, following the Babylonians, calculated the relative size of the sun as $\frac{1}{720}$ of its orbit after measuring¹⁸ the angle subtended by the sun as half a degree. The accuracy of measuring and calculation needed for a result of half a degree is not beyond what we may believe either the Babylonians or Greek astronomers were capable of. In more modern times we hear that Tycho Brahe was able with the naked eye to obtain results accurate to 1 minute of angle.

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¹² *Verhandlungen der Berl. anthropol. Ges.* 1889, p. 321, quoted by H. Zimmern. *Das Princip unserer Zeit- und Raumteilung, Ber. über d. Verh. Ges. Wiss. Leipzig, Phil. Hist. Kl.* 53, 1901, p. 48.

¹³ This is based on Pappus ap. Theon. Alex. in Ptol. *Synt.*, for which see Manitius, *Procl. Hyp.* p. 309.

¹⁴ Aristarchus had given the diameter of the moon as $\frac{1}{8}$ of a sign of the zodiac, i.e. as $\frac{1}{180}$ or 2° of the circle. (*On the sizes and distances of the sun and moon*, hypothesis 6 τῆς σελήνης ὑποτίθειν ὑπὸ πεντακοσίου μίλιος ζωδίου. See Sir Thomas Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos*, p. 352.) Archimedes says that Aristarchus had given $\frac{1}{720}$ of the orbit as the length of the sun's diameter. (Archimedes, Heiberg, Teubner 1913 II, p. 222.)

Archimedes (*ibid.*) gives a method for measuring this angle.

His result is between $\frac{1}{180}$ and $\frac{1}{360}$ of a right angle, i.e. $\frac{1}{180}$ and $\frac{1}{360}$ of the circle.

¹⁵ See Achilles Tatius, *Isagog. in Arat.* 18 *Uranolog.* Dionys. Petav. p. 137.

¹⁶ Nor, incidentally, is it certain that they obtained the result 1:720 at all. Sir Thomas Heath (*Aristarchus of Samos*, pp. 22-3) argues that their result may have been 1°, not $\frac{1}{2}$ °.

¹⁷ Hoppe, *Mathem. und Astron. im. Kl. Altertum*, 1911, p. 23, argues convincingly that the measurement of angles was developed by the Sumerians even before the division of the circle.

¹⁸ 'Measuring' would, of course, not be entirely mechanical; it would involve calculation or geometrical construction, or some such process. See Ptolemy, *loc. cit.*

TWO NOTES ON ATHENIAN TOPOGRAPHY

I. PERISCHOINISMA AND POLLUX VIII. 20

IN Pollux, VIII. 20 (ed. Bethe, Leipzig, 1900-37) in the section on σκευή δικαστικά—κιγκλίσ, δρύφακτος κτλ.—we read περισχοινίσαντας (περισκηνήσαντας A) δέ τι τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέρος ἔδει φέρειν εἰς τὸν περιορισθέντα τόπον Ἀθηναίων τὸν βουλούμενον ὄστρακον ἐγγεγραμμένον τούνομα τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐξοστρακίζεσθαι. Dindorf described περισκηνήσαντας, 'quod hactenus vulgatum est', as 'ineptissimum',¹ and it has been given short shrift. Bearing in mind that good authorities speak of a more solid and substantial barrier than a σχοῖνος on occasions of ostracism, he suggested that περισχοινίζειν could mean simply 'circumsepire, cingere, circumdare septo, vel cancellis'. But surely the σχοῖνος element of the word is inescapable; περισχοινίζειν means 'place a rope around'; and if he used this word Pollux is in conflict with other writers, notably Philochorus,² and is probably wrong. Carcopino,³ who quotes περισχοινίσαντας without question, thinks that Pollux has simply made a mistake, misled by recollection of the σχοινίον μεμιλτωμένον with which stragglers were shepherd into the assembly. But there would be little risk of confusion with the red rope; the error is due rather to recollection of the roped enclosures mentioned below.

And is the error Pollux' own, or is it due to later corruption?⁴ Pollux is mainly sound on Athenian antiquities, and I suggest that in this case he was probably not ill-informed, careless, and out-of-step, but actually used the word περισκηνήσαντας to denote the wooden structures, divided by numerous entrances, which were set up round the agora or part of it when ostracisms were held. περισκηνάω (or ἔω) is not found elsewhere, but it is a possible word; cf. παρασκηνάω (ἔω) and κατασκηνάω (ἔω).⁵ Σκηνή is a versatile word, used of tents, huts, and more solid structures;⁶ that it is capable of interesting extensions of meaning is shown by the theatrical sense of the word and its compounds. It was used, of course, of the market-booths in the agora;⁷ and indeed these, or at least material from them, may well have provided a handy means of constructing the πῆγμα needed for ostracisms.

We read also of γέρρα being used in the agora, as well as in barriers for the ekklesia; they consisted of wicker-work, possibly with skin coverings like the shields known as γέρρα. Whether the γέρρα of Demosthenes, XVIII. 169, were coverings of the σκηναί, or whether they, too, were used as barriers, is disputed. Such constructions would in any case be akin to the σκηναί, and might be included in the term περισκηνήσαντας. They may have been in use at ostracisms, but would perhaps be hardly as substantial as the words of our other authorities (πῆγμα, δρύφακτοι) imply. Such wicker-work would not be altogether different from the presumed σχοῖνος fence of *Anth. Plan.*, 255 (see n. 1). The gap seems to narrow; but if we assume, as we safely may, that περισχοινίζειν implies mere rope, the contradiction remains.

If we eliminate περισχοινίσαντας from the text of Pollux, the only evidence for an alleged association of ostracism with what the Athenians called περισχοίνισμα⁸ vanishes. The roping off of certain areas was indeed a notable practice at Athens,⁹ but rather for the meeting of an august court of law dealing with sacred matters. At ostracisms political excitement would be running high and the populace would require more effective physical control. On the occasions when the rope barrier was in use a certain mystic solemnity might prevail. Demosthenes (?) tells how the Council of the Areopagus sometimes sat roped off in the Stoa Basileios;¹⁰ Pollux, how when mystic

¹ Notes on VI-VIII, 608-9. Dindorf draws attention to Harpocration on περισχοινίζεται, which H. equates with περισχοινίζεται. But here it is a question of hunting-nets; ὄρθα ξύλα are indeed mentioned, called στοίχους, but περισχοινίζεται would refer rather to the ropes of the nets. In *Anth. Plan.*, 255, σχοῖνος does probably mean a light rush fence, round a garden, rather than a rope (as Paton translates in the Loeb edition); and indeed περισχοίνισμα might be taken to mean such a fence of rushes; but a rope is more likely.

² Ἰερράσμετο σανίσιν ἢ ἀγορὰ καὶ κατελείποντο εἰσοδοὶ δῆα, εἰ ὧν εἰσόντες κατὰ φυλάς ἐτίθεσαν τὰ ὄστρακα (Jacoby, *FGH*, IIIB, 328 F 30; cf. Schol. *Ar. Equit.* 855). Plutarch, *Aristides*, 7, 4, says the citizens carried their ostraka εἰς ἓνα τόπον περιφραγμένον ἐν κίρκῃ δρυφάκτοις. Timaeus, *Lex. Platon.*, s.v. ἐξοστρακισμός, speaks of a πῆγμα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ εἰσόδους ἔχον.

³ *L'Ostracisme Athénien* (Paris, 1935), 77.

⁴ See Bethe's introduction and note on text.

⁵ Et. Magn. on περισκήσια (in the theatre; s.v. σκηνή) is confusing rather than helpful, though περισκήσια are said to be χαλκὰ κίγκλλα. Suidas in a similar note s.v. σκηνή has παρασκήσια.

⁶ Note Dio Chrysostom. VII. 23, σκηνὴν μάλᾳ ἰσχυρῶν ξύλων.

⁷ Demosthenes, XVIII. 169; (some of the Prytaneis) τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξείργον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασον. The interpretation of this passage is much disputed; I am inclined to accept Girard's emendation ἀνεπίτάνυσαν and translate 'unfolded' or 'spread out the barriers'. In LIX, 90 γέρρα seem to be fences used in connexion with the ekklesia. The Schol. on *Ar. Acharn.* 22 says 'ἀνεπίτάνυσαν γὰρ τὰ γέρρα and shut off the roads not leading to the Ekklesia'. Note also Harpocration on γέρρα.

That Aristophanes mentions σκηναί in association with the Pnyx (*Thesmoph.* 658) is probably not relevant. These σκηναί are usually taken to be those used by the women at the festival (624 and Schol.). But they may be structures of the kind we are discussing; the Schol. on 658 says πρὸς τῇ πυκνῇ σκηνῇ ἦσαν.

⁸ Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 350.

⁹ One may note occurrences of περισχοίνισμα in contexts outside Athens; Dion. Halic., VII. 59, χωρὶς τῆς ἀγορᾶς περισχοινίσαντες (at Rome); Appian, VIII (*Punic Wars*) 78, the consuls are separated from the Carthaginian envoys by a περισχοίνισμα.

¹⁰ XXV. 23. Cf. Harpocration, ἐπισχοινισμός.

affairs were involved, a court summoned by the Basileus, presumably in the Basileios, was roped off, the *perischoinisma* being at a distance of fifty feet.¹¹ A letter of Alciphron¹² implies that such use of *perischoinisma* was a recognised and characteristic feature of Athens. It is not clear whether a particular place is referred to here; from the nature of the adjacent items in Alciphron's list—farther down we find actual monuments—one should perhaps take the word in a more general way, of the institution. The only clear and definite topographical reference is in Ps.-Plutarch, *X Orat.*, 847a, where we are told that the statue of Demosthenes stood near the *perischoinisma* and the altar of the Twelve Gods. One notes again that the *perischoinisma* is something of a landmark, a point of reference; which may seem strange for a light and movable barrier, but the area may have been called *perischoinisma* sometimes even without the rope in place. The altar of the Twelve and the temple of Ares, which was also near Demosthenes,¹³ are now fixed, and a site in the north-west of the agora, in front of the Stoa Basileios, which I take to be identical with the Stoa of Zeus, is very appropriate. It is perhaps better to think of the rope enclosure of the Basileios as taking in an area in front of the Stoa rather than as running from column to column. The latter arrangement would not give the Areopagus much privacy, or quite prevent uninitiated ears from catching something of the forbidden proceedings. Pollux' fifty feet applied to this site would very roughly bring us to the public road on the west side of the agora.

One would still hesitate, however, to give to this area all the manifold importance claimed for it by R. Martin,¹⁴ who has much to say about the *perischoinisma* in his recent work on the agora, and once more attempts to associate it with ostracism. He accepts Pollux' περισχοινίσαντας as a matter of course, and makes light of the discrepancy. It is a question of different phases; the primitive *enceinte* consisted of ropes; later more solid barriers were in use. But again one must insist that it is not so easy to remove the *schoinos* from *perischoinisma*. The writer of Demosthenes XXV says περισχοινίστηται, and surely knew a real σχοῖνος; the whole point of his remarks depends on the extreme flimsiness of the physical barrier respected by the populace.

Martin would make of this spot a particularly vital centre of city life. Here was an ancient assembly place; here was not only the *perischoinisma* and the scene of ostracisms, but also the old orchestra and the primitive theatre of Athens; and finally, the altar in front of the stoa was the altar of Zeus Agoraios, the great god of the agora and of civic life. This is an attractive theory, and there may be much truth in it; but unfortunately every element except our roped enclosure is open to grave doubt.¹⁵ To begin with Zeus Agoraios, there is no solid evidence for this identification of his altar; H. A. Thompson's suggestion that it was the great altar farther south, opposite the Metroon, must at least be seriously considered.¹⁶ The orchestra has always been an elusive spot; but our only precise information about it, Timaeus' statement that the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton stood there,¹⁷ combined with what Arrian says¹⁸ about the position of these statues, can now be interpreted with good reason as indicating a point on the Panathenaic Way opposite the Metroon; and another suggestion of H. A. Thompson,¹⁹ that the Odeum was in some sense a successor of the orchestra, must not lightly be set aside. Only the *perischoinisma* can be attached with some confidence to the Basileios. As regards ostracism, one need lay no stress on the fact that the ostraka actually found come predominantly from an area to the south-west. The finds are of special and limited character, and throw light, if any, on the method of disposing of the sherds rather than on the place and procedure of ostracism, so Mr. Vanderpool assures me. But even from the *perischoinisma* we must take away all claim to the function of ostracism if we bring Pollux into line with the rest by reading περισκηνήσαντας.

II. SYNEDRION AND AG. I 6524


Unnecessary difficulties and complications seem to have been met in the topographical interpretation of the anti-tyranny decree of 337/6 B.C., recently discovered in the Athenian agora.²⁰ That this is so is due, I think, to a too rigid interpretation of the word Synedrion. The word is

¹¹ 123, τὸ δὲ περισχοίνισμα ἀπὸ πενήτηντα ποδῶν ἐγίγνετο. See also 141, περισχοινίσαι δὲ τὸ δικαστήριον, ὅποτε περὶ τῶν μυστικῶν δικάζοιεν, ἵνα μὴ προσῇ μηδεὶς ἀνεπίσημος ὢν. Pollux also mentions here the roping of shrines on certain occasions, e.g. at the Plynteria.

¹² II. 3. 11 (IV. 18. 11); the dramatic date of the epistles is supposed to be the fourth century B.C. 'Where in Egypt', says the writer, 'shall I see the ekklesia and the voting, and the δημοκρατικὸν ἔθλον; ποῦ δὲ θεσμοθέτας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κόμισαι κασσώμενους; ποῖον περισχοίνισμα; ποῖαν αἵρσιν; ποῖους Χίτρον; Κιραμεῖκόν, ἀγοράν, δικαστήρια, τὴν καλὴν ἀράπολιν κτλ.'

¹³ Pausanias, I. 8. 4. The temple of Ares is not shown in our plan, since it was not erected on its site S.E. of the Stoa of Zeus and opposite the temple of Apollo till Augustan times.

¹⁴ *Recherches sur l'Agora Grecque* (Paris, 1951), 325-7; cf. a preliminary study in *BCH LXVI-LXVII*, 1942-3, 282 ff. Since I only seem to mention it to disagree with it, I should like to acknowledge here the enormous value of M. Martin's studies of the agora.

¹⁵ In addition to the points dealt with here, I must re-affirm earlier objections to his theory that the Stoa Basileios, with its wings, is a reflection of the -shaped assembly-place (see *JHS* LXVIII, 1953).

¹⁶ *Hesperia* XXI, 1952, 93; the only precise information we have about this shrine is in schol. Ar. *Equit.* 410: 'Ἀγοραῖος Ζεὺς ἱδρύεται ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. See also Hesychius, 'Ἀγοραῖου Διὸς βωμὸς Ἀθηναίων. *IG* I² 34. 5, cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 526. Zeus Agoraios is mentioned more vaguely in Aesch. *Eumen.* 973, and Ar. *Equit.* 410 and 500. We learn something of the shrine of Zeus Agoraios from Eurip. *Heraclidae* (note lines 33, 42, 70, 73, 78-9, 121, 127), but the shrine in which the scene is set is at Marathon; however, the setting of the play may have some relevance to the cult at Athens (see now G. Zuntz, *Political Plays of Euripides*, p. 97).

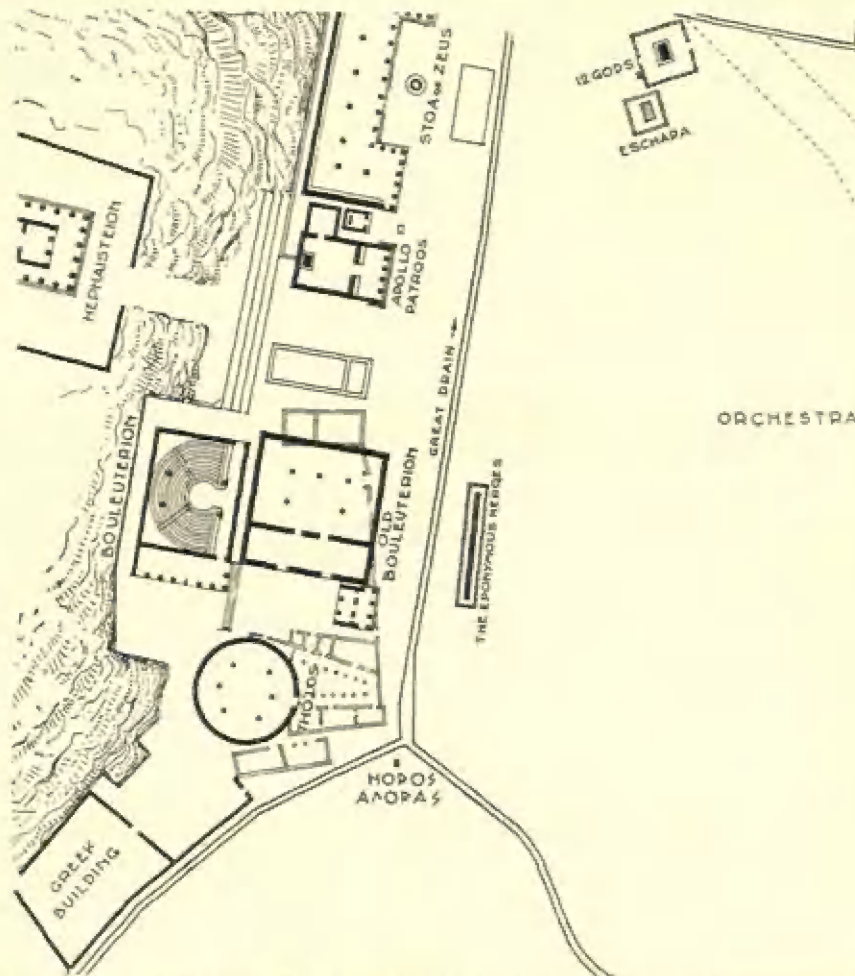
¹⁷ *Lex. Platon.* ὀρχήστρα.

¹⁸ *Anab.* III. 16. 7.

¹⁹ *Hesperia* XIX, 1950, 94.

²⁰ *Hesperia* XXI, 355-9 no. 5; XXII, 51-3 and 129.

admittedly a versatile one;²¹ but its occurrence in recently found inscriptions has led to the belief that there was in or near the agora a particular place or building which was called simply *the Synedrion*.²² This may very well have been so; but if one gives the word this meaning in Ag. I 6524, and also assumes Bouleuterion to mean as usual the Bouleuterion of the 500 in the agora, problems arise and the sense of the Greek is somewhat forced. 'Synedrion' must still be allowed a certain freedom, even when there is some precise topographical reference. Then one can assume, as is natural, that the Synedrion in which the Areopagites are forbidden to sit in the event of an attempt at tyranny is on the Hill of Ares, and that the Bouleuterion with reference to which one of the two copies is to be set up is more or less the same thing. One need not object to the use of two different terms for the same place in the same document. Synedrion is used in a formula



WEST SIDE OF AGORA, PRE-HELLENISTIC (part of *Hesperia*, XXIII, fig. 1, p. 34). The Metroon later occupied the site of the Old Bouleuterion.

meaning only a little more than 'to hold a session'—it is the vaguer word; Bouleuterion is used with greater precision of the actual building.²³

This is in any case the most natural interpretation of the Greek. The members of the Boule from the Areios Pagos are not to be allowed 'to go up to the Areios Pagos nor to sit together in the Synedrion nor to deliberate about anything'.²⁴ One can hardly dissociate the first from the other two operations, as one has to do if the Synedrion is placed elsewhere. No one could object to an Areopagite going up to the Hill if no political deliberation with his fellow Areopagites followed. The stele is to be placed 'at the entrance to the Areios Pagos, the one for a person going to the

²¹ On the general sense note particularly Photius, συνέδριον; καὶ τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοὺς θώκους ἐν οἷς συνεδρεῖσονται Ἀθηνοὶ καλοῦσιν; Plato, *Theaetetus*, 173d, δικάστηριον ἢ βουλευτήριον ἢ τι κοινὸν ἄλλο τῆς πόλεως συνέδριον. Hesychius has simply συνέδριον: δικάστηριον.

²² In *Hesperia* VI, 215, n. 4, H. A. Thompson suggested that Synedrion meant Bouleuterion (i.e. of the 500); W. A. McDonald, who has an interesting discussion of the word in Appendix II, pp. 295-8, of *Political Meeting Places of the Greeks*, agrees with this, but more recently Thompson prefers to identify the Synedrion as the Old Bouleuterion. Miss M. Crosby has looked diligently for the Synedrion, but admits to being

baffled; in *Hesperia* VI, 447, she suggested that Synedrion was to be equated with Thesmothesion (see below) and to be found in the Old Bouleuterion; but in *Hesperia* XX, 187, she raised the possibility that it was the so-called Greek Building to the south-west of the Tholos. Professor B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia* VII, 103, associates Synedrion rather more vaguely with Bouleuterion.

²³ Macdonald points out (*op. cit.* 295-6) that Dio Cassius uses 'Bouleuterion' and 'Synedrion' (at Rome) synonymously.

²⁴ ἀνίστασθαι εἰς Ἀρειὸν Πάγον, μηδὲ συναθροίσαι ἐν τῷ συνέδριῳ, μηδὲ βουλευεῖν μηδὲ περὶ ἐνός (14-16; cf. 18-20).

Bouleuterion'.²⁵ H. A. Thompson, assuming that the Areopagites met at this time in the Synedrion, in the agora, which he identifies reasonably as the 'Old Bouleuterion', suggests that the stele was set up at the entrance to this building, Areios Pagos in line 25 meaning not the Hill but the Council from its sitting in its presumed meeting-place; this entrance would be passed by one going to the (New) Bouleuterion of the 500. But without stating dogmatically that the use of the term 'Areopagus' to mean the Council, not the Hill, is entirely modern,²⁶ one may still hesitate to take it to mean a meeting-place of the Council not on the Hill but in the agora. That the 'Areopagus' had a meeting-place on the Hill, which might be referred to as Bouleuterion, is shown by Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 570 and 684. It is natural to assume that this is what Aeschines means in I. 92 (ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τούτῳ), though there is no indication of place.

Almost in the same breath Aeschines speaks of τὸ ἀκριβέστατον συνέδριον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει and τοῦτο τὸ συνέδριον. A few further significant instances of the use of 'Synedrion' may be helpful for its topographical interpretation, both in this and in other contexts. By other fourth-century orators too the word is repeatedly associated with the Council of the Areopagus. It seems to have a certain air of augustness and venerability. Usually there is no particular topographical significance. ταῦτ' οὖν συνέδριον, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς τόπος, καὶ ταῦτά δίκαια, says Deinarchus (I. 85).²⁷ In 87 he becomes more precise; the Semnai Theai adhered faithfully to the judgement given ἐν τούτῳ τῷ συνεδρίῳ; καὶ τῇ τούτῳ (i.e. τοῦ συνεδρίου) ἀληθείᾳ συνοίκους ἑαυτὰς εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον κατέστησαν. One might take συνοίκους as implying merely a vague proximity, or even mere residence in Athens; but surely it means a more intimate association, perhaps even 'sharing the same house'. More vaguely, but still significantly, Isocrates in the *Areopagiticus* (37-8) says that the Council from the Areopagus, superior to all συνέδρια in Greece, has left in the place such a memorial of its goodness, that even persons whose conduct is elsewhere insufferable, when they go up to the Areios Pagos, conform with τοῖς ἐκεῖ νομίμοις. In view of the usage of the orators one can hardly fail to place the Synedrion of Ag. I 6524 on the Hill, and the Bouleuterion of lines 25-6 goes with it. The Areios Pagos is apparently regarded as a kind of precinct with entrances; just where the Synedrion-Bouleuterion lay, and the entrance associated with it, remains uncertain.

'Synedrion' is used, meaning *place of meeting*, with reference to several different boards of magistrates at Athens. Lysias IX is concerned with military matters. Polyaeus makes a complaint to the Strategos (4; τοῦ ἄρχοντος in 6 apparently also refers to the Strategos).²⁸ He is accused of using bad language; he replies that the law penalises only those who use bad language ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, and he did not enter τὸ συνέδριον, which he also refers to as ἀρχεῖον (9), the words being apparently synonymous. Synedrion is here presumably the office of the magistrates concerned, the Strategoi, i.e. the Strategion.²⁹

Demosthenes (?) LVIII deals with a mercantile case (ca. 340 B.C.); a *phasis*, received by the Epimeletai of the Emporion, is displayed ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ συνεδρίου (8). 'Emporion' and the general associations of the case would seem to place this Synedrion in Peiraeus. Ag. I 3238 + 4169³⁰ is a stele inscribed with decrees honouring the Sitophylakes, to be set up πρὸς τῷ συνεδρίῳ (12). This might mean the office of the Sitophylakes. One wonders whether to translate 'Synedrion' in each case as 'the meeting-place of the public body concerned'; but perhaps, after all, the meaning is not quite so diverse, and some of these synedria should be telescoped.

The Thirty, Xenophon tells us, when things were going badly sat miserably ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ. We also know that the Thirty used the Tholos, and possibly the Poikile, and appropriated the seats of the Prytaneis in the Bouleuterion of the 500. What the Synedrion is in reference to them one would hesitate to say; it may have been the one discussed below.³¹

Most important are the archons and the Thesmothetai, and perhaps in a sense theirs was the Synedrion. Demosthenes (?) LIX (*Against Neaera*, ca. 343-37 B.C.) is of interest. Theogenes is

²⁵ ἐπὶ τῇ εἰσόδῳ τῆς εἰς Ἀρεῖον Πάγον τῆς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἰσάντη (24-6). Meritt has a supplementary note on the difficulty of translating this phrase; I do not think there is any great difficulty if one refers the whole thing to the Hill of Ares.

²⁶ In Andocides, I, 78 (decree of Patrocleides) (ὅς Ἀρεῖον πάγου . . . ἰδούσῃ) we get something approaching our usage, and we naturally translate 'judgement was given by the Areopagus'; but in fact Areios Pagos still means Hill of Ares; so also in Deinarchus, I. 47; and probably even in *Acti*, 17, 22.

²⁷ The word is used *passim* in this speech; see also III. 7, where in the same sentence Deinarchus uses synonymously τὸ συνέδριον τὸ ἐν Ἀρεῖῳ πάγῳ and ἡ ἐξ Ἀρεῖου πάγου βουλὴ. Note also Lycurgus, *Leocr.* 12.

²⁸ Cf. Lysias, XIV. 21 and XVI. 16; and Plutarch, *Nicias*, 5. 1 and 15. 2.

²⁹ For the Strategion see Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², 346, and add now to his references Ag. I 863, *Hesperia* IV, 562, no. 40; and Ag. I 15 and 96, *Hesperia* II, 156, no. 5; two other new inscriptions with honours to generals may also possibly be

associated with the Strategion—Ag. I 1033, *Hesperia* XVI, 162, no. 59, and Ag. I 5925, *Hesperia* XVII, 41, no. 29. For the Heros Strategos (*RE* IV. A (1931), 184), who was possibly attached to the Strategion, see now in addition to *JG* II² 1035. 53 (now dated mid second century A.D., *Hesperia* VII, 17, n. 3), Ag. I 147, *Hesperia* XV, 221, no. 48.

³⁰ Dated 239/8 B.C.; *Hesperia* VI, 444, no. 2.

³¹ Xenophon, *Hell.* II. 4. 23; cf. Plato, *Apol.* 32c-d; Diog. Laert. VII. 1. 5; Lysias, XIII. 37. It would be hazardous to associate the 'Synedrion of the Hiera Gerousia' (see *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, 125, no. 31, line 13) with any Synedrion which we have been discussing; see H. A. Thompson in *Hesperia* XXII, 52, n. 51. The inscription concerned, in which it is said that bronze statues of Ulpus Eubiotus and his sons are to be set up ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς λεγόμενης γερούσιας καὶ τῷ πρυτανείῳ, is of the early third century A.D., and by Roman imperial times the character of the public buildings on the south and south-west of the agora had radically changed. But one notes that the fragments of this stele were found in close association with the Tholos, which retained its identity.

Basileus; his wife, daughter of Stephanus, is a highly unsuitable person. The nine archons go up to the Areios Pagos (80), and the Council there deals with the matter. Coming down from the Areios Pagos, Theogenes throws out his wife and drives Stephanus, who had secured the post of *paredros*, from the Synedrion (83). Probably this Synedrion is the common meeting-place of the nine archons. A similar identification would be suitable for Synedrion in Ag. I 4266, a large well-preserved stele probably not moved far and found in the north room of the Metroon.³² The inscription, dated 284/3 B.C., records honours to the archon Euthius and his *paredroi*, and was to be set up ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ συνεδρίου. ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ συνεδρίου is likewise restored in a fragment of a similar inscription, Ag. I 1832, dated 'before 263/2 B.C.'. ³³

It will be recalled that Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 3. 5) says that in the time of Solon the archons, who had formerly had separate quarters (the Basileus the Boukoleion, the Archon the Prytaneion, the Polemarch the Epilykeion, the Thesmothetai the Thesmotheteion) came together in one place, and that place was the Thesmotheteion. It seems that there is something to be said for returning to the earlier suggestion of Miss Crosby,³⁴ that Synedrion, at least in one important sense, means Thesmotheteion. Where this Synedrion was is a different problem; probably like the Tholos ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, probably in the southern to western quarter of the agora. Dedications by members of the college of archons to Apollo ὑπὸ Μακράϊς or ὑπ' Ἀκράϊς, found in the direction of his shrine on the north-west slope of the Acropolis, have been used to determine the site, but do not provide very definite evidence.³⁵ The public offices of Athens are very elusive. Literary evidence is vague; possible archaeological remains are apt to be of an indeterminate character; particular finds which might settle such questions are all too rare. Interesting public buildings have been recently coming to light on the south side, of an earlier date than the Hellenistic stoa.³⁶ But for the Synedrion and Bouleuterion of Ag. I 6524 we shall do better if we go up to the hill above.

Addendum. Since writing the above note on *perischoinisma*, I have had a further communication from Professor Thompson in which he says that no actual traces which might be associated with a barrier have been found immediately in front of the Stoa of Zeus, which he, probably rightly, identifies with the Basileios. On the other hand, about 5 m. south-west of the peribolos of the Twelve Gods was found a large block with a hole which may have been a socket for a post; and the impression of a wooden post also came to light just to the west of the peribolos. However, these remains are hardly sufficiently clear or substantial to warrant any firm conclusion, and the *perischoinisma* may have been such as to leave no recognisable permanent trace.

From the same source I hear that another inscription which was set up ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ στρατηγίου has been recently found in a level of the Roman period a little to the west of the Middle Stoa; it is a decree in honour of the taxiarchs, of the early third century B.C. The identification of the Strategion as the 'Greek Building' to the south-west of the agora has been very tentatively put forward.

I should like to acknowledge the great debt which I owe to Professor H. A. Thompson, Professor B. D. Meritt, and their colleagues, in all studies of Athenian topography, both at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and in the agora itself, where I spent a period with the aid of a generous grant from the American Philosophical Society.

R. E. WYCHERLEY

³² *Hesperia* VII, 100, no. 18.

³³ *Ibid.* 109, no. 19. For the use of Synedrion in connexion with the archons, note also that Grainger, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, 74, mentions a number of dedications in the name of the γραμματεὺς τοῦ συνεδρίου in the cave of Apollo ὑπὸ Μακράϊς (see n. 35 below), the Synedrion here being very probably the college of the nine archons.

³⁴ See n. 3. For the Thesmotheteion or Thesmothesion see also Suidas under ἀρχων (οἱ Θεσμοθέται [καθῆντο] παρὰ τὸ Θεσμοθέσιον); note παρὰ—here it is a question of διακρίνειν, and the court is apparently attached to but distinct from the office. Schol. Plato *Phaedrus* 235d says the place where the Thesmothetai met and dined was called Themistion—no doubt a corruption of Thesmothesion. When Scholia on Plato *Protag.* 337d and Herodotus I. 146. 2, commenting on πρυτανεῖον, give πρυτανεῖον Θεσμοθέσιον, θόλος, this is no doubt due to a misunderstanding of a list of the three chief *synitia* of Athens, found in garbled form (e.g. with θεσμοφορεῖον for θεσμοθετεῖον) in Hesychius under πρυτανεῖον.

In Demosthenes, XXI, 85, τὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων σκήμα may be the Thesmotheteion; and the stoa in which the nine archons dined, screened by a curtain (Hypereides, quoted by Pollux, IV. 122), was probably associated with the Thesmotheteion.

Plutarch (*Quaest. Conviv.*, VII, 9, cf. also I, i. 2) compares τὸ ἐνθάδε Πρυτανεῖον καὶ Θεσμοθέσιον with βουλευτήρια ἀπόρητα καὶ συνέδρια ἀριστοκρατικά in Crete and Sparta. When Hypereides (IV. 6; ca. 330 B.C.) says θεσμοθετῶν συνέδριον ἐστίν, he probably means hardly more than, 'The Thesmothetai hold a session to deal with the matter', without any particular reference to the Thesmotheteion.

³⁵ See Judeich, *op. cit.* p. 303. To *IG* II² 2891–2931 add further examples more recently found to the south-east of the agora: *Hesperia* X, 252, nos. 54, 55, and 57; XV, 138, nos. 1 and 2; and unpublished fragments Ag. I 4540, 4543, and 4537.

³⁶ *Hesperia* XXIII, p. 33 ff.; on p. 45, n. 14, Professor Thompson raises the possibility that 'South Stoa I' was the Thesmotheteion, but is inclined to reject it, probably rightly.

THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1952-53

ONCE more, and for the last time, I attempt briefly to review the epigraphical progress of the last two years, so completing a survey which began in 1906 (*TWCS* 1906, 69 ff.) and has appeared in this *Journal* since 1913 (*XXXIV* 321 ff.). In view of the superlative value of the annual 'Bulletin Epigraphique' of J. and L. Robert and of the welcome revival of the *SEG* under the editorship of A. G. Woodhead, my own work may well be deemed superfluous. To the successive editors of the *Journal*, who have treated me with unfailing generosity, to all scholars who have lightened my burden by sending me copies of their works, and above all to those who have encouraged me by their expressions of interest and appreciation I offer my heartfelt thanks. The present bibliography follows the same lines as its predecessors; ¹ books and articles which I have not seen are marked by an asterisk.

The ranks of Greek epigraphists have suffered serious losses in the deaths of F. M. Abel,² J. G. C. Anderson,³ W. H. Buckler,⁴ R. Herzog,⁵ L. B. Holland,⁶ J. G. Milne,⁷ M. I. Rostovtzeff⁸ and A. Vogliano.⁹ Appreciations of the character and achievement of A. Wilhelm we owe to J. Keil¹⁰ and L. Robert,¹¹ and of J. Hatzfeld to C. Picard.¹²

I. GENERAL

My bibliography for 1950-51 appeared in *JHS* LXXIV 59 ff., and a specially full and valuable survey by P. M. Fraser, relating to Egypt and Nubia, in *JEA* XXXVIII 115 ff. It is needless to emphasize anew the value of the two 'Bulletins' compiled by J. and L. Robert.¹³ To J. Marouzeau and J. Ernst we owe two further volumes of the *Année philologique*,¹⁴ devoted to 1950 and 1951 respectively, and to G. Reincke two volumes of the *Archäologische Bibliographie*,¹⁵ covering 1949 and 1950-51. Of the *Année épigraphique*, edited by A. Merlin, the volumes for 1951 and 1952 have appeared in the *RA* and separately,¹⁶ as also the decennial *Tables générales*, 1941-50,¹⁷ while the more important discoveries and discussions are summarized in the *Fasti Archaeologici* for 1950 and 1951.¹⁸ The *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*¹⁹ and the *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*²⁰ contain epigraphical bibliographies limited to their respective fields, and frequent references to inscriptions occur in the 'Chronique des fouilles' of the *BCH*²¹ and in the reports on 'Archaeology in Greece' in the *JHS*.²² Among individual bibliographies I note those of J. G. C. Anderson,²³ F. J. Dölger,²⁴ H. Grégoire,²⁵ J. Hatzfeld,²⁶ G. I. Kazarow,²⁷ A. D. Keramopoulos,²⁸ J. G. Milne,²⁹ D. M. Robinson,³⁰ M. Segre³¹ and A. Wilhelm.³² F. Dölger and A. M. Schneider's *Byzanz*³³ contains (pp. 42 ff.) a survey by Dölger of the epigraphical sources of Byzantine studies.

In April 1952 the Second International Epigraphical Congress, numbering 130 members,³⁴ met in Paris under the presidency of L. Robert. Brief accounts of this are given by G. Klaffenbach³⁵ and by A. E. Raubitschek,³⁶ and its transactions are embodied in a volume³⁷ which affords an admirably clear and comprehensive survey of the present position and future projects of epigraphical studies, both Greek and Latin. In his inaugural lecture Robert paid a glowing tribute to A. Wilhelm (pp. 2 ff.), sketched the aims and methods of the epigraphist (pp. 8 ff.) and stated the functions of the Congress (pp. 12 ff.); later he spoke of the special problems presented by the publication of Christian and Byzantine texts (pp. 273 ff.) and of the *desiderata* of museum-catalogues (pp. 286 ff.). The present situation and further plans of the Berlin Academy regarding the *IG* were set forth by G. Klaffenbach (pp. 21 ff.),³⁸ and a table shows the stage already reached in its publication (pp. 33 ff.). A second volume of J. B. Frey's *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*,³⁹ edited by G. Kittel and G. Spadafora, contains 806 inscriptions (of which 259 are not Greek) from Cyprus, Asia Minor,

¹ I use the following abbreviations in addition to those prescribed in *JHS* LXVIII xcii f. and those noted in *JHS* LXXIV 59 n. 1; *Actes* = *Actes du deuxième Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine* (Paris, 1953); *Γραφ* = *Γραφ Ἀντωνίου Καραποπούλου* (Athens, 1953); *Hesp* = *Hesperia*; *Robinson Studies* = *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson* (St. Louis, Missouri, 1951-3). In response to the repeated requests of the authors, I cite the 'Bulletin Epigraphique' (= *Bull*) by year and item, not by volume and page.

² *Ob.* 24.3.53. *Israel Expl. J.* III 136.

³ *Ob.* 31.3.52. *JRS* XLII 110 ff.

⁴ *Ob.* 2.3.52. *AJA* LVI 179.

⁵ *Ob.* 7.2.52. *AJA* LVI 181 f.

⁶ *Ob.* 7.8.51. *JEA* XXXVIII 112 ff.

⁷ *Ob.* 20.10.52. *Gnomon*, XXV 142 ff., *Russian Rev.* 1953, 128 ff., *JRS* XLIII 133 f., *CRAI* 1952, 523 ff., *Proc. Brit. Ac.* XXXVIII 347 ff., *AJA* LVIII 55, *Syria*, XXX 183 ff.

⁸ *Ob.* 26.6.53.

⁹ *Almanach d. Oester. Ak.* CI 307 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 5.

¹⁰ *Actes*, 2 ff. ¹¹ *RA* XLI 82 ff.; cf. *REA* LV 233 f.

¹² *REG* LXV 124 ff., LXVI 113 ff.

¹³ XXI, XXII (Paris, 1952-3).

¹⁴ *RA* XXXVIII 162 ff., XL 162 ff.

¹⁵ V, VI (Florence, 1952-3).

¹⁶ XLV 255 ff., 509 f., XLVI 259 f., 503 f.

¹⁷ XXVII 277 ff., XXVIII 268 ff.

¹⁸ LXXXVI 201 ff., LXXXVII 190 ff.

¹⁹ LXXXII 92 ff., LXXXIII 108 ff.; cf. *AJA* LV 392 f., LVI 76 f., 123 ff.

²⁰ *JRS* XLII 111 f.

²¹ *Mél. Grégoire*, III vii ff.

²² Cf. *Bull* 1954, 3.

²³ *Nism Chron* 1951, 115 ff.

²⁴ *Ann.* XXII-III xi ff.

²⁵ Berne, 1952; cf. *Bull* 1953, 17, *REG* LXVI 520 f.

²⁶ *Actes*, 303 ff.

²⁷ *Archaeology*, V 119 f. ²⁸ *Wissenschaftliche Annalen*, I 192 f.

²⁹ *Actes* (Paris, 1953); cf. *Bull* 1954, 2.

³⁰ Cf. *Gnomon*, XXIV 303.

³¹ Vatican, 1952; cf. *Bull* 1954, 24, *RA* XL 228.

³² Berlin, 1952-3.

³³ Paris, 1952.

³⁴ *Byz. Zts.* XLIV 1* ff.

³⁵ *RA* XLI 86 f.

³⁶ *Γραφ*, 684 ff.

³⁷ *Robinson Studies*, II vii f.

³⁸ *Op. cit.* (n. 10) 317 ff.

Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Arabia and Egypt. The publication of *SEG*, interrupted by the death of Hondius, is resumed under the editorship of A. G. Woodhead, who will complete vol. XI, dealing with the Peloponnese, and hopes thereafter to issue annually a volume reporting the epigraphical publications of the preceding year. Two further instalments⁴⁰ of *RE* bring that work near to completion, and valuable epigraphical comments on a number of articles in them are made by J. and L. Robert. W. K. Pritchett points out⁴¹ numerous flaws in the *Index to Hesperia I-X* and criticizes the method of its compilation (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 59). L. Robert's reports⁴² on his professorial activities in the academical years 1951-2 and 1952-3 summarize his lectures, his publications and his missions to Asia Minor. E. Bignone's *Introduzione alla filologia classica*⁴³ contains a chapter (pp. 133 ff.) by A. Calderini on papyrology and epigraphy, dealing, *inter alia*, with their historical development (pp. 136 ff.), the ancient authors represented in them (pp. 147 f.), the Parian Marble and the Lindian Chronicle (pp. 190 f.). The relations between epigraphy and Greek history are discussed in a stimulating essay⁴⁴ by J. Pouilloux. On the technical aspects of epigraphical study several valuable articles call for notice. A. E. Raubitschek studies⁴⁵ the ancient methods of engraving circular letters, W. K. Pritchett describes and advocates⁴⁶ the use of liquid rubber (latex) in place of, or in addition to, paper for making squeezes (though J. and L. Robert question its superiority), and, in conjunction with N. Herz, discusses⁴⁷ the nature of the marbles used in Attica and suggests a more satisfactory method of describing them in editing inscriptions. Mme Hours outlines⁴⁸ the modern scientific processes used in the service of archaeology and epigraphy in the laboratory of the Louvre.

In the sphere of literature, language and music I note M. Guarducci's revision,⁴⁹ in the light of G. Pasquali's criticisms (*Riv Fil* LXXVIII 351 f.), of her previous article (cf. *JHS* LXXII 20 f.) on the authorship of an epigram of which eight epigraphical examples, ranging from the Hellenistic period to the third century A.D., survive in Asia Minor and the Islands; she now doubts the reference to Cyprus and regards Κερελλαῖος μαντιάρχης as probably of Italian origin. In his 'Chronological Notes on Middle Comedy'⁵⁰ T. B. L. Webster uses the evidence of the 'Didascaliae' (*IG* II² 2319 ff.) and the 'Catalogi Victorum' (*ibid.* 2325), restoring (p. 20) [Μένανδρος πέρ: Π]αιδίω in 2323a 51. F. Weber studies⁵¹ the Greek forms assumed by Latin names in Attic inscriptions, and F. Zucker's 'Studien zur Namenkunde vorhellenistischer und hellenistischer Zeit'⁵² deals with (a) the reasons prompting the choice of names, (b) names occurring in the Zenon papyri, and (c) theophoric names ending in -ῶναξ, -ῶνασσα, while elsewhere the same scholar studies⁵³ the meaning of ἀγνοία, ἀγνοέω and ἀγνόημα. C. C. Charitonides examines,⁵⁴ on the basis of epigraphical evidence, the impersonal use of δοκεῖν and the construction of ὅπως; K. Latte discusses⁵⁵ the phrase τὸν θεὸν σοι, dissenting from Wilhelm's explanation (*SB Berlin*, 1932, 857 ff.) and supplying ὁμύλω subauditum; C. Lindhagen collects⁵⁶ a number of epigraphical examples of ἐργάζεσθαι, indexed on p. 67; further attention has been paid⁵⁷ to the origin and meaning of παγανός; A. G. Woodhead investigates⁵⁸ the sense of πορεία in inscriptions (pp. 96 ff.) and in papyri (pp. 103 ff.), denying that it ever signifies 'travelling expenses'; and A. Wilhelm maintains⁵⁹ that καταδιδόναι and φιλοδοξεῖσθαι cannot mean specifically 'leave an endowment'. In his *Trois documents de musique grecque*⁶⁰ É. Martin examines from the standpoint of music (a) the musical papyrus of Euripides' *Orestes*, (b) the Delphian hymns with musical notation, and (c) the epitaph of Seikilos from Aidin, near Tralles.

The value of epigraphical evidence for every aspect of Greek and Roman history is becoming increasingly recognized and can be illustrated from every page of this survey. A new volume of M. Holleaux's *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*,⁶¹ edited by L. Robert, contains eleven chapters dealing with the relations of Rome to Macedonia and the Greek East between 229 and 200 B.C., including some forty hitherto unpublished pages (pp. 298 ff.) on Philip V's expedition to Asia; two further volumes will complete this invaluable work. Volume II of M. P. Nilsson's *Opuscula selecta*⁶² includes eighteen articles on historical or archaeological subjects. I. Calabi's *Ricerche sui rapporti tra le poleis*⁶³ discusses metics and commercial law, amphictionies, congresses and syndedroi, interstate arbitration, and the antecedents of the Corinthian League, and appeals to a number of inscriptions, indexed on p. 158. H. Berve's essay⁶⁴ on the 'Herrscherstellung der Deinomeniden' refers (pp. 544, 547) to the dedicatory inscriptions of Gelo and Hiero at Olympia and Delphi. D. W. Bradeen claims⁶⁵ that the Chalcidians of Thrace were colonists from Euboic Chalcis and not a northern Greek tribe like the Bottiaei, and seeks to determine which of the Thracian towns were Chalcidic. In the third and final volume of his masterly *Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*⁶⁶ H. Bengtson deals with the

⁴⁰ XXI (2), XXII (1) (Stuttgart, 1952-3); cf. *Bull* 1953, 4.

⁴¹ *AJA* LVI 161 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 40. S. Dow, *Robinson Studies*, II 358 ff.

⁴² *Ann. Collège de France*, LII 218 ff., LIII 226 ff.

⁴³ Milan, 1951. ⁴⁴ *Ant Class* XXII 32 ff.

⁴⁵ *AJA* LV 343 f., *Festschrift A. Rumpf* (Krefeld, 1952) 125 f.; cf. *AJA* LVII 131.

⁴⁶ *AJA* LVI 118 ff., LVII 197 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 7. 1954, 4.

⁴⁷ *AJA* LVII 71 ff. ⁴⁸ *CRAI* 1952, 439 ff.

⁴⁹ *Riv Fil* LXXX 340 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 31.

⁵⁰ *CQ* II (1952) 13 ff. ⁵¹ *Bull. Strasb.* XXVIII 377 ff.

⁵² *SB Berlin*, 1951, 1; cf. *Bull* 1953, 36.

⁵³ *Robinson Studies*, II 1063 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 63.

⁵⁴ *Πολύκωπος*, V 19 ff., 70 ff.

⁵⁵ *Glotta*, XXXII 34 f.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 72.

⁵⁶ *Acta Univ. Upsal.* 1950, 5.

⁵⁷ *Mnem* V (1952) 94 ff.

⁵⁸ Paris, 1953; cf. *Bull* 1954, 135. See below, pp. 136, 146.

⁵⁹ IV 1 (Paris, 1952); cf. *Bull* 1952, 3.

⁶⁰ Lund, 1952.

⁶¹ Florence, 1953.

⁶² *Robinson Studies*, II 537 ff. ⁶³ *AJP* LXXIII 356 ff.

⁶⁴ Munich, 1952; cf. *Bull* 1953, 26.

στρατηγία in the Ptolemaic Empire; chapters I–VIII are devoted to Egypt, but chapter IX discusses the στρατηγοί in the foreign possessions of the Ptolemies, chiefly in Cyprus (pp. 138 ff.), Cyrenaica (pp. 153 ff.), Syria (pp. 166 ff.), Asia Minor and Thrace (pp. 172 ff.); the work ends with a list of known στρατηγοί, an index to all three volumes and an epigraphical index (pp. 286 ff.). Bengtson also briefly examines⁶⁷ the Ptolemaic administration, and E. Van 't Dack⁶⁸ the Ptolemaic ἐπιστρατηγία, while K. C. Atkinson presents⁶⁹ some observations on Ptolemaic ranks and titles; but in these studies, as well as in A. Calabi's account⁷⁰ of the Egyptian ἀρχιδικαστής in the first three centuries of Roman rule, the papyrological evidence far outweighs the epigraphical. G. Forni collects and studies⁷¹ the occurrences of the phrase ἑρὰ (or θεός) σύγκλητος, and concludes that the cult of the Senate originated in the province of Asia and was confined to the eastern provinces of the Empire. The second volume of T. R. S. Broughton's monumental work *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*,⁷² which contains annual lists of magistrates from 99 to 31 B.C. (pp. 1 ff.), lists of *monetales* (pp. 429 ff.) and magistrates of uncertain date (pp. 462 ff.), together with an ample bibliography (pp. 499 ff.) and an index of careers (pp. 524 ff.), owes much to the materials supplied by Greek inscriptions. R. K. Sherck's work on **The Legates of Galatia from Augustus to Diocletian*⁷³ I have not seen. G. Tibiletti examines⁷⁴ the titles and powers of governors placed over individual cities in the Roman provinces during the republican period. On the composition and organization of ancient armies inscriptions supply useful evidence. Volume II of M. Launey's *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*⁷⁵ contains 'recherches sociologiques' relating to the army and the cities, the social condition of the soldiers, their religious life, their associations and similar questions, ending with an impressive prosopography (pp. 1109 ff.) and indexes of inscriptions, Greek words, and subjects (pp. 1273 ff.). E. Birley's address⁷⁶ to the Epigraphical Congress on 'The Epigraphy of the Roman Army' dealt mainly with Latin inscriptions, and the same is true of G. Forni's *Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano*,⁷⁷ which contains (pp. 242 ff.) an index of inscriptions specially discussed, and of G. Jacopi's essay⁷⁸ on the *classis Ravennas*. In the field of prosopography I note a further instalment⁷⁹ of the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*,² containing 230 items under the letter G, prepared by E. Groag and A. Stein, but published after their death, and two papers read to the Epigraphical Congress, one⁸⁰ by H. Marrou on projected prosopographies of the later Roman Empire, the other⁸¹ by W. Peremans and E. Van't Dack on questions of method in the compilation of the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*. Three notable contributions to social and economic studies by M. I. Finley are mentioned below (pp. 130, 132), and the Edict of Diocletian is discussed⁸² by H. Michell in connexion with the monetary chaos of the third century and Diocletian's currency reform, with an estimate of the reasons for the passing of the Edict and for its failure, and by L. C. West,⁸³ who correlates the evidence of the Diocletianic coins with that of the prices prescribed in the Edict and argues that the 50,000 denarii given in § 30 l. 1 as the maximum price of a pound of pure gold must be an engraver's error. I. W. Macpherson edits⁸⁴ a Latin fragment of parts of chapters XVI, XVII and XIX, found at Synnada, and shows how this and the corresponding Greek text give mutual aid in restoration and interpretation. In his *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*⁸⁵ L. Moretti edits in chronological order the ninety inscriptions (of which no. 65 was previously unpublished) which he regards as most instructive, ranging from the δατήρ of Epaenetus of c. 580–70 B.C. (IG I² 802) to the Athenian record of the victories won in the third century A.D. by Valerius Eclectus of Sinope, κήρυξ δισπερίοδος. A. G. Woodhead describes⁸⁶ the state health service in ancient Greece, especially in the classical and Hellenistic periods, discusses the work and pay, appointment, number, equipment, duties and privileges of δημόσιοι ἰατροί and also the public veterinary service, and adds a list of 95 *testimonia*, of which 22 are literary, 64 epigraphical and nine papyrological. G. Fohlen's article⁸⁷ on the circumstances of death recorded in Greek metrical epitaphs is inaccessible to me.

In the realm of law I note A. P. Christophilopoulos' discussion⁸⁸ of the attitude of Greek and Hellenistic law to the intermarriage of citizens and foreigners, in which a large part is played by the study of epigraphically attested grants of ἐμπύκτια to communities (pp. 4 f.) and to individuals (pp. 5 f.) and of other relevant inscriptions (pp. 11 ff.), including Solmsen-Fraenkel, 3, IG IX (2) 1228 and XII (8) 264, as well as of a number of Attic epitaphs (pp. 14 f.). E. Weiss studies⁸⁹ the legal treatment of returning exiles, with special reference to SIG 283, 306 (GHI 192, 202), and the evidence used by F. Pringsheim in his essay⁹⁰ on Greek sale by auction, though chiefly papyrological, includes (pp. 313, 331) inscriptions from Chalcedon (SIG 1009–11) and Chios (GDI 5653c). I do not know W. Kunkel's work⁹¹ on the origin and social standing of the Roman jurists. The contents of A. Wilhelm's posthumous *Griechische Inschriften rechtlichen Inhalts*⁹² are summarized below in their

⁶⁷ *Mus. Helv.* X 161 ff.⁶⁸ *Aegyptus*, XXXII 437 ff.⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 204 ff.⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 406 ff.⁷¹ *Mem. Linc.* VIII v (3) 49 ff., esp. 163 ff.; cf. *Bull.* 1954, 54.⁷² New York, 1952; cf. *Bull.* 1953, 40a.⁷³ Baltimore, 1953; cf. *Bull.* 1954, 71.⁷⁴ *Rend. Ist. Lombardo*, LXXXVI 64 ff.⁷⁵ Paris, 1950; cf. *Bull.* 1952, 18, *Bibl. Orient.* XI 28 f.⁷⁶ *Actes*, 226 ff. ⁷⁷ Milan–Rome, 1953.⁷⁸ *Rend. Linc.* VIII vi 532 ff.⁷⁹ IV 1 (Berlin, 1952); cf. *RA* XL 228.⁸⁰ *Actes*, 90 ff.⁸¹ *Ibid.* 240 ff.⁸² *Canadian Journal of Economics*, XIII 1 ff.⁸³ A. C. Johnson *Studies*, 290 ff.⁸⁴ *JRS* XLII 72 ff.⁸⁵ Rome, 1953.⁸⁶ *Cambr. Hist. J.* X 235 ff.⁸⁷ **Mél. Soc. Toulousaine*, IV 29 ff.⁸⁸ Πραγμ. 'Ακ. 'Αθην. XVII 2.⁸⁹ *Scritti C. Ferrini*, IV 252 f.⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 284 ff.⁹¹ **Herkunft und soziale Stellung der röm. Juristen* (Weimar, 1952); cf. *CR* IV 45 ff., *Bull.* 1953, 30.⁹² Πραγμ. 'Ακ. 'Αθην. XVII 1 (Athens, 1951); cf. *Bull.* 1953, 3.

geographical contexts; though the tragic circumstances of its composition and revision (pp. i f.) and the increasing age and infirmity of the author inevitably left some traces in his work, yet it contains abundant examples of the veteran epigraphist's insight and mastery of the relevant material.

Inscriptions afford invaluable and constantly increasing evidence of the inward spirit and outward expression of ancient religion, and I mention here some works which do not confine their scope to single localities. Among the foremost authorities in this field is M. P. Nilsson, who has recently published two volumes of *Opuscula selecta*⁹³ written in English, French, or German, of which the first contains twenty and the second eleven articles relating to the history of Greek religion, which also plays an important part in his *Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece*;⁹⁴ P. Boyancé discusses⁹⁵ Nilsson's account of Greek religion in Hellenistic and Roman times. Among studies of specific cults I note H. T. Bossert's addenda⁹⁶ to A. H. Kan's *Jupiter Dolichenus*, a work now largely superseded by P. Merlat's comprehensive treatment (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 61); M. Guarducci considers⁹⁷ the light thrown on the oracular function of Athena by inscriptions of Mycenae and Argos (below, p. 133); a few inscriptions are cited in F. Schachermeyr's *Poseidon und die Entstehung des griechischen Götterglaubens*;⁹⁸ B. Hemberg discusses⁹⁹ the Idaean Dactyls and uses (p. 44) the meagre epigraphical materials available; D. Magie collects and interprets¹⁰⁰ the epigraphical and numismatic indications of the cult of the Egyptian gods in Asia Minor; and C. Picard examines¹⁰¹ inscriptions of Varna and Ephesus relating to the Curetes. To F. Halkin we owe four further instalments¹⁰² of his collection and discussion of Greek inscriptions published within the last two decades relative to hagiography (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 82); one of these deals with Egypt, Cyprus, Crete, the Aegean and Ionian Islands, Greece and the Balkans, Italy and Sicily, the others with Constantinople and Asia Minor, and the series closes with addenda, lists of dated and of metrical inscriptions, and an index of saints. In vol. VI of F. J. Dölger's *Antike und Christentum*¹⁰³ further examples of the $\iota\chi\theta\upsilon\varsigma$ -formula and an inscribed stamp in the Vatican Museum are discussed. The second edition of H. P. V. Nunn's **Christian Inscriptions*¹⁰⁴ and G. Fohlen's article¹⁰⁵ on the tomb and on the cult of the dead among the Greeks as represented in metrical epitaphs are inaccessible to me. W. Vollgraff interprets¹⁰⁶ an Argive inscription (below, p. 133) as indicating burial in a sacred precinct, and collects a large number of inscriptions from various parts of the Greek world which he regards as referring to something analogous to the Christian *depositio ad sanctos*, though he points out the difference between pagan and Christian usage. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge's *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*,¹⁰⁷ edited after the author's death by T. B. L. Webster, examines many inscriptions, for the most part Attic, especially in the sections on the Rural Dionysia (pp. 40 ff.), the City Dionysia (pp. 55 ff.) and the Dionysiac $\tau\epsilon\chi\nu\iota\tau\alpha$ (pp. 286 ff.); he reprints (pp. 103 ff.), with brief comments, the texts of the 'Fasti', the 'Didascaliae' and the 'Catalogi Victorum' (*IG* II² 2318-25), as also those of other specially important inscriptions (II² 3073 on p. 121, 3091 on pp. 52 ff., XIV 1097-8 on pp. 121 ff.), and devotes an appendix (pp. 315 ff.) to those relating to the $\tau\epsilon\chi\nu\iota\tau\alpha$ of Teos (*IG* XI 1061, *CIG* 3068-9, LeBas-Wadd. 281, *BCH* XLVI 312 ff.). J. H. Oliver returns (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 64) to the subject of the Attic $\xi\gamma\eta\gamma\eta\tau\alpha\iota$, $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota$, answering¹⁰⁸ some criticisms brought by C. B. Welles (*Traditio*, VII 471 ff.) and questioning some views expressed by N. G. L. Hammond (*CQ* II (1952) 4 ff.). H. Chadwick publishes¹⁰⁹ an inscribed altar from a domestic shrine of the second or third century A.D., and D. E. L. Haynes and M. N. Tod¹¹⁰ a portrait-herm of unknown provenance, now in the British Museum, bearing an epigram commemorating Rhoummas, apparently a Syro-Greek philosopher and wonder-worker of the second century A.D. C. Bonner deals¹¹¹ further with the subject of magical amulets, supplementing and correcting (pp. 314 ff.) his recent work (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 62), discussing (pp. 303 ff.) the question of ancient replicas and modern imitations, and describing (pp. 320 ff.) eight-one objects, almost all inscribed, most of which are in the British Museum. Count Chandon de Briailles describes¹¹² an electrum bracelet, found at Rhodes, but perhaps of Alexandrian origin, bearing a portrait of Artemis and the maker's signature.

We pass to art. Here the issue of the first instalment of J. Marcadé's *Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs*,¹¹³ the outcome of long and careful research and autopsy, is especially welcome, despite the unusual system followed in the arrangement and presentation of the relevant texts, and serves to mark the immense progress made in this field since the publication in 1885 of E. Loewy's *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*. I note also G. M. A. Richter's *Three critical Periods in Greek Sculpture*,¹¹⁴ which deals with a number of sculptors' signatures; the new catalogue¹¹⁵ of ancient sculpture in the Ny

⁹³ Lund, 1951-2; cf. *Gnomon*, XXIV 376 f., XXV 197 f.

⁹⁴ Lund, 1951; cf. *REA* LV 418 ff., *Bull* 1952, 24.

⁹⁵ *REA* LIV 332 ff. ⁹⁶ *Jb Kl Forsch* II 206 ff.

⁹⁷ *Par Pass* VI 338 ff.

⁹⁸ Berne, 1950; cf. *AJP* LXXIV 161 ff., *Ant. Alt.* VI 69 ff.

⁹⁹ *Eranos*, L 41 ff.

¹⁰⁰ *AJA* LVII 163 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 52.

¹⁰¹ *RA* XLI 202 ff.

¹⁰² *Anal. Bull.* LXX 116 ff., 306 ff., LXXI 74 ff., 326 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 19, 1954, 26, 27.

¹⁰³ Münster, 1950, pp. 71 f., 78 ff., 152 ff.

¹⁰⁴ New York, 1952; cf. *Cl. Weekly*, XLVI 74.

¹⁰⁵ **Mél. Soc. Toulousaine*, III 45 ff.

¹⁰⁶ *Mém. présentés à l'Ac. d. Inscr.* XIV (2) 315 ff. (epigraphical index, p. 398); cf. *Bull* 1954, 53, *Ann. Collège de France*, LIII 226 ff.

¹⁰⁷ Oxford, 1953; cf. *Bull* 1954, 56, *Gnomon*, XXVI 209 ff., *AJP* LXXV 306 ff.

¹⁰⁸ *AJP* LXXIII 406 ff. ¹⁰⁹ *J. Theol. Studies*, III 90 ff.

¹¹⁰ *JHS* LXXIII 138 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 32.

¹¹¹ *Hesp* XX 301 ff.

¹¹² *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant.* 1948-9, 40 f.

¹¹³ Paris, 1953; cf. *Bull* 1954, 34.

¹¹⁴ Oxford, 1951; esp. pp. 45 ff., 52 ff., 67 ff.

¹¹⁵ Copenhagen, 1951; esp. pp. 68, 146 f., 152 ff., 333, 363 ff., 386 f., 549 ff.

Carlsberg Glyptotek, which describes many inscribed monuments, some of them apparently unpublished; P. Orlandini's work¹¹⁶ on Cresilas, in which that sculptor's signatures from Athens, Hermione, Delphi and Pergamum are collected and discussed, and that on Calamis,¹¹⁷ which cites (from the long out-dated 'CIA III') epigraphical references to the sculptor and to others of his name; the discussion by A. Rumpf¹¹⁸ and by C. Picard¹¹⁹ of the sculptors named Boethus, whose signatures have survived at Delos, Lindos and Mahdia; and J. M. C. Toynbee's 'Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World',¹²⁰ with numerous references to inscriptions, especially signatures of architects, sculptors, painters, mosaicists, and the like. D. M. Robinson's account of some unpublished Greek gold jewelry and gems also contains¹²¹ artists' signatures.

I mention briefly some inscriptions on clay edited or discussed in books or articles not purely concerned with ceramics. C. Anti inquires¹²² into the light thrown by the 'Darius Vase' on Phrynichus' *Persae*. J. D. Beazley interprets¹²³ the scene and the inscriptions on a calyx-krater of c. 400 B.C. in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, arguing that κατέδωκε refers to a spell, and those¹²⁴ on a cup in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, suggesting that ΟΓΟΝΟΝ, i.e. ὀπολ(λ)ον, coming from the singer's mouth may be the beginning of a paean. G. Q. Giglioli describes¹²⁵ an Attic pelike from Cervetri, now in the Villa Giulia Museum, Rome, portraying Heracles and Geras. The Metropolitan Museum has acquired¹²⁶ an Attic r.f. kylix attributed to Duris, and P. E. Corbett publishes¹²⁷ a r.f. pelike of c. 425, recently added to the British Museum. Of the Myrina terracottas in the French School at Athens, discussed¹²⁸ by B. Baudat, four (nos. 13, 14, 18, 29) bear personal names in the nominative or genitive case. R. M. Cook and A. G. Woodhead collect and study¹²⁹ the inscriptions painted on Chiot (once termed Naucratis) pottery, found at Naucratis, Chios and Aegina, 'the only compact collection of E. Greek writing', dealing successively with the vases, the inscriptions, the dedicators and writers, and the 'epigraphical context', and adding (pp. 165 ff.) a catalogue of the 231 inscriptions in question. In the study of stamped amphora-handles V. Grace takes the leading part. In an article on 'The Eponyms named on Rhodian Amphora-Stamps'¹³⁰ she gives (pp. 122 ff.) a list of eponyms previously known and adds fourteen new names, and elsewhere¹³¹ she outlines an agreement between the French and American Schools in Athens for a joint publication of the amphora-stamps found at Thasos and Delos and in the Athenian Agora.

Recent discoveries have stimulated the study of the origin and development of the Greek alphabet. In a note entitled 'New light on the history of the alphabet'¹³² S. E. Loewenstamm discusses the Ugaritic alphabet and claims that recent finds weaken the hypothesis of a Canaanite origin of the Ugaritic letter-signs. F. M. Heichelheim advances¹³³ the theory, based on F. W. Galpin's contention that certain cuneiform signs used alphabetically were musical notes, that the earliest form of our alphabet is best explained as being originally intended for musical scales. C. De Wit examines¹³⁴ the linear alphabet of Byblus and its passage to Greece and all western lands; M. P. Nilsson's valuable essay on the adoption and evolution of the alphabet by the Greeks is reprinted in his *Opuscula selecta*,¹³⁵ and E. Zinn under the title 'Schlangenschrift'¹³⁶ traces the development of the boustrophedon script, calls attention to the rarity of Greek retrograde inscriptions of two or more lines, and dates the adoption of the Φοινικῆς γράμματα by the Greeks in or about the tenth century B.C. M. Guarducci supports¹³⁷ the claim of Crete, against those of Thera, Melos and Rhodes, to be the cradle of the Greek alphabet and the centre of its diffusion; the alphabet brought by the Phoenicians to Crete in the first half of the ninth century was, she holds, transformed into the Greek alphabet and spread to the rest of the Greek world, especially in the second half of the ninth and in the early eighth century. A. Schmitt's exhaustive study¹³⁸ of the letter H includes (pp. 10 ff.) an examination of the character of the Phoenician script and of its adoption by the Greeks, and a section (pp. 42 ff.) on eastern Greek psilosis, and in an appendix (pp. 47 ff.) are facsimiles of six significant archaic inscriptions. S. Dow corrects¹³⁹ some errors in books of reference regarding the Greek numeral signs, summarizes the history of the acrophonic and alphabetic systems, and stresses the significance of the acrophonic numerals as an index of Greek separatism.

For students of the Minoan script and language the years under review have been especially memorable. The long awaited second volume of A. J. Evans' *Scripta Minoa*,¹⁴⁰ edited by J. L. Myres, deals primarily with the Cnossian tablets inscribed in Linear B, and for the first time makes all the relevant material available for study. E. L. Bennett publishes a list of corrigenda¹⁴¹ in this work and a valuable *Minoan Linear B Index*,¹⁴² including a reverse index, showing that between 1450 and

¹¹⁶ *MemLine* VIII iv 5, 278 ff.

¹¹⁷ *Calamides*, I, 1950, pp. 23 f., 64 f.

¹¹⁸ *Ōjh XXXIX* 86 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 35.

¹¹⁹ *Karthago*, III 81 ff. (esp. 96, 106 ff.).

¹²⁰ *Brussels*, 1951; cf. *Bull* 1953, 29. ¹²¹ *AJA* LVII 14 f.

¹²² *Arch. Class.* IV 23 ff.; cf. *Riv Fil* LXXX 282 f.

¹²³ *AJA* LVI 193 ff.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* 111 ff. ¹²⁵ *Robinson Studies*, II 75.

¹²⁶ *BMQ* XVII 73 f. ¹²⁷ *Bull Metr Mus* XI 100.

¹²⁸ *BSA* XLVII 159 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 9. ¹²⁹ *BCH* LXXVII 1 f.

¹³⁰ *Hesp* XXII 116 ff.

¹³¹ *BCH* LXXVI 514 ff.; cf. A. M. Bon, **Actes du premier*

Congrès international des études classiques, I 147 f., *Bull* 1954, 11.

¹³² *Bull. Israel Expl. Soc.* XV 32; cf. C. Virolleaud, *Syria*, XXVIII 22 f.

¹³³ *Epigraphica*, XII 111 ff.

¹³⁴ *Phoibos*, V 47 ff. ¹³⁵ *AA* 1950-1, 1 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 8.

¹³⁶ *II* 1029 ff.

¹³⁷ *Γέρας*, 342 ff.

¹³⁸ *Der Buchstabe H im Griechischen* (Münster, 1952); cf. *Gnomon*, XXVI 121 f., *Anz. Alt.* VII 110.

¹³⁹ *AJA* LVI 21 ff.

¹⁴⁰ Oxford, 1952; cf. *Gnomon*, XXV 176 ff., *CR* IV 52 ff., *JNES* XIII 198 ff.

¹⁴¹ *Corrections to Scripta Minoa*, II, Yale, 1952.

¹⁴² Yale, 1953; cf. *Antiquity*, 1953, 189, *Bibl. Orient.* XI

67 ff.

1200 B.C. the same language was expressed by this script in Crete, Mycenae, Pylos and Thebes. The most exciting contribution to the study is that ¹⁴³ of M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, who claim that this language is not only Indo-European, but specifically Greek, an archaic dialect of the Achaeae type. Meanwhile many scholars are engaged in the same field. The indefatigable C. D. Kistopoulou communicates some results of his researches in 'A Minoan Name,' ¹⁴⁴ Στοιχειστικαὶ παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τῶν Μινωϊκῶν λέξεων, ¹⁴⁵ and *Recherches sur les mots minoens*, ¹⁴⁶ and valuable contributions are made by Spanish scholars—among them E. Peruzzi's articles ¹⁴⁷ on ideographic groups on tablets from Hagia Triada and on the Minoan language, A. Tovar's discussion ¹⁴⁸ of survivals of Minoan syllabism in Iberian and other alphabets, and B. G. Nuño's article ¹⁴⁹ on some introductory groups from Hagia Triada and his *Minoiká*, ¹⁵⁰ which deals with the hieroglyphic and linear scripts, the two linear systems found in Crete, the Cretan script outside the island and the Cretan language, as well as an instalment, published posthumously, of a *Lexicon Creticum*, ¹⁵¹ covering the 'monumental' texts of Phaestus, Arkalochori and Mallia. Other scholars also contribute articles or reviews to the Spanish journal *Minos*, of which two issues appeared at Salamanca in 1951; these include P. Kretschmer (pp. 7 ff.) on the punctuation of the Phaestus disk, J. L. Myres (pp. 26 ff.) on the Hagia Triada tablets, J. Sundwall (pp. 31 ff.) on Cnosian cattle-inventories, S. Marinatos (pp. 39 ff.) on the Minoan script, F. Chapouthier (pp. 71 ff.) on the decipherment of the Minoan hieroglyphs, A. Xenaki-Sakellariou (pp. 84 ff.) on inscriptions in the Giamalakis collection, and V. Georgiev (pp. 77 ff.) on the interpretation of four Minoan signs. Georgiev also gives us a book **Problèmes de la langue minoenne*. ¹⁵² B. Hrozný, whose death in December 1952 was a serious loss to these studies, ¹⁵³ contributes notes ¹⁵⁴ on the Pylian tablets, and E. L. Bennett 'Statistical notes on the sign-groups from Pylos', ¹⁵⁵ Excavating at Mycenae in 1952, A. J. B. Wace discovered ¹⁵⁶ 39 tablets in Linear B in the 'House of the Oil Merchant', the first to be found in a private house in the Aegean area, and a dipinto on a stirrup-jar. In passing I mention M. Ventris' article ¹⁵⁷ on the Eteocretan and Eteocyprian languages, and the publication ¹⁵⁸ by C. F. A. Schaeffer of new Cypro-Minoan texts on clay balls and a vase-handle from Enkomi, which has also produced two inscribed clay tablets. ¹⁵⁹

II. ATTICA

H. A. Thompson reports, with commendable promptitude and necessary brevity, on the epigraphical results of the American excavation of the Agora in 1951 ¹⁶⁰ and 1952 ¹⁶¹; by the close of 1951 the inscriptions on marble reached a total of 6417. B. D. Meritt announces ¹⁶² the formation in Princeton and Berlin of card-indexes containing the names of all persons mentioned in Athenian inscriptions; these will not be published forthwith, but can be consulted by all interested scholars. G. Pfohl makes a detailed study ¹⁶³ of various aspects of Attic epitaphs, such as the virtues attributed to the dead (pp. 12 ff.), the element of religion and magic (pp. 57 ff.), the indications of status or profession (pp. 79 ff.), the significance of the various words denoting a tomb (pp. 96 ff.), the phraseology of the epitaphs (pp. 124 ff.), their grammatical problems (pp. 206 ff.) and literary reminiscences (pp. 241 ff.). K. F. Johansen's *The Attic Grave-reliefs of the Classical Period* ¹⁶⁴ discusses and illustrates numerous tombstones, including those bearing IG I² 1058 (pp. 36 f.), II² 6217 (pp. 48 f.), 6971 (p. 59) and 12208 (p. 27).

[IG I²] Few new inscriptions prior to 403 B.C. have come to light. B. D. Meritt publishes ¹⁶⁵ six stones found in the Agora, viz. two fragments (nos. 1, 2) of casualty-lists including the names of βαρβαροι τοχσόται and of ἡπποτοχσόται, the earlier of which refers to operations in Thrace after 431/30 B.C., a fragment of a late fifth-century proxeny decree (no. 3), which evokes a discussion of the use of ethnics in such documents, and three inscriptions of c. 450 B.C., a boundary-marker (no. 6), an epitaph (no. 20), and a fragment of a wall or altar inscribed Διὸς Ἐ[λευθερίοι] (no. 25), which Meritt associates with the Peace of Callias. W. Peek deals ¹⁶⁶ with a fragment strikingly similar to the 'Marathon epigrams' (IG I² 763, SEG X 404); he holds that this is part of an epigram relating to Salamis and Plataea, and that both stones belong neither to a memorial of victory nor to a cenotaph, but to a monument erected, perhaps c. 475, to preserve the historical consciousness of Athenian

¹⁴³ JHS LXXIII 84 ff. (also separately); cf. *Antiquity*, 1953, 193 ff., *Gnomon*, XXVI 65 ff., *Manchester Guardian*, 30.9.53.

¹⁴⁴ *Robinson Studies*, I 21 f.

¹⁴⁵ Πλάτων, V 161 ff.

¹⁴⁶ Athens, 1952; cf. REG LXVI 413, *Bibl. Orient.*, XI 70 f.

¹⁴⁷ *Jb Kl Forsch* II 214 ff., *Minos*, I 43 ff.

¹⁴⁸ *Minos*, I 61 ff. ¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 92 ff.

¹⁵⁰ Madrid, 1952; cf. *Rev. Phil* XXVIII 84 f.

¹⁵¹ Madrid, 1953.

¹⁵² Sofia, 1953; cf. *Gnomon*, XXVI 67 ff.

¹⁵³ Syria, XXX 185 f., *Rev. Hist. Rel.* CXLII 253 f., *JSav* 1953, 47, *Arch. Orient.* XXI 8 ff.

¹⁵⁴ *J. Jur. Pap.* VI 7 ff.

¹⁵⁵ *Minos*, I 100 ff.

¹⁵⁶ JHS LXXIII 131 f., *Antiquity*, 1953, 84 ff., *AJA* LVII 111, *PAPS* XCVII 248 ff., *Archaeology*, VI 79; cf. *PAE* 1950, 214 f., *BCH* LXXVII 210.

¹⁵⁷ *Jb Kl Forsch* II 218 ff.

¹⁵⁸ *Enkomi-Alasia*, I (Paris, 1952) 391 ff.

¹⁵⁹ P. Dikaios and J. L. Myres, *Antiquity*, 1953, 103 ff.; P. Dikaios, *ibid.* 233 ff.; cf. *ILN* 27.8.49, *JHS* LXX 14, LXXIII 134, *Fasti Arch.* IV 1817.

¹⁶⁰ *Hesp* XXI 91, 113, *AA* 1952, 167 ff.; cf. *AJA* LVI 123, *BCH* LXXVI 214 f.

¹⁶¹ *Hesp* XXII 49 ff., *AA* 1952, 183, 186 f., *AJA* LVII 25, 111, *Archaeology*, V 150; cf. *BCH* LXXVII 199, 203, *JHS* LXXIII 111, *Bull* 1954, 75.

¹⁶² *Year Book of the Am. Phil. Soc.* 1952, 221 f.; cf. *Robinson Studies*, II 304 n. 1.

¹⁶³ *Untersuchungen über die attischen Grabinschriften*, Erlangen, 1953.

¹⁶⁴ Copenhagen, 1951; cf. *AJA* LVI 160, *JHS* LXXII 154 f., *Ant. Class.* XXI 250 f., *Arch. Class.* V 295 ff.

¹⁶⁵ *Hesp* XXI 340 ff., 359, 372, 374; cf. *Bull* 1954, 76.

¹⁶⁶ *Robinson Studies*, II 305 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 74.

greatness. N. C. Kotzias, excavating a cave in the foothills of Mount Prophet Elias, near Koropi, has unearthed ¹⁶⁷ two inscribed sherds of the sixth and fifth centuries.

Five new ostraka were found ¹⁶⁸ in the Agora in 1951, including a dipinto bearing the name of Pericles and a vote against Cleophon, son of Cleippides; the historical interest of the latter is discussed ¹⁶⁹ by E. Vanderpool, who also studies ¹⁷⁰ the ostraka given against Alcibiades (six against the elder, three against the younger) and draws up a revised *stemma* of the family. A. E. Raubitschek gives ¹⁷¹ a masterly survey of the epigraphical and historical value of the extant ostraka, of which 1650 had been discovered by July 1951, and reports on the projected publication of a *corpus* of these documents.

B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery and M. F. McGregor bring to a successful conclusion their intensive study of the quota- and assessment-lists and related documents by the publication of volume IV of *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, ¹⁷² which contains addenda and corrigenda to vols. I–III, general and Greek indexes and a full bibliography of the relevant literature from 1752 to 1953. Remarkable as is their achievement, it was not to be expected that all their views would win universal approval. S. Accame, while paying a warm tribute to the value of the work, deals ¹⁷³ with some chronological difficulties (pp. 111 ff.), and discusses afresh (pp. 119 ff.) the Erythraean Decree (*ATL* II D 10) and the Athenian alliances with Egesta and Halicyae, Rhegium and Leontini (pp. 127 ff.), the attitude of Athens to democracy in allied cities (pp. 123 ff.), the Peace of Callias (which he dates in the early summer of 449) and the tribute lists (pp. 223 ff.), and the League treasury (pp. 237 ff.), supporting the manuscript text of Thuc. II 13. 3 f. (pp. 240 ff.); he dates *SEG* V 8 in 448/7, not 447/6, and the 'coinage decree' (*ATL* II D 14) about the same year. A. W. Gomme rejects ¹⁷⁴ the interpretation given in *ATL* III 83 ff. to the rubric πόλεις αὐταὶ ταξάμεναι as 'cities which accepted assessment by special arrangement', suggests that the τάκται ἐπὶ Κρ . . . ου γραμματεῦντος were a special board rather than the τάκται of 434/3, and examines Thuc. V 18. 6 for the pressure exerted on small cities by larger neighbours in the Chalcidic Peninsula. Elsewhere he studies ¹⁷⁵ with special reference to *ATL* III, the history of the Athenian reserve funds from 454 to 431 B.C., commenting on *IG* I² 65. 20 ff. (p. 18) and on the Decrees of Callias, *IG* I² 91, 92 (pp. 12, 15 n. 1, 18 n. 1). U. Kahrstedt's article ¹⁷⁶ on 'Cities in Macedonia' makes frequent use of the evidence collected and discussed in *ATL*. L. Moretti re-edits ¹⁷⁷ four Attic inscriptions of this period recording agonistic victories (*IG* I² 472, 606, 655, 802).

Other inscriptions, denoted by the numbers they bear in *IG* I² and (in brackets) in *SEG* X, which call for notice are the following.

1 (1). A. Wilhelm rejects ¹⁷⁸ the restorations of the 'Salaminian Decree' proposed by Meritt and by Wade-Gery.

10/11 (11). S. Accame studies ¹⁷⁹ the 'Erythraean Decree' (*ATL* II D 10) and accepts the assignment of 11 and 12/3a to 10, but demurs to the dating in 453/2.

19, 20 (7, 68). He also examines ¹⁸⁰ the Athenian alliances with Egesta and Halicyae. W. K. Pritchett denies ¹⁸¹ that the stone affords any evidence for the reading [ἡ]βρον, and thus for the date 458/7, in 19.3.

27 (19). B. D. Meritt revises ¹⁸² the text of this proxeny decree.

45 (34). He shows ¹⁸³ that the new fragment added to the Brea Decree in *Hesperia*, XIV 86 f., cannot occupy the position there assigned to it, but holds that the restoration there proposed is still possible. A. G. Woodhead examines ¹⁸⁴ the decree in locating Brea between Therme and Strepsa, and seeks to account for the absence of Brea from later records.

51, 52 (48). Accame studies ¹⁸⁵ the Athenian alliances with Rhegium and Leontini.

53 (46). I. Papastavru offers ¹⁸⁶ a new restoration, rejecting Meritt's view of the document, which he regards as a defensive pact, or ἐπιποχία, concluded c. 435 between Athens and Philip, brother of Perdiccas II of Macedon.

60 (69). A. W. Gomme revises ¹⁸⁷ the text of the 'Lesbian Decree', which he dates in 425/4 or early in 424/3, emphasizes its cordial tone, and traces the later history of the Athenian cleruchs on the island.

77 (40), 78 (63). H. Bloch rejects ¹⁸⁸ J. H. Oliver's view that ἐξηγηταὶ were introduced in Athens from S. Italy after 403 and his account of the constitution, number and nature of that body; he pays special attention to the prytaneum-decree (I² 77), which, he holds, *pace* Oliver and Ostwald (*AJP* LXXII 24 ff.), records the existence of the 'expounders' and their privileges in the fifth century, and to the decree (I² 78) regulating the cult of Apollo, which points to the existence of ἐξηγηταὶ πυθόχρηστοι c. 430 B.C.

¹⁶⁷ *PAE* 1950, 161, 163.

¹⁶⁸ *Hesp* XXI 113, XXII 99, *AJA* LVI 123; cf. *BCH* LXXVI 214 f., *JHS* LXXII 97.

¹⁶⁹ *Hesp* XXI 114 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 46.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 1 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 45.

¹⁷¹ Princeton, 1953; cf. *Cl Phil* XLIX 40 f.

¹⁷² *Riv Fil* LXXX 111 ff., 223 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 48.

¹⁷³ *Gipsas*, 35 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 79.

¹⁷⁴ *Hermes*, LXXXI 85 ff.

¹⁷⁵ *Actes*, 59 ff.

¹⁷⁶ *Historia*, II 1 ff.

¹⁷⁷ *Op. cit.* (n. 85) nos. 4, 15, 11, 1.

¹⁷⁸ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 6; cf. *Bull* 1953, 44.

¹⁷⁹ *Riv Fil* LXXX 119 ff.

¹⁸⁰ *Cl Phil* XLVII 263.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* 380.

¹⁸² *Riv Fil* LXXX 127 ff.

¹⁸³ *Robinson Studies*, II 334 ff.; cf. *Hesp*. XXI 348, *Bull* 1954,

¹⁸⁴ *AJP* LXXIV 407 ff., esp. 414 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 87.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 132 ff.

¹⁸⁶ *Hesp* XXI 346 ff.

¹⁸⁷ *CQ* II (1952) 57 ff.

¹⁸⁸ *Ἑλληνιστά*, IV παρ. 525 ff.

97 (106). Meritt offers ¹⁸⁹ a new restoration of this decree, which he connects, not with the Melian expedition of 416 B.C., but with the dispatch of a squadron of ἀργυρολόγοι νῆες early in the Archidamian War.

106-8 (124), 116 (132), 117 (139). Discussing the Athenian generals operating in the Hellespont between 410 and 407 B.C., A. Andrewes examines ¹⁹⁰ the evidence of these decrees, especially that dealing with Neapolis (108).

143 (52). Meritt thinks ¹⁹¹ that this decree honours men from Abydos, but dissociates it from 27 (19).

144 (108). He revises ¹⁹² ll. 6-9 of this proxeny-decree (*ATL* II D 23).

149 (105). He also gives ¹⁹³ a new text of this proxeny-decree.

301 (233), 304 A (232). These accounts supply Andrewes ¹⁹⁴ with evidence regarding the generals in the Hellespont.

339-53 (246-56). R. S. Stanier's inquiry ¹⁹⁵ into the cost of the Parthenon, which he estimates at 469 talents, makes full use of the extant fragments of its building-accounts.

373-4 (268 ff.). R. H. Randall analyses ¹⁹⁶ the data here preserved relating to the workmen engaged on the Erechtheum in 409-4 B.C., paying special attention to civic status, deme membership or residence, and the method and scale of remuneration.

609. B. B. Shefton accepts ¹⁹⁷ E. Fraenkel's restoration of the Callimachus dedication (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 65).

655. See above, p. 128.

763. See above, p. 127.

778 (332). M. T. Mitsos rejects ¹⁹⁸ the two lines restored at the beginning of this dedication to the Nymphs.

834 (343a). C. A. Trypanis denies ¹⁹⁹ the Anacreontic authorship of this epigram.

919 (399). T. S. Tzannetatos sees ²⁰⁰ in δεκῶν a variant of δεκατεύειν, 'to offer'.

929 (406). S. Accame discusses ²⁰¹ the date of the Erechtheid casualty-list.

931-2 (407). Meritt edits ²⁰² a small fragment, found in the Agora, of the epitaph of the Argives who fell at Tanagra, and proposes a new restoration of the epigram.

944 (415), 950 (422), 952. He restores ²⁰³ το[χσ]όται [β]άρβαροι in the casualty-list 950. 136 f., and gives ²⁰⁴ photographs of the Agora fragments of 944 and 952.

C. M. Bowra republishes ²⁰⁵ his valuable article on the epigram commemorating the Athenians who fell at Coronea, and Meritt revises ²⁰⁶ the restoration of the grant of proxenia made c. 430 B.C. to Criso and another (*SEG* X 54). E. Cavaignac rejects ²⁰⁷ the view that the decree of Clearchus is of c. 450 B.C. and is the one we possess, maintaining that the extant decree (*ATL* II D 14) is later than 438 and probably dates from the Archidamian War. I. T. Kakrides comments ²⁰⁸ on the epigram of Myrrhine (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 65).

[*IG* II².] The new inscriptions of the fourth and later centuries are fairly numerous, but few are of special interest. B. D. Meritt edits ²⁰⁹ a further instalment of those found in the Agora, of which the most important is the perfectly preserved law (no. 5), ²¹⁰ taking the form of a decree passed by the νομοθέται in 336 B.C. on the motion of Eucrates, which enacts that anyone who joins in overthrowing δῆμος and δημοκρατία may be slain with impunity, and that the Areopagus may not meet or deliberate if the democracy has been overthrown; above the text is a relief depicting Democracy crowning the Athenian Demos. There are also three fragmentary decrees of the fourth and third centuries (nos. 8, 17, 36), part of the heading of a prytany-list (no. 29), honorary inscriptions for Herod the Great (no. 14) and Hadrian (nos. 11, 12, 34), a relief dedicated to Zeus Milichios (no. 33), two boundary stones (nos. 18, 37), and sixteen epitaphs; new fragments are added to several inscriptions already known (see below). M. T. Mitsos continues ²¹¹ his fruitful activity in the Epigraphical Museum, and, in addition to revising published texts and uniting *disiecta membra* (below, p. 131), publishes ²¹² eleven new Attic epitaphs. E. Vanderpool edits ²¹³ a grave-monument of the third or early second century B.C., found near Eleusis, which helps to locate the deme Kopros, and, with Mitsos, two ephebic lists ²¹⁴ of the third century A.D. and four new grave-inscriptions. I. C. Threpsiades publishes ²¹⁵ a pleasing epigram and two prose epitaphs unearthed in the Ceramicus, as well as two ²¹⁶ from the οἰκία Βαμβοκάρη, and describes ²¹⁷ 24 amphora-handles, mostly Cnidian, of

¹⁸⁹ *Robinson Studies*, II 298 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 80.

¹⁹⁰ *JHS* LXXIII 6 ff.

¹⁹¹ *Hesp* XXI 346 f.; cf. *SEG* XII 24.

¹⁹² *Hesp* XXI 344. ¹⁹³ *Ibid.* 344 ff.

¹⁹⁴ *JHS* LXXIII 5 ff. ¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 68 ff.

¹⁹⁶ *AJA* LVII 199 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 84.

¹⁹⁷ *BSA* XLVII 278.

¹⁹⁸ *Robinson Studies*, II 349; cf. *Bull* 1954, 94.

¹⁹⁹ *CQ* XLV 31 ff. ²⁰⁰ *Πάριος*, II (1) 35 ff.

²⁰¹ *Hesp* XXI 351 ff. no. 4; cf. XXII 49, *AJA* LVII 25, *JHS* LXXIII 111.

²⁰² *Hesp* XXI 340 n. 1. ²⁰³ *Ibid.* 341 and pll. 87, 88.

²⁰⁴ *Problems in Greek Poetry* (Oxford, 1953) 93 ff.

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²⁰⁵ *Hesp* XXI 348 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 76.

²⁰⁶ *REG* LXIV x f.; cf. *JHS* LXIX 104 f.

²⁰⁷ *Ἑλληνιστά*, XII 143 ff.

²⁰⁸ *Hesp* XXI 340 ff., XXII 129; cf. *Bull* 1954, 76.

²⁰⁹ Cf. *Hesp* XXI 355 (bibliography), *Hell. Contemp.* VI 435 f., *JHS* LXXIII 111, *CRAI* 1952, 389, *BCH* LXXVII 199, *Bull* 1954, 76.

²¹⁰ *JHS* LXXII 93.

²¹¹ *Robinson Studies*, II 350 ff. nos. 7-10, Γέρας, 513 ff. nos. 9-15.

²¹² *Hesp* XXII 175 f.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 104.

²¹³ *Ibid.* 178 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 93.

²¹⁴ *Πολέμων*, V 59 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 89.

²¹⁵ *PAE* 1950, 67 f. ²¹⁶ *Ibid.* 74 ff.

which fifteen are inscribed. To I. Papademetriou²¹⁸ we owe two grave-epigrams of 400–350 B.C. from the deme Echelidae, commemorating two members of the same family, probably father and son, to A. N. Oikonomides and S. N. Koumanoudes²¹⁹ a *columella* from the Ceramicus and nine other epitaphs, as well as notes on eleven Attic inscriptions (*IG* II² 363, 368, 4855, 7839a, etc.), to N. I. Pantazopoulos²²⁰ two epitaphs, to A. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaio²²¹ one from Bate and one from Kaisariani, and to J. H. Young²²² a fourth-century epigram recording the virtues of a young man and the grief caused by his death. D. von Bothmer describes²²³ an inscribed tombstone lent to the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and D. B. Thompson²²⁴ a name incised on a mould found in the Agora. Other inscriptions, including a dedication²²⁵ to the Muses from a cave on Mt. Pentelicus, a long list of ἱερὰ τῶν Ἐρχιέων²²⁶ from Spata, a lamp²²⁷ bearing the name Isodice, perhaps Cimon's wife, and a vase signed ἱέρων ἐποίησεν, are reported, but not yet adequately published.

J. V. Fine's monograph (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 66) on the Attic ὅροι has been followed by M. I. Finley's important work *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens 500–200 B.C.*,²²⁸ based mainly on the extant horoi, which now number 222, including forty uncertain or very fragmentary examples. Eight chapters deal with the function of the horoi, ὑποθήκη and πῶσις ἐπὶ λύσει, ἀποτίμημα, the properties affected, the parties, whether individuals or groups, concerned in the transactions, etc.; in Appendix I (pp. 118 ff.) the texts of the horoi are re-edited, and in Appendix III (pp. 182 ff.) some new examples from the Agora are added with brief comments. The horoi play an important part also in Finley's essay on 'Land, Debt, and the Man of Property in Classical Athens',²²⁹ which studies Attic economy from the fourth century to Roman times, maintains (p. 252) that 'the horoi tell us nothing whatsoever about the small farmer and his debts', and denies (pp. 255 f.) that there is any evidence for the decline of the small farmer in fourth-century Attica. J. H. Oliver examines²³⁰ the Athenian citizenship bestowed on six Roman Emperors, and A. E. Raubitschek shows²³¹ that the earliest reference (*IG* II² 1039. 57) to the Athenian Συλλεῖα, celebrating Sulla's victory, must be dated in 80/79 or 79/8, and that the Συλλεῖα may be an earlier festival (perhaps the Θεσεῖα) renamed, or a copy of the Roman *ludi victoriae Sullanae*; he publishes (pp. 51 ff.) a new dedication from the Agora, [Ζη]νίων [Σ]υλλεῖα λαμπράδ[α νικήσας Ἐ]ρμῇ, and offers (pp. 53 f.) revisions of II² 2988, 2989 and 2992. Elsewhere he studies²³² the post-Hadrianic βουλή τῶν πεντακοσίων, instituted in A.D. 127, arguing that it numbered 520 (thirteen prytanies of forty members each) and inquiring into the relation of the tribal ἐπώνυμος to the priest of the tribe's eponymous hero. A. Muehsam's attempt²³³ to establish a chronology of the Attic grave-reliefs of the Roman period depends largely on epigraphical (letter-forms, orthography, abbreviations, etc.) and prosopographical criteria. G. Klaffenbach discusses²³⁴ the archonship of Polyeuctus, one of the vital problems of Athenian chronology, and dates it between 246 and 240 B.C. F. Weber's article on the representation of Roman names in Attic inscriptions I have not seen (above, n. 51).

Other inscriptions in *IG* II² which call for notice are the following.

10 D. Hereward adds²³⁵ two opisthographic fragments, found in Aegina and now in Athens (EM 13103), to the list of names and professions of those whose loyalty to the δῆμος was rewarded by special privileges in 401/0 (or, as she prefers, in 404/3), corrects at some points the text of II² 10, and assigns to it II² 2403, now lost, of which she gives a fuller reading.

46, 273. M. T. Mitsos makes²³⁶ slight corrections in 46a A 23 and 273a 8.

360. W. Peremans seeks²³⁷ to solve a chronological problem by substituting α' (= πρώτη) for ἑνδεκάτη in l. 4 of this decree (*SIG* 304).

363, 368. See above.

417. S. Dow reads²³⁸ Πυρρίνου for Πυρρίχου (cf. 7594) in l. 10 of this list of those who performed the liturgy of εὐταξία, and traces his family from Macedonian to Roman times.

463. I. Papademetriou examines²³⁹ the δίοδοι of the Long Walls in the light of 463. 12 ff.

646, 650, 657, 666–7. A. R. Deprado associates²⁴⁰ 666–7 (*SIG* 386–7) with the liberation of Athens after the fall of Demetrius Poliorcetes; he also examines in this context 646 (p. 32), 650 (pp. 28 ff.) and 657 (p. 37), assigning Diocles' archonship to 286/5 B.C.

768 + 802. A. Wilhelm restores²⁴¹ l. 11 of this honorary decree.

1008. Meritt corrects²⁴² Ἐπιγόνου to Ἐπιγένου in iii 108, and Dow suggests²⁴³ Ἄνδρων Ἄνδρων[ος (or -ίδου) Φαληρεὺς?] in iii 120 of this ephobic decree.

²¹⁸ *Γέρας*, 297 ff.

²¹⁹ *Πολύμων*, V 22 ff., 69; cf. *Bull* 1954, 90, 91.

²²⁰ *Πολύμων*, IV 17 ff. ²²¹ *Ibid.* 8', 140.

²²² *Robinson Studies*, II 353 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 107.

²²³ *Bull Met Mus* XI 186 ff. ²²⁴ *Hesp* XXI 159.

²²⁵ *Hell. Contemp.* VI 533 f., *BGH* LXXVII 202.

²²⁶ *BCH* LXXVII 194 f., *JHS* LXXIII 110.

²²⁷ *BCH* LXXVI 203 f., *JHS* LXXII 93.

²²⁸ Rutgers U. P., 1952; on nos. 14, 24 see *Hesp*, XXI 380. Cf. *Bull* 1953, 23, *Mnem* VI (1953) 240 f., *Gnomon*, XXV 223 ff., *Ant Class* XXII 233 ff., *CR* IV 39 ff., *Rev Belge*, XXXI 619 ff., *AJA* LVIII 252 f., *Cl. Weekly*, XLVII 201 f. H. J. Wolff reviews Fine and Finley in *ZSS* LXX 411 ff.

²²⁹ *Pol. Sci. Qu.* LXVIII 249 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 38.

²³⁰ *Hesp* XX 346 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 61.

²³¹ A. C. Johnson *Studies*, 49 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 57.

²³² *Γέρας*, 242 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 99.

²³³ *Berytus*, X 51 ff., esp. 55 ff.

²³⁴ *RE* XXI 1623 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 31.

²³⁵ *BSA* XLVII 102 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 86.

²³⁶ *Robinson Studies*, II 349 nos. 2, 3.

²³⁷ *Ant Class* XXII 94 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 92.

²³⁸ *Robinson Studies*, II 361 f.

²³⁹ *Γέρας*, 294 ff.

²⁴⁰ *Riv Fil* LXXXI 27 ff.

²⁴¹ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 4.

²⁴² *Hesp* XXI 367 n. 53.

²⁴³ *Ibid.* 358 ff.

1064. J. H. Oliver corrects ²⁴⁴ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI no. 31d (see below, p. 132), a decree for M. Ulpius Eubiotus.

1092. He revises ²⁴⁵ the text of this important document relating to the Eleusinian endowment left by Xenion (perhaps the benefactor of Gortyn known from *ICret* IV 300), regarding the opening decree as passed c. A.D. 165 by the Areopagus rather than by the Panhellenion and as extending the scope of the benefaction, which probably dates from about A.D. 135-40.

1132. Wilhelm comments ²⁴⁶ on ll. 19-22 of this Amphictyonic decree of 277 B.C.

1139. M. T. Mitsos and E. Vanderpool publish ²⁴⁷ a new fragment of this tribal decree honouring a victorious choregos.

1228. Wilhelm restores and interprets ²⁴⁸ ll. 3-6 of this decree of the Salaminian δήμος.

1243. A. Christophilopoulos restores ²⁴⁹ ἀθάνατα for ἀκίνητα in l. 7.

1252-3. O. Walter's examination ²⁵⁰ of the priesthood held by Sophocles and the temple where his heroön later stood involves a number of inscriptions, specially 1252-3, which, he emphasizes, are not dedications, but honorary decrees.

1289. Wilhelm restores ²⁵¹ ll. 12-17 of this arbitration concerning a body of orgeons.

1438. See below, p. 132.

1495-6. A. M. Woodward studies ²⁵² the terms ἀπόκανσις (1495.4, 13) and ἀφέψησις (1496.201) used of melting down golden offerings, and restores 1495. 17, 19.

1514, 1515, 1529. Discussing ²⁵³ the tradition that Zeuxis and Demetrius Poliorcetes had their names woven into, or embroidered on, their cloaks, A. J. B. Wace quotes the phrases γράμματα ἐνυφασμένα, χρυσὰ γράμματα, etc., from the lists of clothing dedicated to Artemis Brauronia (1514. 8, 1515. 3, 1529.14, etc.).

1624. M. T. Mitsos corrects ²⁵⁴ ll. 57 f. of this navy-list (now EM 13114).

1635-6. J. Tréheux, discussing the Hyperborean offerings (below, p. 140), examines ²⁵⁵ the 'Sandwich Marble' (1635) and other Athenian records of the Delian sanctuaries.

1678. J. Marcadé, dealing with the sculptures of the 'Monument des Taureaux' at Delos, supports ²⁵⁶ Lattermann's suggestion that this specification relates to that building and doubts the accepted restorations of ll. 4, 58. C. Picard agrees ²⁵⁷ with Vallois in rejecting this view, and refers 1678 to Courby's 'Batiment A', which he regards as the Pythion and dates, like 1678, about the middle of the fourth century B.C.

1716. See below, n. 292.

1824-5. In an article on the tribe- and deme-membership of the six Roman Emperors who are known to have been Athenian citizens J. H. Oliver returns ²⁵⁸ to the question of the Αὐρήλιοι of these Attalid prytany-lists, now found to date from the reign of Severus Alexander, and argues that, if Emperors, they are Caracalla and Elagabalus, not Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, as Notopoulos thinks (*Hesperia*, XX 65).

2008. Mitsos adds ²⁵⁹ six fragments to this ephebic record.

2147, 2186, 2218, 2220, 2260, 2265. He adds ²⁶⁰ two fragments to 2147 and one to 2220, and shows that 2186 = 2265 and 2218 = 2260.

2318-25. For these dramatic records see above, pp. 123, 125.

2365, 2367. Mitsos makes ²⁶¹ slight corrections in these name-lists.

2403. See above under 10.

2443, 2451. Mitsos also corrects ²⁶² these fragmentary lists.

2494. In ll. 9-10 of this lease Wilhelm restores ²⁶³ τῆς κρ[ήνης] ὅ, τι ἂν βούληται, ἕτερον οὐδέ]να.

2726, 2760. In his article on land and debt (above, p. 130) M. I. Finley pays special attention ²⁶⁴ to these horoi.

2988-9, 2992. See n. 231.

3073, 3091. See p. 125.

3125, 3130, 3169-70. These agonistic texts are re-edited ²⁶⁵ by L. Moretti.

3233. A. E. Raubitschek ²⁶⁶ and V. Ehrenberg ²⁶⁷ study independently this inscription, re-discovered in the Agora (*Hesp* XVII 41 no. 30) and restored by Oliver (*AJP* LXIX 436), honouring a πρεσ]βευτήν αὐτοκρά[τορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ] καὶ Τιβερίου Καίσα[ρος]. The former sees in it C. Poppaeus Sabinus, legate successively of Augustus and Tiberius, and suggests as a possible date A.D. 14 or 31; the latter thinks that the unknown honorand was legate simultaneously of Augustus and Tiberius in A.D. 13 and/or 14, and discusses the historical implications of this view.

²⁴⁴ *Hesp* XX 352 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 59.

²⁴⁵ *Hesp* XXI 381 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 103.

²⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 50 f.

²⁴⁷ *Hesp* XXII 177 no. 1; cf. *Bull* 1954, 93, *BCH* LXXVII

194, *JHS* LXXIII 110.

²⁴⁸ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 77 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 65.

²⁴⁹ *J. Jur Pap* IV 300. ²⁵⁰ *Γραφ.* 469 ff.

²⁵¹ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 18 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 55.

²⁵² *Num Chron* 1951, 109 ff.

²⁵³ *Ὁΐη* XXXIX 111 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 88a.

²⁵⁴ *Robinson Studies*, II 350 no. 4. ²⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 768 ff.

²⁵⁶ *BCH* LXXV 88 f.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 47.

²⁵⁷ *RA* XLII 101 ff.

²⁵⁸ *Hesp*. XX 346 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 61.

²⁵⁹ *Robinson Studies*, II 350 no. 5.

²⁶⁰ *Γραφ.* 510 ff. nos. 1-3, 8.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.* 511 nos. 4, 5.

²⁶² *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 72.

²⁶³ *Op. cit.* (n. 85) nos. 22, 28, 90.

²⁶⁴ *Robinson Studies*, II 330 f.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 98.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 938 ff.; cf. Ehrenberg-Jones, *Documents*, 81a, *Bull* 1954, 98.

3548a. Oliver questions ²⁶⁸ Wilhelm's comments (*Anz. Wien*, 1935, 83 ff.) on this inscribed base, set up, probably between A.D. 75 and 100, by Arria Calpurnia (whose *stemma* appears on p. 348), daughter of Calpurnius Torquatus, in honour of her adoptive father, Tib. Claudius Oenophilus.

3676. He restores ²⁶⁹ [Φλά.] Ζηνόφιλο[ς] or [Φλα.] Ζηνοφιλο[υ] in place of [πύκ]την ὁ φίλο[ς] in l. 5 of this honorary inscription.

3695-3702. J. A. O. Larsen reconstructs ²⁷⁰ the *stemma* of an eminent Thessalian family under the Principate, two members of which, Flavia Habroea and M. Ulpus Leurus Eubiotus, eponymous archon at Athens and consular, are commemorated in these honorary inscriptions. Cf. 1064 above.

3769. This record of a victorious charioteer is re-edited ²⁷¹ by L. Moretti.

4176-9. Raubitschek restores ²⁷² these inscriptions honouring members of the family of P. Memmius Regulus, adding a new fragment to 4179.

4224. I. Travlos notes ²⁷³ the position of the stone bearing this epigram.

4441. D. D. Feaver argues ²⁷⁴ that the dedicator, Timocles, is not certainly priest of Asclepius, and that the date of Euander's archonship must be otherwise fixed.

4546-8. M. Guarducci examines ²⁷⁵ these dedications from the temple of Cephissus, near Phalerum, and the accompanying reliefs. In 4546. 4 f. she reads 'Ιασίλη and Νύμφαις ἵνα ἀέξοιεν Φαλαί - - and in 4548. 6 f. defends ἐπὶ τελεστών.

4686. See below, p. 133.

5520, 7367. Mitsos corrects ²⁷⁶ the reading of 5520 and adds ²⁷⁷ a note to 7367.

5787. He and Vanderpool show ²⁷⁸ that this is part of 2962. 18.

7367. See 5520.

7594. S. Dow points out ²⁷⁹ that Πυρρίου, not Πυρρί[χ]ου, is the true reading in this epitaph, and discusses cognate names found in Attic inscriptions.

8431, 9236. Meritt re-edits ²⁸⁰ these epitaphs, rediscovered in the Agora, and shows that 9236 = 13045.

10097. A. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios deals ²⁸¹ with this epitaph from Kaisariani.

12318, 13159-60. These epitaphs are discussed and restored ²⁸² by W. Vollgraff.

13045. See 8431.

13088. A new fragment found at Daphni enables W. Peek to restore ²⁸³ the three poems, each of two couplets, commemorating the fourth-century hymnode Theodorus (cf. *Hermes*, LXXVI 475, LXXV 425 f.).

13159-60. See 12318.

13243. Mitsos and Vanderpool locate ²⁸⁴ this graffito on the monument of Thrasyllus.

Other inscriptions not included in *IG II²* have been amended or discussed. In M. P. Nilsson's *Opuscula selecta* appears ²⁸⁵ his essay on 'The new inscription of the Salaminioi' (*Hesp VII* 1 ff.), J. Tréheux studies ²⁸⁶ *Hesp VII* 281 ff., a new fragment of an inventory of the Treasurers of Athena (*IG II²* 1438), and shows its significance for the arrangement of the Chalkotheke and the problem of the Opisthodomos. To the prytany-decrees of Hippothontis passed in 135/4 (*Hesp IX* 126 ff. no. 26) Meritt adds ²⁸⁷ an important fragment, which enables him to give an almost complete text of the document. M. I. Finley discusses ²⁸⁸ ll. 1-39 of the record of the πωληταί for 367/6 (*Hesp X* 14 ff.), putting forward an interpretation fundamentally different from those of M. Crosby and of J. V. Fine (*Hesp Suppl. IX* 150 ff.). Meritt restores ²⁸⁹ and comments on an honorary inscription (*Hesp XVI* 173 no. 70) and revises ²⁹⁰ a similar text (*Hesp Suppl. I* no. 100). Oliver examines ²⁹¹ the Athenian decree for M. Ulpus Leurus Eubiotus (*Hesp Suppl. VI* nos. 31, 32, of which 31d = *IG II²* 1064), giving 31a to 32 and offering a new text of this fragment; he holds that 31 contains decrees of the βουλή and the Areopagus, and discusses the eight honours granted, two of which are unprecedented. N. Herz and W. K. Pritchett deny, ²⁹² on geological grounds, that the two fragmentary lists of magistrates (*II²* 1716 and another) united by S. Dow (*Hesp Suppl. VIII* 116 ff.) are parts of the same inscription. G. Daux re-examines ²⁹³ the 'Platacan Oath' (*GHI* 204, Parke, *Hermathena*, LXXII 106 f.) and its relation to the 'Amphictionic Oath', distinguishing it from the two oaths quoted by Aeschines (*II* 115, *III* 109-11). J. Tréheux studies ²⁹⁴ the phrase ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω used in a lease of c. 350 B.C. (*Arch. Pap. XI* 189 ff.), rejecting Wilhelm's 'male and female' and interpreting it as meaning 'ensemble et en même qualité'.

²⁶⁸ *AJA* LV 347 ff.; cf. *RA* XL 163 f., *Bull* 1953, 60.

²⁶⁹ *Hesp XXI* 396 f.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 103.

²⁷⁰ *Cl Phil* XLVIII 86 ff., esp. 90 nos. 12, 13.

²⁷¹ *Op. cit.* (n. 85) no. 89.

²⁷² *Robinson Studies*, II 331 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 98.

²⁷³ *PAE* 1950, 44 n. 1.

²⁷⁴ *AJP* LXXIII 414 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 56.

²⁷⁵ *Ann.* XXVII-IX 117 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 101.

²⁷⁶ *Robinson Studies*, II 350 no. 6.

²⁷⁷ *Γραμ.* 514.

²⁷⁸ *Hesp XXII* 181 no. 8.

²⁷⁹ *Robinson Studies*, II 360 f.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 97.

²⁸⁰ *Hesp XXI* 373 f. no. 24, 368 no. 9.

²⁸¹ *Πολύμων*, IV 8'; cf. *III* 15', *AM* LXVII 227.

²⁸² *Op. cit.* (n. 106), 379 ff., 368 ff.

²⁸³ *Robinson Studies*, II 312 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 102.

²⁸⁴ *Hesp XXII* 181 no. 9.

²⁸⁵ *Op. cit.* (n. 93) 731 ff.

²⁸⁶ *REG* LXIV xvii.

²⁸⁷ *Hesp XXI* 359 ff. no. 7; cf. *XX* 58 f.

²⁸⁸ *Studi V. Arangio-Ruiz*, III 473 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 40.

²⁸⁹ *Hesp XXI* 375 no. 26.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 379 f., no. 40.

²⁹¹ *Hesp. XX* 350 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 59.

²⁹² *AJA* LVII 81 ff.

²⁹³ *Robinson Studies*, II 775 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 105.

²⁹⁴ *BCH* LXXVII 155 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 106.

III. THE PELOPONNESE

[IG IV.] G. Welter offers ²⁹⁵ a new reading and restoration of the Aphaia dedication from Aegina (IG IV 1580), according to which the lines begin [Μεν?]εοίτα, [ἐποι]έθε, and [χόθριγκό]ς respectively, and M. T. Marabini publishes ²⁹⁶ several rock-cut inscriptions from Trigoni, the north-eastern corner of the island.

The American excavation at the Isthmus, directed by O. Broneer, has brought to light ²⁹⁷ fifty inscriptions, of which the most interesting is that by which Miletus in the second century A.D. honours Aelius Themison, *μόνον καὶ πρῶτον Εὐρείπιδην Σοφοκλέα καὶ Τειμόθεον ἑαυτῷ μελοποιήσαντα*. The issue of the final report of the excavations at CORINTH proceeds apace; it will include a further volume of inscriptions, edited by J. H. Kent, who meanwhile adds ²⁹⁸ four new fragments, three of them inscribed, to Timoleon's victory-memorial (*Corinth*, VIII (1) no. 23), surmounted by a bronze statue of Poseidon (Kent) or the κτιστήρ Corinthus (Robert), commemorating the victory won in 341 B.C. on the Crimisus. In *Corinth*, I (3) R. L. Scranton deals ²⁹⁹ with the monuments in the Lower Agora and N. of the Archaic Temple, including a statue of Regilla with an eight-line epigram (p. 69); in vol. II R. Stillwell describes ³⁰⁰ the Theatre, in which were some graffiti, inscribed fragments and a stamped roof-tile; in vol. XII G. R. Davidson gives ³⁰¹ a detailed account of the minor objects, including inscribed seals, gems, weights, etc., indexed on p. 362; vol. XIV, by C. Roebuck, devoted to the Asclepieum and Lerna, contains ³⁰² votive and honorary inscriptions and Christian epitaphs, indexed on p. 179; and vol. XV (2), by A. N. Stillwell, describes the terracottas found in the Potters' Quarter and contains ³⁰³ an inscription in Corinthian script incised on a figurine. C. H. Morgan publishes ³⁰⁴ a base signed by an unknown Spartan sculptor, and A. N. Oikonomides and S. N. Koumanoudes ³⁰⁵ a Corinthian grave-epigram of the third century A.D.

At Sicyon a lekythos has been found ³⁰⁶ bearing the word *hépoos*. G. A. Stamires explains ³⁰⁷ four inscriptions from Phlius, published ³⁰⁸ by R. L. Scranton, as quotations from the Bible or hymns, and suggests the same source for IG IV 450. M. Guarducci studies ³⁰⁹ two well-known inscriptions—the dedication of Phrahiaridas from Mycenae (IG IV 492; cf. *SEG* XI 299) and an archaic *lex sacra* from Argos (*SEG* XI 314)—which throw light on the oracular function of Athena, and J. M. Cook publishes ³¹⁰ two sherds from Mycenae attesting a cult of Agamemnon; for the inscriptions in Linear B found at Mycenae see above, n. 156. J. L. Caskey's investigations at the Argive Heraion have brought to light ³¹¹ three inscriptions on earthenware and seven, edited by P. Amandry, on stone; nos. 5 and 6 belong to a list of names with phratries and places of origin, valuable for the study of Argive phratries and topography, while no. 7 comprises ten fragments of an inscribed base, two of which are IG IV 534, 536. M. T. Mitsos publishes ³¹² a fragmentary manumission-list from the Heraion, which he dates in the second century B.C. To Oikonomides and Koumanoudes we owe ³¹³ an archaic votive epigram from Chónika, near the Heraion, of which Mitsos proposes ³¹⁴ an emendation and a date. He has also compiled a valuable Argolic prosopography, ³¹⁵ the chief sources of which are epigraphical, covering the Argolic Plain and Thyreatis, but excluding Epidaurus, Troezen, etc. G. Roux's study of an altar with triglyphs, found in the Agora at ARGOS, includes ³¹⁶ a revision of a phrase in a decree relating to the temple of Apollo Lyceus (*Mnem* XLIII (1915) 373). W. Vollgraff's essay on interment in sacred ground (above, n. 106) opens (pp. 315 ff.) with the restoration and discussion of a fragmentary Argive inscription, in which the term *ἀρχαγέτας*, which he associates with the cult of Demeter, Kore, Dionysus and Hermes, occurs twice; he also restores (p. 317 ff.) IG IV 631, 642, and examines (pp. 331 ff.) the *ἀρχαγέτας*-text from Thera (XII (3) 762), in which he doubts the meaning 'king', and (pp. 333 f.) the *ἡγεμῶν ἀρχηγέτης* of II² 4686. M. Jamison publishes ³¹⁷ and comments on fifteen inscriptions of Hermione, including the dedications IG IV 683-4 (*SEG* XI 378-9) and BCH LXXIII 537, and the frontier-delimitation between Hermione and Epidaurus (*SEG* XI 377; cf. 405), which gives rise to a detailed topographical discussion; the rest comprise a fourth-century votive to Demeter, signed by two Argive sculptors (no. 3), a base signed by Philocles of Megalopolis (no. 5), an inscription honouring Caracalla (no. 6), and eight fragments (nos. 7-14) of honorary or sepulchral texts. He also comments ³¹⁸ on a dedication (IG IV 746) from Didymi, near Hermione, and on an epitaph from Mases (Koilada), on the west coast of the Argolic peninsula. Few discoveries have been made at the Asclepieum of EPIDAUROS, and

²⁹⁵ *Πολύμων*, IV 151 f. ²⁹⁸ *Ann.* XXVII-IX 135 ff.

²⁹⁷ *AJA* LVII 105, *Hesp* XXII 192 f.; cf. *JHS* LXXIII 114, *Bull* 1954, 111.

²⁹⁸ *Hesp* XXI 9 ff.; for a correction by Kent see *Bull* 1953, 69.

²⁹⁹ Princeton, 1951, pp. 30 f., 69, 120, 181; cf. *AJA* LVII 226 f., *REG* LXVI 415 ff.

³⁰⁰ Princeton, 1952, pp. 31, 35, 94, 109 f.

³⁰¹ Princeton, 1952; cf. *Cl. Weekly*, XLVII 156 f., *Bull* 1954, 16, 110.

³⁰² Princeton, 1951, esp. pp. 135 f., 156 f., 165 ff.; cf. *AJA* LVI 222 ff., *Cl. Phil* XLVII 254 ff.

³⁰³ Princeton, 1952, 34; cf. *Ant. Class* XXIII 272 ff.

³⁰⁴ *Hesp* XXII 140; cf. *Bull* 1954, 108.

³⁰⁵ *Πολύμων*, V 28 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 109.

³⁰⁶ *JHS* LXXII 97.

³⁰⁷ *Hesp* XXII 57 f.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 112.

³⁰⁸ *Hesp* V 246 nos. 17-20; cf. *SEG* XI 287 f.

³⁰⁹ *Par. Pass* VI 341 ff.

³¹⁰ Γέρος, 113.

³¹¹ *Hesp* XXI 209 f., 213 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 71.

³¹² *Op. cit.* (n. 315) 11.

³¹³ *Πολύμων*, V 67 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 113.

³¹⁴ Έπερ. Έτ. Βυζ. Σπουδ. XXIII 150 f.

³¹⁵ *Αργολική προσωπογραφία* (Athens, 1952); cf. *Bull* 1954, 67.

³¹⁶ *BCH* LXXVII 120 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 114, *JHS* LXXIII 115 f.

³¹⁷ *Hesp* XXII 148 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 116.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.* 161 n. 36, 167 f.

these await full publication.³¹⁹ J. H. Oliver dates³²⁰ in A.D. 38/9 the Athenian decrees for T. Statilius Lamprias (*IG* IV² 83-4; cf. *SEG* XI 408a); M. N. Tod appeals³²¹ to the list of thearodokoi (IV² 95) and the *sanationes* (IV² 121-2; cf. *SEG* XI 420-2) for the spelling of Thurii and Halicis; the building-accounts of the temple of Asclepius (IV² 102, *SEG* XI 416) are used by R. S. Stanier³²² in estimating the cost of the Athenian Parthenon, and by J. F. Crome³²³ in his study of the temple sculptures; M. Jameson comments³²⁴ on a boundary-stone (IV² 701) and G. Roux³²⁵ on the masons' marks on the marble roof-tiles of the Tholos (IV² 714).

[*IG* V.] H. Michell's *Sparta*³²⁶ takes the rule of Nabis as its lower limit and so derives little help from inscriptions save in the discussion of the Spartan age-groups (pp. 166 ff.). A. M. Woodward examines³²⁷ the epigraphical and numismatic evidence for intercourse between Sparta and Asia Minor in the Imperial period, especially in the second century A.D., as shown in the reciprocal dispatch of judges, the appointment of at least three members of Pergamene and Ephesian families as eponymous patronomi, the participation of Asiatics in Spartan athletic contests, and the pact of ὁμόνοια with Synnada (*IG* V (1) 452), which he discusses and dates in the reign of Antoninus Pius (pp. 872 ff.); the claims of various Anatolian cities to be Spartan colonies are considered and in most cases are regarded as dubious or false, though some Seleucid colonies seem to have contained a Spartan element. M. N. Tod comments³²⁸ on the inscriptions of Kalyvia Sokhas recently published³²⁹ by J. M. Cook, and discusses *IG* V (1) 229 and 591 (pp. 118 ff.). Special attention is paid³³⁰ to the archaic inscription V (1) 720 in E. Zinn's account of boustrophedon script. In a tour of Cynuria K. Rhomaïos found³³¹ at Phoneméni, the Monastery of Loukou and Vourvoura several inscriptions, including a metrical epitaph (V (1) 922) and a fifth-century prohibition μεδελς ἀδικεῖτο τὸ κενεάριον, and J. A. Kouskounas edits³³² a late epitaph from Thyrea, now in the Monastery of Orthokostas, commemorating an Athenian πραγματοεὐτής, who settled at Thyrea and died there. M. Jameson has discovered³³³ at Zarax four blocks bearing names and patronymics, and at Epidaurus Limera an inscription in honour of two men, one of whom defrayed the cost of a temple and statue. In his work on legal documents A. Wilhelm studies³³⁴ four Laconian texts: he proposes (pp. 60 ff.) new restorations, especially in ll. 2 ff., 16 and 28 ff., of an honorary decree found near the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas (*IG* V (1) 931), which he assigns to Epidaurus Limera and dates c. 150 B.C., emends (pp. 87 f.) the punctuation of ll. 14 and 15 of the decree regulating the conduct of the Imperial cult at Gythium (*SEG* XI 923), introduces (pp. 90 ff.) a number of important changes into the text of a document by which a lady generously endows the gymnasium at Gythium and her θρεπτοὶ καὶ ἀπελεύθεροι (V (1) 1208), and emends (pp. 75 ff.) ll. 7 f. of a decree of Gerenia, which he dates in the second century B.C., honouring three judges sent by Hippola (V (1) 1336). A. Christophilopoulos examines³³⁵ the meaning of ἀθάνατα in V (1) 1208. 11, and D. W. Prakken summarizes³³⁶ the divergent views held by successive editors or commentators of a dedication to Pasiphae at Thalamae (V (1) 1317) in the hope of stimulating further study of the text. Near Kalamata a further boundary-stone has been found³³⁷ inscribed ὁρος Λακεδαιμόνος πρὸς Μεσσήνην (cf. V (1) 1371-2).

M. Guarducci returns³³⁸ to the Tegean *lex sacra* (*IG* V (2) 3) relating to the flocks of Alea, partly confirming and partly modifying her previous views (*Riv Fil* LXV 169 ff.) in the light of Vollgraft's article (*BCH* LXX 617 ff.); she dates it before 371, possibly even before 400, and discusses some puzzling terms, especially ἰνφορβίην (which she refers to capture rather than to definitive sequestration), καταλλάσσει, λευτον and θυσθῆν. The French excavation at Gortys continues to yield numerous tile-stamps³³⁹ and some other inscriptions.³⁴⁰

[*IG* VI.] At OLYMPIA a shield³⁴¹ has been unearthed bearing the legend Συρακόσ[ιοι ἀπὸ] Ἀκραγαντίνων λάφυρα, and an epigram³⁴² in honour of Ergoteles of Himera, to whom Pindar addressed his twelfth Olympian Ode, while a sixth-century Corinthian helmet (*JHS* II 68) has been acquired³⁴³ by the Barber Institute of Fine Arts in Birmingham University. In *I v Ol* 56. 46 Wilhelm restores³⁴⁴ [συμβολαίων] in place of [ἀγωνισμάτων], F. Chamoux discusses³⁴⁵ an archaic fragment relating to Cyrene (*Iv Ol* 246), M. Guarducci maintains³⁴⁶ that the script, and probably the dialect of the monument of Praxiteles (*Iv Ol* 266) is Syracusan, and H. Berve cites³⁴⁷ the dedication of Hiero and the Syracusans after the victory at Cyme (*GHI* 22). U. Kahrstedt's article^{347a} on the territory of Patrae in the Imperial period owes little to epigraphical sources.

³¹⁹ *Hell. Contemp.* V 514, *JHS* LXXIII 116.

³²⁰ *Hesp* XX 351; cf. *Bull* 1953, 74.

³²¹ *Γραφ.* 201, 204 f.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 62.

³²² *JHS* LXXIII 69 f., 74.

³²³ *Die Skulpturen des Asklepiostempels von Epidaurus* (Berlin, 1951) 11 ff.

³²⁴ *Hesp* XXII 163 n. 41.

³²⁵ *BCH* LXXVI 477 f.

³²⁶ Cambridge, 1952; cf. *Gnomon*, XXV 180 ff., *AJP* LXXIV 429 ff., *CR* IV 145 ff., M. P. Nilsson, *Opusc. sel.* II 827 ff., 1057 f.

³²⁷ *Robinson Studies*, II 868 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 118.

³²⁸ *BSA* XLVII 118 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 120.

³²⁹ *BSA* XLV 261 ff.

³³⁰ *PAE* 1950, 236 ff.

³³¹ *AA* 1950-51, 15 ff., 23.

³³² *Πάριον*, III 260 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 117.

³³³ *Hesp* XXII 168 ff. nos. 17, 18; cf. *Bull* 1954, 122, 123.

³³⁴ *Op. cit.* (n. 92); cf. *Bull* 1953, 76-79.

³³⁵ *RIAnt* IV 299 f.

³³⁶ *BCH* LXXVII 213. ³³⁷ *Robinson Studies*, II 340 ff.

³³⁸ *Riv Fil* LXXX 49 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 80.

³³⁹ *GRAI* 1951, 223, 1952, 61, *BCH* LXXVI 246 f., *JHS* LXXII 100, *AJA* LVI 125.

³⁴⁰ *JHS* LXXIII 117.

³⁴¹ *AJA* LVII 284.

³⁴² *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 58 f.

³⁴³ *Op. cit.* (n. 805) 378 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 124.

³⁴⁴ *Ann.* XXVII-IX 104 f.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 125.

³⁴⁵ *Robinson Studies*, II 544.

³⁴⁶ *Historia*, I 549 ff.

IV. CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

[*IG VII.*] In a dedicatory epigram from Megara (*IG VII* 37 = Friedländer, 23) W. Peek reads ³⁴⁸ λα[ι]στᾶν, 'pirates', in place of λά[ι]ας τᾶν. M. T. Mitsos continues ³⁴⁹ to study the inscriptions, including a number of *inedita*, of the Oropian Amphiarion, and Peek gives ³⁵⁰ a new text and historical interpretation of an epigram (*VII* 336) celebrating Diomedes of Troezen, descendant of Anthas, the city's founder, παρὰ δυσμενέων ἄστν λαβόντα καὶ πάλιν ἀρχαίοις εὖ περιθέντα νόμοις, arguing that Diomedes had probably helped to oust the Spartan garrison imposed by Cleonymus c. 275 B.C.

A long agonistic record from Tanagra awaits publication,³⁵¹ as do also several inscriptions from Thespiac. Peek studies ³⁵² in detail a series of bases, transported from Thespiac to the Museum at Thebes, bearing epigrams in honour of the Muses; nine of them (including *VII* 1797-9, 1801-4), together with a metrical dedication (1796), belong to a single monument, while a tenth (1805) belongs to a different group, two more (1800 and another) to yet another, and the last, naming all nine Muses, is again separate. Peek also examines (pp. 631 ff.) an epigram of Honestus honouring a Σεβαστή, compeer of the Muses, ἥς γε νόος κόσμον ἔσωσεν ὅλον, probably Livia. P. M. Fraser discusses ³⁵³ five Boeotian inscriptions relating to the Attalid dynasty; four of these (*VII* 1788 f., 1790 = *OGI* 310, 311; *OGI* 749, 750) come from near Thespiac and record grants of land to the Muses and Hermes, while the fifth, from Thebes (*Adelt* III 366), which receives special attention, runs ἱερὰ ἡ γῆ Διονύσου Λυσείου, ἀφ' ὧν ἀνέθηκε βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης (Eumenes II). J. Tréheux examines ³⁵⁴ the phrase [ύ]π[αρχέτω|κατ' ἀμφ]ότερα in an edict from Thisbe (*SIG* 884. 53 f.), restoring π[αρέστω] and rendering 'sera tout à la fois (cumulant les deux qualités de propriétaire et d'héritière)' (see above, n. 294). Other discoveries are reported ³⁵⁵ from Coronea, Lebadea and Chaeronea. N. Platon's edition,³⁵⁶ as an unpublished epigram from Thebes, of the well-known epitaph of a mole-catcher from Eutresis (*AJA* XXXII 179 ff., Powell, *New Chapters*, III 189) may be ignored.

[*IG VIII.*] The study of the epigraphical wealth of DELPHI makes steady progress. G. Daux reports ³⁵⁷ on the work already achieved in *GDI* and *Fouilles*, III, explains the nature and arrangement of the projected *corpus*, and announces the preparation of a Delphian prosopography. L. Robert ³⁵⁸ and C. Picard ³⁵⁹ give brief accounts of recent discoveries. C. Dunant edits ³⁶⁰ an honorary inscription, a grant of proxenia to a Sicyonian and three manumissions found in the Theatre in 1950, as well as a group of nineteen texts,³⁶¹ comprising a third-century proxeny-decree, an inscription honouring Nerva and one for T. Flavius Philinus (of whose family she gives a *stemma* (p. 630), based mainly on inscriptions from Thespiac), together with sixteen manumissions. G. Roux restores ³⁶² from three fragments the dedication of a monumental base in front of the Portico of Attalus, and H. van Effenterre edits ³⁶³ four texts found in 1936, a block completing *Fouilles*, III (4) 9, 11, bearing fourth- and third-century grants of proxenia to Messenians, two similar documents,³⁶⁴ and important decrees, probably passed in 207 B.C., by which the Aetolians and Delphi recognize the festival of the Leucophryena. E. Mastrokostas publishes ³⁶⁵ a fourth-century boundary inscribed Βούλωνο[ς] ἰδιωτικόν and a fragment which he assigns to Rhodopis' dedication, and Daux ³⁶⁶ the left half of a decree for a doctor, which proves the existence of two archons named Emmenidas. In a valuable article ³⁶⁷ on corporate promanteia J. Pouilloux includes two new grants made in the late fourth century to the Aetolians and the Corcyraeans, draws up a list of the 29 attested examples, ranging from the seventh or sixth to the second century B.C., and assesses the value of the promanteia, which, he claims, was a coveted privilege. The first fascicule of J. Marcadé's work on sculptors' signatures (above, p. 125) includes sixty-two sculptors, arranged alphabetically, whose names appear at Delphi, and deals with their signatures discovered elsewhere; in it three new Delphian texts are published (pp. 87, 105, 112). Many previously known texts have been discussed and some emended. J. Bousquet shows ³⁶⁸ that the 'archaic omphalos' is in reality the cupola of an iconostasis of a chapel, on which a modern name is inscribed; he also revises ³⁶⁹ the dedication of Dropion, King of the Paconians (*BCH* LXXIV 22 ff.), showing that the statue represented not Leon, Dropion's father, but Audoleon, probably his grandfather, while elsewhere he revises ³⁷⁰ the text of the decree of the δαμιουργοί (*SIG* 901) regulating the use of a fund of a million drachmas, half of which is applied to the λούσις τῶν βαλανείων, the maintenance of the Eastern Thermae. P. de La Coste-Messelière insists ³⁷¹ that the only reliable text of the inscription of Cleobis and Biton (*SIG* 5 = *GHI*

³⁴⁸ *Robinson Studies*, II 325 f.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 126.

³⁴⁹ *BCH* LXXVI 218, LXXVII 205, *JHS* LXXII 93, LXXIII 112.

³⁵⁰ *Robinson Studies*, II 318 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 128.

³⁵¹ *BCH* LXXVI 223 f. ³⁵² *Γίρας*, 609 ff.

³⁵³ *REA* LIV 233 ff., LV 237 f.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 129.

³⁵⁴ *BCH* LXXVII 157 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 130.

³⁵⁵ *BCH* LXXVI 224, LXXVII 219, *JHS* LXXIII 120.

³⁵⁶ *Γίρας*, 498 ff.

³⁵⁷ *CRAI* 1951, 225 f.

³⁵⁸ *CRAI* 1952, 351; cf. *JHS* LXXII 100, LXXIII 120.

³⁵⁹ *BCH* LXXV 307 ff.; cf. LXXVI 651 f., *Bull* 1953, 95.

³⁶⁰ *BCH* LXXVI 625 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 143.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.* 188 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 89.

³⁶² *BCH* LXXVII 166 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 137.

³⁶³ Cf. *BCH* LXXVII 698. ³⁶⁴ *Γίρας*, 635 ff.

³⁶⁵ *BCH* LXXVI 651 f.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 140.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 484 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 136.

³⁶⁷ *BCH* LXXV 210 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 84.

³⁶⁸ *BCH* LXXVI 136 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 88.

³⁶⁹ *BCH* LXXVI 653 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 146.

³⁷⁰ *BCH* LXXVII 178.

3) is that of Daux (*BCH* LXI 66), and, re-examining³⁷² the Delphian memorial of Aegospotami (*Fouilles*, III (1) 50–69 = *SIG* 115 = *GHI* 94), argues that the ναύαρχοι were thirty rather than twenty-eight, suggests for base XI [Ἐπικυδίδας Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐκ] [Ζ[άρακος], and assigns the κᾶρυξ to the group of Poseidon, Lysander, mantis and pilot. C. Picard interprets³⁷³ the Medicis crater in the light of the 'Agamemnon oracle' (cf. *JHS* LXV 82), G. Vitucci modifies³⁷⁴ the text and interpretation of the Labyad account (*DGE* 320) proposed by Guarducci (*Riv Fil* LXXIX 258 ff.), and B. Gentili's essay on the Delphian tripods and the hymn of Bacchylides appeals³⁷⁵ to the dedications of Gelo and Hiero (*SIG* 34 = *GHI* 17; *SIG* 35C), which are also cited by H. Berve (above, n. 64). Delphian inscriptions play an important part in L. Lerat's work on the Ozolian Locrians (see below), which includes (I 25 f., 42 f.) the first publication of two Delphian manumissions and improved readings of the pact (*SEG* II 293) between Tritea and Chaleum (I 52 n. 1). Wilhelm's work on juridical inscriptions includes³⁷⁶ comments (pp. 47 f.) on the use of παῖδες for 'servants' in the arbitration between Halae and Bumelita (*Fouilles*, III (1) 362 i 29), the substitution (pp. 48 ff.) of [ἐγκλημα μῆθῆν] for Daux's suggested [ἴδιον σύμβολον] in the Amphictyonic decree recognizing the Pergamene Nikephoria (*Fouilles*, III (3) 261. 26), with a new restoration of a decree honouring Damon, grandson of the temple architect Agathon (*ibid.* 184 = *SIG* 494), a note (p. 50) on the date of the honorary decree for a Camarinaean (*ibid.* 202 = *SIG* 488), proposals (pp. 51 ff.) for the restoration or interpretation of three passages (*ibid.* 239. 17 f. = *SIG* 671 B 17 f.; *SIG* 672. 13 ff., 47 ff.) in the decrees³⁷⁷ acknowledging the benefactions of Eumenes II and Attalus II, and the identification (p. 56) of Ἀδοῦσιο[s] as the first of the δῖοι engaged in an arbitration at Daulis (*BCH* LIX 96). Other inscriptions in *Fouilles*, III, which call for notice are:

2. 137–8. For E. Martin's musical study of the Delphian hymns see above, n. 60.

3. 207. L. Pearson suggests³⁷⁸ that the Σοφοκλῆς Ἀριστοβούλου Φωκεὺς ἐν Κασ[σ]ανδρείαι οἰκῶν may well be a son of the historian Aristobulus.

3. 262, 377. G. Klaffenbach restores³⁷⁹ 262. 5 f. and 377. 10.

3. 192. A. C. Trypanis identifies³⁸⁰ the Posidippus and Asclepiades of this proxeny decree of c. 276/5 with the famous epigrammatists, concludes that they visited Delphi about that time, and claims that a poem preserved on papyrus (Page, *Lit. Pap.* I no. 114) is a genuine work of Posidippus.

4. 37 (*SEG* III 378). G. Tibiletti studies³⁸¹ the terminology of the *lex de piratis*.

5. 49, 67. C. Dunant and J. Pouilloux revise³⁸² these accounts, which they date in 336, 335 and perhaps 334 B.C., and discuss the meaning of ἀπουσία (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 70) and the role of the τὰμια, a political innovation of Philip II.

5. 61. Pouilloux gives³⁸³ a new text of this account (interesting for Delphian administration and for the relations between Alexander and the Amphictyony), adds to it 5. 76 and three unpublished fragments, and publishes (pp. 301 ff.) a new fragment of the accounts of the ναοποιοί, and (pp. 304 ff.) a renewal of proxenia granted in 324 B.C. to an Athenian, a duplicate of *BCH* LII 217.

6. 37, 118, 130, 133. G. Klaffenbach annotates³⁸⁴ these texts from the Theatre.

Three fascicules of the topographical and architectural volume, *Fouilles*, II, appeared in 1952–3. In J. Bousquet's account³⁸⁵ of the Treasury of Cyrene special attention is paid to III (5) 62. 13–21, showing that the Treasury, begun c. 360–55 at latest, was finished by 330 (p. 27), and to a grant of proxenia and promanteia to the Cyrenaicans in 322/1 B.C. (pp. 69 ff.), while an epigraphic appendix (pp. 105 ff.) supplements or corrects a number of published texts, adds a fragment to *Fouilles*, III (3) 158–9 and two to 176, and publishes two new inscriptions (nos. 2, 3). J. Jannoray, dealing with the Gymnasium, collects (pp. 87 f.) the relevant epigraphical evidence, and P. Amandry's account of the Column of the Naxians and the Portico of the Athenians examines the dedication of the latter (pp. 39, 101 ff.), which he associates with the campaigns of Mycale and Sestos, and the inscriptions on that part of the polygonal terrace-wall which is screened by the Portico (pp. 61 ff.). U. Kahrstedt's article³⁸⁶ on Delphi and the sacred domain of Apollo maintains that at some time between *SIG* 826 and 827, i.e. between 116 B.C. and A.D. 116, the sacred domain was secularized, being merged in the Delphian πόλις, though not without protest and an attempt to restore it to the god.

[IG IX.] Inscriptions play a leading role in L. Lerat's exhaustive account³⁸⁷ of Western Locris. This includes a survey of the epigraphical sources (I pp. vi ff.), a chapter on the dialect, based solely on inscriptions (II pp. 8 ff.), and an epigraphical index, indicating new discoveries and also texts restored, corrected or re-interpreted with valuable aid from Klaffenbach (I p. 225), while the sections in vol. II on Locrian cults (pp. 143 ff.), calendars (pp. 170 ff.) and prosopography (pp. 181 ff.) rely mainly on epigraphical evidence; to a fragmentary decree of the West Locrian κοινόν (I 133) J. and

³⁷² *BCH* LXXVII 183 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 132.

³⁷³ *Bull. Vereniging tot Bevord. d. Kennis van de Ant. Beschaving te's-Gravenhage*, XXIV–VI 49 ff.

³⁷⁴ *Riv Fil* LXXX 333 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 133.

³⁷⁵ *Par Pass* VIII 201.

³⁷⁶ *Op. cit.* (n. 92); cf. *Bull* 1953, 90–93.

³⁷⁷ Cf. Daux, *Delphes au II^e et au I^{er} siècle*, 683 ff.

³⁷⁸ *AJP* LXXIII 71 ff.

³⁷⁹ *Robinson Studies*, II 296; cf. *Bull* 1954, 141.

³⁸⁰ *CR* II (1952) 67 f.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 139.

³⁸¹ *Rend Ist Lombardo*, LXXXVI 83 ff.

³⁸² *BCH* LXXVI 32 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 86.

³⁸³ *BCH* LXXV 264 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 85.

³⁸⁴ *Robinson Studies*, II 296 f.

³⁸⁵ *Le Trésor de Cyrène* (Paris, 1952); cf. *Bull* 1954, 138, *J Sav* 1953, 154 ff.

³⁸⁶ *Robinson Studies*, II 749 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 144.

³⁸⁷ *Les Locriens de l'Ouest* (Paris, 1952); cf. *Bull* 1954, 147, *J Sav* 1953, 5 ff., *Ant Class* XXII 547 ff., *Gnomon*, XXVI 246 ff. See also *CRAI* 1951, 226, *BCH* LXXVI 251, *JHS* LXXII 100.

L. Robert³⁸⁸ and P. M. Fraser³⁸⁹ devote special attention. F. W. Schehl restores³⁹⁰ a document found by Klaffenbach at Phistym in Aetolia (*SB Berlin*, 1936, 367 ff.) and regards it as a *donatio inter vivos*, though closely akin to one *mortis causa*; a manumission from Mokista near Thermus (*IG IX*² 92) figures³⁹¹ in Kahrstedt's survey of the territory of Nicopolis in the Imperial period and he dates it after Nero's reign. J. A. O. Larsen's important study³⁹² of the Assembly of the Aetolian League cites many Aetolian decrees proving the co-existence of assembly and synedrion, notably (p. 14) that granting ἀσυλία to Mytilene (*IX*² 189 = *XII* (2) 15). Wilhelm's conjecture³⁹³ ὁ [Ι|ΔΙ|Ω]τας in ll. 8, 9 of an Acarnanian decree (*Coll. Froehner*, 35) is less attractive than Klaffenbach's ὁ [Ξ]τας (*DLZ* 1937, 1638). Wilhelm also offers³⁹⁴ a drastically revised text of a document from Corcyra (*IG IX* (1) 692) recording the verdict of the δικάστοι καὶ κοῖνοι in an arbitration between that state and one of its citizens, and attempts³⁹⁵ to date by their script two metrical epitaphs (*ibid.* 878-9) found at Corcyra, but originating from Rhenaea. H. Grégoire supports and develops³⁹⁶ the view of I. K. Papademetriou (*AE* 1942-4, ἀρχ. χρ. 39 ff.) that the ῥοβιανός of the epigram *IG IX* (1) 721 is not the Emperor Jovian, but a bishop, perhaps in the reign of Theodosius II.

C. Gavazzi publishes³⁹⁷ her research into the grant of προξενία in THESSALY, based on more than a hundred decrees; she deals with the formulae and motivation of the grant, the privileges conferred and other aspects of the question. Larsen traces³⁹⁸ the fortunes of the eminent Thessalian family of Eubiotus and Cyllus under the Principate, commenting on thirteen of its members (pp. 87 ff.), reconstructing its *stemma* (pp. 90 ff.) and examining the relevant Thessalian and Attic inscriptions. The work done in Thessaly by members of the French School at Athens is described³⁹⁹ by L. Robert. A proxeny-decree for an Aetolian has come to light⁴⁰⁰ at Lamia and two epitaphs at Styliis, as well as a dedication⁴⁰¹ at Pharsalus, where N. M. Verdelis has discovered⁴⁰² a bronze cinerary urn containing a gold plate bearing an Orphic text in hexameters, dating from the fourth century B.C. Pherae⁴⁰³ provides three epitaphs, Larisa a public inscription,⁴⁰⁴ an epitaph,⁴⁰⁵ and the opening portion of a dialect decree⁴⁰⁶ of the early second century B.C., conferring privileges on a number of recipients, and Gonni a votive to Asclepius and two epitaphs.⁴⁰⁷ Larsen corrects⁴⁰⁸ a misinterpretation of a text from Gonni (*IG IX* (2) 1041) and rejects Arvanitopoulos' restoration of a manumission from Pythium (*ibid.* 1290). Wilhelm examines⁴⁰⁹ in detail the fragmentary record of a legal dispute at Larisa (*ibid.* 522), restoring ll. 14-31; he substitutes⁴¹⁰ [αὐ]|τὸς for [μύ]|νος in the evidence given in a territorial claim (*ibid.* 521. 15 f.), and⁴¹¹ ἐνεύχομαι for ἐνέχομαι in a Larisaean epitaph (*ibid.* 931), and interprets⁴¹² a mutilated text from Gonni (*AE* 1912, 68 f.), in which the right to hold a specified estate is added to the grant of proxenia. Six epitaphs have been found⁴¹³ at Demetrias, and two final instalments⁴¹⁴ of Arvanitopoulos' description of the painted stelae from Demetrias and Pagasae now in the Volo Museum contain fifty-three new inscriptions and three previously published; most bear only a name and patronymic, but ethnics or other elements occasionally occur. T. A. Arvanitopoulou completes⁴¹⁵ this task of her late father by compiling indexes, personal and geographical, of the whole series of stelae. C. Corbato discusses⁴¹⁶ a fragment, now lost, of an epigram from Demetrias (*IX* (2) 1135) and sees in it a commemoration of the military achievement of Lucullus or, less probably, of Sulla in the Mithridatic War, 72-1 B.C., and A. Aymard's study⁴¹⁷ of the Seleucid house in the time of Antiochus IV refers to a dedication (*BCH LXXIV* 42) made by a Cretan to Antigonus Doson and Philip at Demetrias.

V. MACEDONIA, THRACE AND SCYTHIA

[*IG X.*] P. M. Petsas reports⁴¹⁸ the transference to Nicopolis of the inscriptions which survived the bombing of the Preveza Museum in 1941, as well as of two epitaphs and a stamped brick from Mytika; he also publishes⁴¹⁹ ten inscriptions, mostly epitaphs, found at Votonisi, on the Jannina-Kalabaka road, and now removed to Jannina. At Dodona more leaden tablets bearing questions addressed to the oracle have come to light,⁴²⁰ and Wilhelm conjecturally restores⁴²¹ a similar text (*PAE* 1932, 52), seeing in ΔΙΑΙΤΟΙ not an ethnic, but the title of magistrates like the Attic διαίτηται. M. Guarducci read to the Epigraphical Congress a report⁴²² on the Italian work in Albania,

³⁸⁸ *Bull* 1954, 147.

³⁸⁹ *Gnomon*, XXVI 252 f.

³⁹⁰ *AJA* LXVI 9 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 96.

³⁹¹ *Historia*, I 561.

³⁹² *TAPA LXXXIII* 1 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 44.

³⁹³ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 26; cf. *Bull* 1953, 97.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 68 ff. ³⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 74; cf. *Bull* 1953, 148.

³⁹⁶ *Byzantion*, XXI 261 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 67.

³⁹⁷ *Epigraphica*, XIII 50 ff.

³⁹⁸ *Cl Phil* XLVIII 86 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 70.

³⁹⁹ *CRAI* 1951, 226. ⁴⁰⁰ *JHS LXXIII* 120.

⁴⁰¹ *BCH LXXVI* 225, *JHS LXXII* 100.

⁴⁰² *AE* 1950-1, 98 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 70; *RicFil* LXXX 282.

⁴⁰³ *JHS LXXIII* 120, *BCH LXXVII* 220.

⁴⁰⁴ *JHS LXXII* 100.

⁴⁰⁵ *Πολύμων* V 30; cf. *Bull* 1954, 148.

⁴⁰⁶ *T. D. Axenides, *Ἡ Πελοπόννησος*, II 48 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 68.

⁴⁰⁷ *BCH LXXVI* 226, *LXXVII* 220, *JHS LXXII* 100, *LXXIII* 120; cf. *Bull* 1954, 149.

⁴⁰⁸ *Cl Phil* XLVIII 86 f.

⁴⁰⁹ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 37 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 99.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.* 44. ⁴¹¹ *Ibid.* 94.

⁴¹² *Ibid.* 15 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 103.

⁴¹³ *JHS LXXIII* 120, *BCH LXXVII* 220.

⁴¹⁴ *Πολύμων*, IV 153 ff., V 5 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 150.

⁴¹⁵ *Πολύμων*, V 33 ff.

⁴¹⁶ *Ric Fil* LXXXI 132 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 152.

⁴¹⁷ *REG* LXV viii f.

⁴¹⁸ *AE* 1950-1 ἀρχ. χρ. 32 ff. For Nicopolis cf. *Historia*, I 554 ff., *JHS LXXIII* 121, *Bull* 1952, 75.

⁴¹⁹ *AE* 1950-1 ἀρχ. χρ. 44 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 75.

⁴²⁰ *BCH LXXVII* 223, *JHS LXXIII* 122.

⁴²¹ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 55 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 116.

⁴²² *Actes*, 55 ff.

notably at Buthrotum (Butrinto), and J. Klemenc a survey⁴²³ of the ancient inscriptions, predominantly Latin, of Yugoslavia. D. Rendić Miočević publishes four articles which concern the Greek settlements on the Dalmatian coast; in one he studies⁴²⁴ the Illyrian names found in the inscriptions of those colonies, in another he discusses⁴²⁵ three historical inscriptions of Dalmatia, one of which is a metrical epitaph from Pharos of one who fell, according to the editor, in the early fourth century B.C., in a naval encounter with Illyrians (here first mentioned in Greek inscriptions), in the third he publishes⁴²⁶ 43 new inscriptions of Dalmatia, of which only one (no. 1), a dedication at Issa to the Syrian goddess, is Greek, and in the fourth he seeks⁴²⁷ to locate the Illyrian Iadasini (or Iadastini) named in inscriptions of Pharos and Salona.

C. F. Edson submitted to the Epigraphical Congress a paper⁴²⁸ on the Greek inscriptions of MACEDONIA, reviewing the work already done in preparation for the Macedonian *corpus* and the prospects of its publication. C. I. Makaronas gives a valuable survey⁴²⁹ of the archaeological (including epigraphical) discoveries made in Macedonia in 1940-50, and M. N. Tod reasserts,⁴³⁰ with additional evidence, the view that the Macedonian provincial era began in the autumn of 148 B.C., and the 'Augustan' era in the autumn of 32 B.C. F. M. Heichelheim translates and analyses⁴³¹ the foundation-record of a synagogue at Stobi (*CI Jud* 694), dating it either in A.D. 264 or in 281 and maintaining that the founder was enfranchised by Claudius Gothicus rather than by Claudius I. J. M. R. Cormack re-edits,⁴³² on the basis of autopsy, six inscriptions (of which no. 7 is Latin) of Edessa and adds two (nos. 8, 9) previously unpublished; all are epitaphs except one dedicatory manumission (no. 6); he also revises (p. 378) a grave-inscription of Sarkovieni, near Edessa, and two (nos. 2 and p. 381) from Pella. A metrical epitaph and a milestone have been found⁴³³ at Edessa, and B. G. Kallipolites publishes⁴³⁴ a bust from Ano Kopanos, N.E. of Naoussa, bearing the name *Ολγανος, the third son of King Beres, founder of Beroea, a tomb-relief⁴³⁵ from Beroea with an epigram commemorating a Μουσάων θεραπαινία λυροκτύπος, and a stele⁴³⁶ of A.D. 177/8 recording a benefaction given by an ἐφηβάρχος for the provision of oil for the ἐφηβοί, whose names, twenty-five in number, are appended. Other Beroean inscriptions are reported⁴³⁷ by Makaronas, as well as epitaphs⁴³⁸ from Phytia, c. 10 km. N.W. of Beroea, and Leukadia, 5 km. N.E. of Naoussa. D. M. Robinson re-edits,⁴³⁹ with a full commentary, the grave-epigram (*Hesp* XVIII 84 ff.), found near Methone (Eleutherochori) on the road to Pydna (Kitros), of the three-year-old Aeacid Alcimachus, son of Neoptolemus, τῶν ἀπ' Ὀλυμπιάδος, probably the mother of Alexander the Great. Kallipolites⁴⁴⁰ and A. D. Keramopoulos⁴⁴¹ comment on the silver phiale dedicated to Athena of Megara (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 72) found in a grave at Kozani, Makaronas gives⁴⁴² further details of the dedication of two rows of vines at Kozani to Zeus Hypsistos by a vine dresser (cf. *JHS* LXVI 113), and D. K. Chatzes' discussion⁴⁴³ of the names Γραία, Γραῖοι, Γραῖος and Γραϊκός starts from an inscription of Koilas, c. 20 km. N.W. of Kozani, which refers to an estate as τῶν ἐν Γρήϊα μετοίκων χώρον (*AE* 1934-5, 117 ff.). The reading Βαττυαίων in l. 1 of a δόγμα from Kastoria (*JHS* XXXIII 337 ff.), due to C. F. Edson, is confirmed⁴⁴⁴ by Makaronas. F. Papazoglu's note on an honorary inscription (Demitsas, 307, *Spomenik*, LXXI 229) from the gorge of the Axios (Vardar) I know only through J. and L. Robert's comments.⁴⁴⁵ Makaronas also re-edits,⁴⁴⁶ in the light of *Bull* 1949, 92, the decree of the νεοί of Thessalonica passed in 95 B.C. in honour of a gymnasiarch, and reports⁴⁴⁷ a t.c. of Aphrodite and a signed dolphin. M. Andronikos publishes⁴⁴⁸ a metrical epitaph, probably from Salonica, engraved on the cenotaph of a youth who died abroad, and other Thessalonian epitaphs are provisionally recorded.⁴⁴⁹ Kallipolites comments⁴⁵⁰ on an inscribed grave-relief from Lete signed by a Beroean sculptor, which is published⁴⁵¹ by Makaronas together with the inscription on the statue-base of a woman honoured by the city and one in which nineteen ephebes express their regard for Demetrius, τὸν μέγαν γυμνασίαρχον, a late Hellenistic gravestone⁴⁵² from Zagliveri, and a fragmentary deed of sale⁴⁵³ of the fourth century B.C. from Vasilika. D. M. Robinson's publication of the terracottas, lamps and coins found at or near Olynthus in 1934 and 1938 includes⁴⁵⁴ two inscribed t.c.'s from Coela; Makaronas publishes⁴⁵⁵ a fourth-century epitaph from Olynthus, now at Salonica, probably that seen by Wace at Myriophyton (*BSA* XXI 14), and W. A. McDonald argues⁴⁵⁶ that the 'Villa of Good Fortune' was probably a πανδοκεῖον. G. A. Stamires corrects⁴⁵⁷ errors in the first publication⁴⁵⁸ of an epitaph from Serrhae, and in another A. M. Woodward

⁴²³ *Actes*, 153 ff.

⁴²⁴ *Bull. arch. hist. Dalmate*, LIII 25 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 118.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.* 167 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 123.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.* 211 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 121.

⁴²⁷ **Bull. arch. hist. Dalmate*, LII 19 ff., 317 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 122, 1954, 155.

⁴²⁸ *Actes*, 38 ff.

⁴²⁹ *Μακεδονικά*, II 590 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 104.

⁴³⁰ *Robinson Studies*, II 382 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 59.

⁴³¹ *Jewish Standard* (Toronto), 15.5.53, pp. 7, 16.

⁴³² *Robinson Studies*, II 374 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 160.

⁴³³ *JHS* LXXII 102.

⁴³⁴ *Mon. Piot*, XLVI 85 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 108.

⁴³⁵ *Robinson Studies*, II 371 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 159.

⁴³⁶ *Γίρας*, 303 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 158.

⁴³⁷ *Μακεδονικά*, II 628 ff. ⁴³⁸ *Ibid.* 633 f.

⁴³⁹ *Γίρας*, 149 ff.

⁴⁴⁰ *AE* 1950-1, 184; cf. *Μακεδονικά*, II 640.

⁴⁴¹ *Μακεδονικά*, II 497 ff.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.* 638 n. 2.

⁴⁴³ *Γίρας*, 274 ff.

⁴⁴⁴ *Μακεδονικά*, II 644.

⁴⁴⁵ *Bull* 1954, 162.

⁴⁴⁶ *Μακεδονικά*, II 608 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 110.

⁴⁴⁷ *PAE* 1951, 172.

⁴⁴⁸ *Προσφορά εις Σ. Π. Κυριακίδην*, 63 ff.

⁴⁴⁹ *BCH* LXXVI 227, *JHS* LXXII 102, LXXIII 122.

⁴⁵⁰ *Mon. Piot*, XLVI 90 f.

⁴⁵¹ *Μακεδονικά*, II 616 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 112.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.* 620.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.* 621 f.

⁴⁵⁴ *Olynthus*, XIV (Baltimore, 1952) 26 f., 391, 401; cf. *Am. Hist. Rev.* LVIII 586 f., *REA* LV 176 f., *AJA* LVII 227 f., *Riv. Fil* LXXXI 86 ff.

⁴⁵⁵ *Μακεδονικά*, II 623 f.

⁴⁵⁶ *Robinson Studies*, I 365 ff.

⁴⁵⁷ *Καθημερινή*, 2.11.1950.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 17.10.1950.

reads ⁴⁵⁹ <3>ων in place of των (Demitsas, 815). D. I. Lazarides examines ⁴⁶⁰ a carelessly written but interesting deed of sale of an οἰκία καὶ οἰκόπεδον from Amphipolis, dating probably from 250-200 B.C., and V. Beshevliev publishes ⁴⁶¹ two inscriptions of Amphipolis, now in Sofia, a manumission and an epitaph, as well as ⁴⁶² one or two epitaphs from the valley of the Strymon (Struma). Makaronas surveys ⁴⁶³ the epigraphical gains and losses of Amphipolis during and since the Second World War, as well as those of Philippi ⁴⁶⁴ and Neapolis (Kavala). ⁴⁶⁵

THRACE and Lower Moesia continue to be very productive, thanks largely to the energy of Bulgarian scholars. G. Mihailov sent to the Epigraphical Congress a report ⁴⁶⁶ on the projected publication of a *corpus* of Greek inscriptions of Bulgaria, beginning with those of the west coast of the Euxine. D. Detchev's *Charakteristik der thrakischen Sprache* ⁴⁶⁷ I have not seen. H. Bengtson devotes a section (pp. 172 ff.) of his account of the στρατηγία in the Ptolemaic Empire (above, n. 66) to Asia Minor and Thrace. In *Epigraphski Prinosi* ⁴⁶⁸ V. Beshevliev publishes 122 inscriptions (64 Greek, 58 Latin), almost all new, brought from various find-spots to the Sofia Museum. The majority are epitaphs, but other types too are represented, e.g. manumissions (no. 5), honorary inscriptions (nos. 14, 23, 106), brick-stamps (nos. 47-53), dedications, and Imperial inscriptions (nos. 18, 19, 105); those of greatest interest include nos. 2, 5, 14, 22, 23, 30, 106 and 110. An article ⁴⁶⁹ by Detchev on ancient monuments from Bulgaria edits a fragment from Sveti Vrač, which he regards as a mortgage-record, corrects Kazarow's text (*Denkmäler*, 236) of a votive relief from Ezerovo, now at Sofia, and publishes a dedication from Šatrovo, also now in Sofia, erected Δι Ζβελθούρδωι τῷ κυρίωι by the Βολβαβρινηοὶ κωμήται. From the S. coast there is less than usual to report. Lazarides' excavation at Abdera has yielded, ⁴⁷⁰ *inter alia*, 310 stamped amphora-handles, and at Mesochóri, near Porto Lagos, a fifth-century metrical epitaph has been found. ⁴⁷¹ G. Bakalakes corrects ⁴⁷² the text on a fourth-century grave-altar from Komotini, Makaronas reports ⁴⁷³ the discovery of an inscribed grave-stele of the third century c. 20 km. W. of Alexandroupolis (Dedeagach), and A. Wilhelm restores and explains ⁴⁷⁴ ll. 1-5 of a mutilated document of Perinthus (*ÖJh* XXIII, Beibl. 163), apparently recording the levy of a fine, and comments on the remainder. E. Mamboury's survey ⁴⁷⁵ of excavations in or near Istanbul since 1936 includes (p. 439) a dedication to Apollo Propylaios (which J. and L. Robert explain and attribute to Eumenia in Phrygia) and (p. 457) two τόπος-inscriptions on half-columns. F. Halkin collects ⁴⁷⁶ and discusses a number of inscriptions of Byzantium which are of hagiographical interest. H. Grégoire studies ⁴⁷⁷ a gnostic epitaph of the third or fourth century A.D. from Philippopolis (Plovdiv), W. Peek unites and restores ⁴⁷⁸ two fragments (Mihailov, *Griech. Epigr.* 84, 88a) of an epigram from Traiana Augusta (Stara Zagora), and C. Dremsizova publishes ⁴⁷⁹ a number of votive reliefs to Asclepius, some of them inscribed, from the same region. D. Djontchev examines ⁴⁸⁰ a relief from Suchindol in the Sevlievo district dedicated jointly to Dionysus and Heracles, and D. Detchev ⁴⁸¹ another relief, found near Tarnovo, offered by a priest Ἡρα εἰθίῃα τούρμη. But it is the Pontic coast which is most prolific. In an article on 'Koine syntax of Greek colonies on the Black Sea' ⁴⁸² A. Kotsevalov studies the decay of classical syntax in their inscriptions and concludes that the development was normal and shows no trace of the alleged influence of a native, non-Indo-European, language. C. M. Danov's important discussion ⁴⁸³ of the relation of the Greek cities of the coast to the Thracians of the interior from the second half of the third to the middle of the first century B.C. pays special attention to (a) an inscription from Apollonia (Sozopol) relating to an ἐπιμαχία which, he holds, ⁴⁸⁴ was concluded by Mesambria and Apollonia with a Seleucid king, probably Antiochus III, against Thracians rather than Celts (pp. 140 ff.), (b) an inscription of Mesambria, ⁴⁸⁵ which he dates between 250 and 200, honouring the Thracian prince Sadalas, and concluding with him a pact dealing with maritime traffic (pp. 105 ff.), and (c) the 'Lucullus inscription' from Mesambria (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 72 f.) ⁴⁸⁶ and the text engraved on the back of the same stone (pp. 151 ff.); the Lucullus inscription is also studied ⁴⁸⁷ by G. Tibiletti, who proposes to restore [ἐπαρχ]ος in place of [στραταρχ]ός. I. Venedikov publishes ⁴⁸⁸ a group of Latin votives to Silvanus unearthed in a sanctuary near Liljače in the district of Varna, among which one is in Greek (p. 206), and a number of inscribed leaden sling-bullets. ⁴⁸⁹ R. Egger describes ⁴⁹⁰ a holy water basin at Varna bearing the legend + υγιένων χρῶ, and C. Picard comments ⁴⁹¹ on the title κουρής in an inscription of Odessus (Varna, Stalin). Vols. VIII and IX of

⁴⁵⁹ *Bull* 1952, 74.

⁴⁶⁰ Γέρας, 159 ff.; cf. Μακεδονικά, II 649, *Bull* 1954, 163.

⁴⁶¹ *Op. cit.* (n. 468) nos. 5, 6; cf. *Bull* 1954, 164.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.* nos. 4, 26?; cf. *Bull* *ibid.*

⁴⁶³ Μακεδονικά, II 648 ff.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 653 f.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 651 f.

⁴⁶⁶ *Actes*, 75 ff. ⁴⁶⁷ Sofia, 1952; cf. *Bull* 1953, 125.

⁴⁶⁸ Sofia, 1952 (French summary, pp. 83 ff.); cf. *Bull* 1954, 164, 166, 168, 172-5, 178-9, 185-8 (in geographical order).

⁴⁶⁹ *Festschrift R. Egger*, I 17 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 165, 169.

⁴⁷⁰ *JHS* LXXIII 122.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*; cf. Μακεδονικά, II 657.

⁴⁷² *ÖJh* XXXIX, Beibl. 1 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 170a.

⁴⁷³ Μακεδονικά, II 659.

⁴⁷⁴ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 13 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 128.

⁴⁷⁵ *Byzantion*, XXI 425 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 129.

⁴⁷⁶ *Anal. Bull.* LXX 306 ff., LXXI 344 ff.

⁴⁷⁷ *Nouvelle Cléo*, IV 374 ff.

⁴⁷⁸ *Robinson Studies*, II 317 f. n. 20a; cf. *Bull* 1954, 176.

⁴⁷⁹ *BIAB* XVIII 355 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 131.

⁴⁸⁰ *Festschrift R. Egger*, I 37 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 139.

⁴⁸¹ *ÖJh* XXXIX, Beibl. 15 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 186a.

⁴⁸² *Robinson Studies*, II 434 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 60.

⁴⁸³ *Ann. Univ. Sofia*, 1951-2, 105 ff. (German summary, 162 ff.).

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. *Bull* 1950, 141, 1953, 132.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. *Bull* 1952, 87a, 1953, 133, *Vest. Drev. Ist.* 1954 (2) 174 ff.

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. *Bull* 1953, 134.

⁴⁸⁷ *Op. cit.* (n. 74) 69 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 177.

⁴⁸⁸ *BIAB* XVIII 195 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 137.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 369 f.

⁴⁹⁰ *ÖJh* XL, Beibl. 229 f.

⁴⁹¹ *RA* XL 202 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 93.

the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Varna (Stalin)* are inaccessible to me, and I refer to J. and L. Robert's analysis⁴⁹² of their epigraphical contents, relating mainly to Odessus and other sites in N.E. Bulgaria. S. Lambrino suggests⁴⁹³ Histria as the provenance of the honorary decree for the architect Epicrates (*SIG* 707), hitherto assigned to Olbia or Tyras.

Epigraphical studies are carried on vigorously in the U.S.S.R., where new inscriptions frequently come to light on the N. shore of the Euxine and texts already known are revised or discussed; but these researches are published in Russian, of which I am regrettably ignorant, and I find them hard to evaluate. A number of articles in *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, 1947-1951, by N. P. Rosanova, I. A. Boltunova, T. V. Blavatskaja and other scholars are summarized⁴⁹⁴ by J. and L. Robert, and others appear in later issues of that journal. I. I. Tolstoj publishes⁴⁹⁵ 255 inscriptions, mostly new, incised on vases brought to the Hermitage from Olbia (nos. 1-74), Beresan (75-9), Chersonese (80-96), Nymphaeum (97-146), Panticapaeum (147-245) and Taman (246-54); most are short votive texts or names of makers or owners, but there is one remarkable Olbian *defixio* (no. 63).

VI. ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN

[*IG* XI.] L. Robert read to the Epigraphical Congress a survey⁴⁹⁶ of the inscriptions of DELOS, summarizing the history of their publication and indicating the tasks still awaiting completion. F. Robert deals⁴⁹⁷ with three temples on the W. coast of the island, those of the Dioscuri and of Asclepius and one which may be that of Leucothea; he studies the passages in the Delian accounts relating to them and publishes the inscriptions found in them (pp. 41 ff., 97 ff.), including *IDélos* 507 bis, 1568, 2322, a metrical dedication of a ξόανον to Asclepius (pp. 105 ff.) and a fragmentary text on a pillar base (p. 107). He also describes⁴⁹⁸ the excavation of the shrine of Anios, collects the evidence from the inventories (pp. 20 ff.) and reports the discovery of many inscribed sherds (pp. 15 f.) and other inscriptions (pp. 18 f., 26). A sculptor's signature⁴⁹⁹ came to light in 1951. J. H. Kent publishes⁵⁰⁰ an amphora-stopper and fifteen amphora-handles from the temple estates on Delos, Rhenaea and Myconos, and V. Grace devotes an article⁵⁰¹ to the amphora-stamps of Delos, numbering 5952 (including 496 in Latin), of which 3695 are Cnidian and 1339 Rhodian (see above, p. 126). J. Tréheux maintains,⁵⁰² against J. Delorme (cf. *JHS* LXXII 43) that the γαυλός of the palaistra, mentioned in the temple accounts, was a vessel of bronze, not of wood, and that γαυλὸν ξυλῶσαι (*IG* XI 203 A 53) means 'refaire le coffrage en bois du γαυλός de métal'; he also studies (pp. 571 ff.) the evidence for the Delian palaistrai, rejects the view that a ἡ κάτω παλαίστρα means 'the ground-floor of the palaistra', and concludes (pp. 580 ff.) that there were never more than two public buildings so named at Delos and that the palaistra of the period of independence was the 'Palestre du lac', first mentioned in 304 B.C. He also discusses⁵⁰³ the historicity of the 'Hyperborean offerings', showing that Athenian and Delian records attest their periodical arrival at Delos c. 372 and still towards the middle of the fourth century, but finding no reference to them after the liberation of the island.

The following inscriptions in *IDélos* and *IG* XI also call for mention:

10, 50. A. Plassart adds⁵⁰⁴ supplementary comments on these dedications.

110. A. Wilhelm explains⁵⁰⁵ the phrase τοὺς μισθοὺς οὐ κατεθέμην in l. 17 of this record of the archon of 268 B.C.

165. J. Tréheux restores⁵⁰⁶ l. 61 of this account of the hieropoioi.

291-2. He restores and discusses⁵⁰⁷ a phrase in 291b 8 + 292. 17 and dissociates it from the Hyperborean offerings.

1065. See below, n. 540.

1299. J. and L. Robert reject⁵⁰⁸ B. A. van Groningen's solution (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 74) of the problem raised by l. 45 of Maiistas' poem.

1416. Wilhelm suggests⁵⁰⁹ that the enigmatic επιγλων (*B* ii 64) may be ἐπαβολήν, a corruption of ἀναβολήν or ἐπαναβολήν.

1528. T. B. Mitford restores⁵¹⁰ ὑπέρ[μαχο]ν in place of ὑπέρ[τατο]ν in l. 6 of this inscription honouring Crocus, στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ of Ptolemy Energetes II in Cyprus.

2220 ff. Ernest Will's study⁵¹¹ of the Syrian temple at Delos takes account of the dedications found there.

2532. F. M. Heichelheim calls attention⁵¹² to 'the interesting story of an ancient Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement) ritual' here preserved.

⁴⁹² *Bull* 1952, 89-92, 94, 98, 100-3, 1954, 181-4.

⁴⁹³ *Miscelanea a memoria de F. A. Coelho*, II (Lisbon, 1950) 169 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 138.

⁴⁹⁴ *Bull* 1952, 106-17, 1953, 140.

⁴⁹⁵ *Gretcheskie graffiti*, Moscow, 1953; cf. *Bull* 1954, 10.

⁴⁹⁶ *Actes*, 251 ff.

⁴⁹⁷ *Délos*, XX (Paris, 1952); cf. *Bull* 1953, 142.

⁴⁹⁸ *RA* XLI 8 ff. ⁴⁹⁹ *BCH* LXXVI 278.

⁵⁰⁰ *Robinson Studies*, II 127 ff.

⁵⁰¹ *BCH* LXXVI 514 ff.; cf. *Actes*, 253, *Bull* 1954, 11.

⁵⁰² *BCH* LXXVI 562 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 192.

⁵⁰³ *Robinson Studies*, II 758 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 191.

⁵⁰⁴ *Bull* 1953, 143.

⁵⁰⁵ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 78 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 145.

⁵⁰⁶ *BCH* LXXVI 573 ff. ⁵⁰⁷ *Robinson Studies*, II 771 ff.

⁵⁰⁸ *Bull* 1953, 147; cf. C. Picard, *RA* XLI 93 f.

⁵⁰⁹ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 58 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 146.

⁵¹⁰ *Opusc. Athen.* I 157; cf. *Bull* 1954, 258.

⁵¹¹ *Ann. Arch. Syrie*, I 59 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 144.

⁵¹² *Jewish Standard*, 1.10.1953, p. 6.

For two metrical epitaphs of Rhenaea taken to Corfu see above, n. 395.

[IG XII.] G. Pugliese Carratelli read ⁵¹³ to the Epigraphical Congress a survey of the epigraphical situation regarding Rhodes, Cos and the other Eastern Sporades. He also writes ⁵¹⁴ on the status of the citizen body in Rhodes, challenging the views of Rostovtzeff (*Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, II 689 f.) and Hiller von Gaertringen (*RE* Suppl. V 766 f.), and elsewhere ⁵¹⁵ traces the development of the Rhodian state and its component elements. P. M. Fraser argues, ⁵¹⁶ against Pugliese Carratelli, that the Rhodian constitution dates from the first quarter of the fourth century and was not altered by Alexander. L. Morricone edits ⁵¹⁷ four fragments of a Rhodian stele bearing a list headed 'Ἀλίο ἱερεῖς τοῖδε, extending from 408/7 to 369/8 and from 333/2 to 299/8 (or 327/6 to 293/2), surveys similar lists from the Rhodian cities, publishes (pp. 371 f.) a dedication θεοῖς πᾶσι signed by a Sinopean sculptor, and holds that the names on Rhodian amphora-stamps are those of priests of Helios. M. Guarducci revises ⁵¹⁸ a metrical epitaph from Rhodes, now in the Naples Museum (*Rend Linc* VIII i 432 ff.), and dates it in the first half of the third century B.C. For Camirus we now have an admirable *corpus*, prepared by M. Segre and completed and edited by Pugliese Carratelli under the title *Tituli Camirenses*; ⁵¹⁹ dedications of hieropoioi, other officials and private persons preponderate, but there are also lists (nos. 1-8), decrees (nos. 102-12), among which 110 is of especial interest, *leges sacrae* (nos. 148-56), etc.; the *testimonia* (pp. 277 ff.) include 21 inscriptions found elsewhere but relating to Camirus, and full indexes are added (pp. 286 ff.), together with a list of the 101 texts here first published. I. D. Kontes describes ⁵²⁰ two archaic votives from Camirus—a bronze wheel dedicated by a χαλκοτύπος and a fragmentary stone statuette, probably Cycladic. P. M. Fraser makes a detailed study ⁵²¹ of the evidence for tribal cycles found in the list of eponymous priests of Athena Lindia (*Lindos*, II no. 1) and in that of the δαμιουργοί at Camirus (*Tit. Cam.* 3 ff.), and discusses (p. 38) the relation of the deme-cycle to the deme-order shown in other Lindian records (*Lindos*, II nos. 347, 349, 378); he also examines ⁵²² the dates of a Camiran decree (*IG* XII (1) 694 = *Tit. Cam.* 109) and one of Lindos (*IG* XII (1) 761 = *SIG* 340), which throw light on the Rhodian constitution, dating the former in the third century B.C. and the latter in the second half of the fourth. G. Klaffenbach's proposed reading ἐπ[ιο]υσίω for ἐν[ια]υσίω in *Lindos*, II no. 419 (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 75) is rejected ⁵²³ by A. Debrunner.

D. P. Mantzouranes traces back ⁵²⁴ some modern Lesbian place-names to the cadastral survey of which fragments survive (*IG* XII (2) 74-80); he also publishes a short epitaph ⁵²⁵ from Lakerda and an inscription ⁵²⁶ from Mytilene, in which M. Pompeius Ethicus dedicates Μητέρα Νεμέσεως, discussing ⁵²⁷ the life and work of the dedicant, a poet who lived in Mytilene and died in Nero's reign, and of the contemporary Mytilenean poet Lucillius. For three Lycian texts now in the Mytilene Museum see below (p. 148). Klaffenbach reads ⁵²⁸ ψυχή for the name Ψυχή on a Melian portrait-bust (*IG* XII Suppl. 701), and P. Amandry comments ⁵²⁹ on the Argive arbitration between Melos and Cimolus (*IG* XII (3) 1259 = *GHI* 179).

G. Pugliese Carratelli has completed and edited *Tituli Calymnii*, ⁵³⁰ an exemplary *corpus* of the inscriptions of CALYMNUS, prepared by M. Segre. It contains a biography and bibliography of Segre (pp. X ff.), a collection of *testimonia*, epigraphical and other, relating to the island (pp. 1 ff.), a brief account of the epigraphical researches carried out there (pp. 35 ff.) and 252 inscriptions, many of them previously unpublished, with commentary (fullest is that on no. 79, the record of a Cnidian arbitration), indexes and tables of concordance; decrees of Calymnus and other states number 85, manumissions 61, and sacred inscriptions 24. Of special value is G. Klaffenbach's masterly edition, ⁵³¹ based on R. Herzog's copies, of sixteen ἀσυλία-documents from Cos; three of the grants were made by kings, six by states of Greece and Macedonia, four by western states, and three by cities of Asia Minor, and three Cretan decrees will appear in *ICret* V; the editor, who elsewhere ⁵³² points out the interest of these texts, discusses their composition and dates and the Coan θεωροί, and adds a list of the known ἀσυλία-records of Cos. E. Will's study ⁵³³ of the recently discovered fragments of Alcaeus examines Coan evidence on the cult of Dionysus Σκυλλίτας and Θυλλοφόρος and the hypothesis of a Dionysiac system of medicine represented by Nebrus of Cos, and A. Wilhelm revises ⁵³⁴ the text of a Coan endowment (Maiuri, *Nuova silloge*, 443); G. A. L. Vreeken's dissertation ⁵³⁵ on the Coan regulation relating to the sacrifices due from tax-contractors I have not seen.

N. M. Kontoleon reports the discovery on Naxos ⁵³⁶ of a dedication to Demeter, Kore, Zeus Eubouleus and Baubo, and on Paros ⁵³⁷ of a base inscribed Ἀγδίστιος and three other inscriptions.

⁵¹³ *Actes*, 139 ff. ⁵¹⁴ *Studi V. Arangio-Ruiz*, IV 485 ff.

⁵¹⁵ *Studi classici e orientali*, I 77 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 194.

⁵¹⁶ *Par Pass* VIII 192 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 149.

⁵¹⁷ *Ann.* XXVII-IX 351 ff.; cf. *Studi classici e orientali*, I 82 f., *Bull* 1954, 195.

⁵¹⁸ *Ann.* XXVII-IX 141 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 197.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.* 347 ff. ⁵²⁰ *Eranos*, LI 23 ff.

⁵²¹ *Par Pass* VII 192 ff.

⁵²² *Mus. Helv.* IX 60 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 124.

⁵²³ *Byz. Ztr* XLIV 410 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 126.

⁵²⁴ *Πλάτων*, III 257 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 151.

⁵²⁵ *Πλάτων*, II (2) 3 ff.; cf. *JHS* LXXII 104.

⁵²⁶ *Γίρας*, 265 ff.

⁵²⁷ *Robinson Studies*, II 295 f.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 198.

⁵²⁸ *Hesp* XXI 218 n. 16.

⁵²⁹ *Ann.* XXII-III; cf. *Bull* 1953, 155, 1954, 201, *Gnomon*, XXV 453 ff.

⁵³⁰ *Abh. Berlin*, 1952, 1; cf. *Bull* 1953, 152, *Gnomon*, XXV 396 ff., *AJA* LVIII 173 f.

⁵³¹ *Wissenschaftliche Annalen*, I 197 ff.

⁵³² *RA* XXXIX 160 ff.

⁵³³ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 88 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 154.

⁵³⁴ *De lege quadam sacra Coorum* (Groningen, 1953); cf. *Bull* 1954, 200.

⁵³⁵ *PAE* 1950, 280; cf. *Bull* 1953, 156.

⁵³⁶ *PAE* 1950, 261 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 157.

S. Marinatos rejects⁵³⁸ the interpretation of ἐλάστερος, an epiklesis of Zeus at Paros, as ἐλαύνων τοὺς ἀστέρας, and suggests the meaning ὁ ἐλαύνων τοὺς κακούργους, i.e. τιμωρός, and Wilhelm proposes⁵³⁹ new restorations, one of them anticipated by L. Robert (*Le sanctuaire de Sinuri*, 67 f.), in ll. 19–21 of the record of an Eretrian arbitration⁵⁴⁰ between Paros and Naxos. K. Latte explains⁵⁴¹ an archaic inscription of Syros, τὸν ἡοπλοφόρον ἐρολίασθι (*IG XII Suppl.* 244), as referring to a dance in armour. Kontoleon publishes⁵⁴² three interesting Tenian documents, two of which contain lists of functionaries (πάρεδροι, παῖδες, θεοπρόπος, κήρυξ, μάντις, αὐλητής, ὑπηρέτης, οἰνοχόοι) who served under successive archons, while the third names the officials who ἤρξαν τὸ θυσιακὸν ἔτος. G. Tibiletti sees⁵⁴³ in the ἐπαρχος Q. Calpurnius honoured in a Tenian decree (*IG XII* (5) 841) a resident prefect, but J. and L. Robert demur to this view.

A tile stamped IEPON EPMY has come to light⁵⁴⁴ at Chios, and I. T. Kakrides emends⁵⁴⁵ a metrical epitaph of the same provenance (*Rev Phil* XXIII 15); I have not seen the local Chian journals in which A. P. Stephanou publishes⁵⁴⁶ a dedication to Hygieia, an epitaph, and a Hellenistic summary, not wholly correct, of *Iliad*, II 615–70, perhaps exhibited in the gymnasium. Klaffenbach edits⁵⁴⁷ an interesting dedication, made c. 580–70 by two Perinthians to Hera at Samos, of a golden Gorgon, a silver Siren and other objects bought for 212 Samian staters, including the cost of the stele; he also discusses (p. 16 n. 5) the date of the dedication of Acaces (*GHI* 7), and elsewhere⁵⁴⁸ corrects an honorary inscription of the third century A.D. from Samos (*Adelt IX* 102 no. 2). Wilhelm claims⁵⁴⁹ that in l. 1 of a decree of Minoa in Amorgos (*IG XII* (7) 226) ἐπιγέγονεν is an error for παραγέγονεν and collects many examples of similar mistakes. P. M. Fraser and A. H. McDonald revise and discuss⁵⁵⁰ the letter of Philip V (*Riv Fil* LXIX 179 ff.) addressed Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐν Ἡρασισταίᾳ τεῖ βουλευεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ in reply to an invitation to visit Lemnos and be initiated. K. Lehmann's reports on his excavations in Samothrace record⁵⁵¹ the discovery of a late Hellenistic votive naming Kadmilos (Hermes), a group of sherds bearing non-Greek, presumably Thracian, graffiti, part of a second-century stele inscribed ἀμύητον μὴ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, and a fourth-century architrave dedicated by [Ἀρ]ῖδατος to the 'great gods'. J. Pouilloux read to the Epigraphical Congress a survey⁵⁵² of the inscriptions found at THASOS and the plans for their publication. M. Lang studies⁵⁵³ a stoichedon inscription of 450–400 B.C. beginning τῶν ἀγγέων μέτρον followed by a series of numerals, which she takes as a specification, probably exhibited in the market-place, of the interior measurements of the vessels. Many other inscriptions have been unearthed⁵⁵⁴ in the course of the French excavations; numerous amphora-stamps are provisionally published,⁵⁵⁵ and all will eventually figure in the projected Franco-American corpus (above, p. 126). Two epigraphical questions raised in M. Launey's book on the Thasian Heracles-cult (cf. *JHS* LXVII 116) and by C. Picard⁵⁵⁶ in his review of that work are discussed⁵⁵⁷ afresh by J. and L. Robert.

J. Day studies⁵⁵⁸ mainly in the light of inscriptions and coins, the economic situation of EUBOEA in Hellenistic and Roman times, treating successively the island as a whole (pp. 209 ff.) and its four principal cities (pp. 220 ff.), and stresses the danger of using Dio Chrysostom's *Euboean Oration* as evidence for its condition (p. 235). At Eretria an epitaph has been found,⁵⁵⁹ and J. Boardman discusses⁵⁶⁰ two inscribed Eretrian vases—an archaic amphora, and an oinochoe, now in Bonn. Wilhelm examines and emends⁵⁶¹ ll. 54 ff. of the διάγραμμα regulating the institution of the Διονύσια καὶ Δημητρία in the Euboean cities (*IG XII* (9) 207 and p. 176, Suppl. p. 178), and attention is called⁵⁶² to an Eretrian grave-epigram (*ibid.* 285, Suppl. p. 186). Among inscriptions found at Tamynae (Aliveri) are⁵⁶³ two fragments of Diocletian's Edict (above, p. 124), and from Chalcis come⁵⁶⁴ a manumission, a dedication to Apollo Delphinios and two epitaphs, while J. H. Oliver cites⁵⁶⁵ a Chalcidian document (*IG XII* (9) 906 = *SIG* 898) as an example of the ratification by the δῆμος of honours granted by the συνέδριον.

[*IG XIII.*] M. Guarducci surveys⁵⁶⁶ recent epigraphical discoveries made in CRETE and summarizes the publication already achieved and the plans for its completion. R. F. Willetts, commenting on Aeschylus, *Choephoroi*, 66 f., examines⁵⁶⁷ the function of the τίται mentioned in Cretan texts. F. Matz's *Forschungen auf Kreta* contains a chapter⁵⁶⁸ by E. Kirsten dealing with the foundation of the

⁵³⁸ *AE* 1950–1, 182 f.

⁵³⁹ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 44 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 159.

⁵⁴⁰ *IG XII* (5) 128 and p. 308, XI 1065, XII (9) p. 157, Suppl. p. 105.

⁵⁴¹ *Glotta*, XXXII 39 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 160.

⁵⁴² *Γίρας*, 224 ff., 683; cf. *BCH* LXXVI 235. For Tenos see also *PAE* 1950, 267 f., *Bull* 1953, 161, *CRAI* 1951, 224.

⁵⁴³ *Rend. Ist. Lombardo*, LXXXVI 76; cf. *Bull* 1954, 202.

⁵⁴⁴ *BCH* LXXVII 232, *JHS* LXXIII 124.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ἑλληνικά*, XII 145.

⁵⁴⁶ Cf. *Bull* 1954, 203 f.

⁵⁴⁷ *Mitt. DAI* VI 15 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 205, *JHS* LXXIII 125.

⁵⁴⁸ *Robinson Studies*, II 293 f.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 206.

⁵⁴⁹ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 59 f.

⁵⁵⁰ *JRS* XLII 81 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 162.

⁵⁵¹ *Hesp* XXI 42, XXII 6 ff., 14, 18 ff.; cf. *BCH* LXXVI 230, LXXVII 229, *JHS* LXXII 104, LXXIII 124, *Archaeology*, VII 94, *Μακεδονικά*, II 670.

⁵⁵² *Actes*, 254 ff.

⁵⁵³ *BCH* LXXVI 18 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 163.

⁵⁵⁴ *CRAI* 1951, 227, 1952, 347 f., *BCH* LXXVI 268, 272, LXXVII 279, *JHS* LXXII 103, LXXIII 123, *AJA* LVI 126, *Μακεδονικά*, II 659 f., 666 ff.

⁵⁵⁵ *BCH* LXXVI 274 ff., LXXVII 281 ff.; cf. *JHS* LXXIII 123.

⁵⁵⁶ *J. Sav* 1949, 117, 131 ff.

⁵⁵⁷ *Bull* 1952, 131.

⁵⁵⁸ *A. C. Johnson Studies*, 209 ff.

⁵⁵⁹ *BCH* LXXVII 218, *JHS* LXXIII 126.

⁵⁶⁰ *BSA* XLVII 43 f.

⁵⁶¹ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 79 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 164.

⁵⁶² *Greece and Rome*, XXI 42.

⁵⁶³ *BCH* LXXVI 223, LXXVII 218, *JHS* LXXII 106.

⁵⁶⁴ *BCH* LXXVII 217.

⁵⁶⁵ *Hesp* XX 352.

⁵⁶⁶ *Actes*, 52 ff., 58.

⁵⁶⁷ *Hermes*, LXXXI 384.

⁵⁶⁸ Pp. 118 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 133. For Axos see *JHS* LXXII 112.

Greek cities of W. Crete, in which he discusses epitaphs of Araden (*ICret* II iv 2) and Tarrha (*ibid.* xxix 7). The discovery of a signed mosaic and a fragmentary text in the local script is reported from Cnossus,⁵⁶⁹ and that of a votive base from Lyttus.⁵⁷⁰ Willetts devotes⁵⁷¹ a careful study to the historical value of the Gortynian laws, which he dates c. 450 and regards not as a complete code, but as a body of regulations amending prior written secular law; he summarizes their provisions (pp. 98 ff.), examines their language and style, relative chronology and procedure (pp. 103 ff.), and describes the social and political system which they indicate (pp. 108 ff.). Wilhelm proposes⁵⁷² to solve the problem of the Κρανσοπίοι, named (as has been thought) in a decree of Gortyn and Phaestus (*ICret* IV 165), by reading κράν(α)ς όπίοι (= όποίοι); he also revises⁵⁷³ the treaty of Gortyn and her allies with King Demetrius in 236 B.C. (*ICret* IV 167), offers⁵⁷⁴ a new restoration of ll. 7-14 of a second-century treaty between Lato and Eleutherna (*ICret* I xvi 17) on the basis of a pact between Hierapytna and Praesus (*ICret* III iv 1), and restores⁵⁷⁵ ll. 33, 35 of the third-century oath of the Itanians (*ICret* III iv 8 = *SIG* 526). Some inscriptions have been found⁵⁷⁶ by the French excavators at Itanus, including a metrical dedication from the precinct of Leucothea (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 77).

VII. WESTERN EUROPE

[*IG* XIV.] M. Guarducci reports⁵⁷⁷ on recent progress in the discovery and publication of the abundant and interesting Greek inscriptions of Italy and Sicily, and on the tasks still outstanding. S. L. Agnello's *Silloge di iscrizioni paleocristiane della Sicilia*⁵⁷⁸ contains 106 early Christian inscriptions, half of which are from Syracuse; 85 are Greek (including 44 which are in *IG* XIV) and 21 Latin. Discussing the Syracusan alphabet, Guarducci rejects⁵⁷⁹ R. Carpenter's theory of a Delphian origin (*AJA* XLIX 455), maintaining that it is not Corinthian but Western, like that of Locri. In a full report⁵⁸⁰ on the recent excavation of the 'Apollonion-Artemision' at Syracuse G. Cultrera discusses the identity of the temple (pp. 702 ff.) and publishes vase-inscriptions, Rhodian amphora-stamps (pp. 795 ff.) and a fragmentary text on stone beginning [φ]υλάρχων (pp. 809 ff.). G. V. Gentili announces⁵⁸¹ the discovery at Syracuse of Rhodian amphora-handles, vase-inscriptions and a small altar, which J. and L. Robert associate⁵⁸² with the cult of the hero Pediacrates; his publication⁵⁸³ of an early Christian inscription from the catacomb of S. Giovanni I have not seen. G. Pugliese Carratelli studies⁵⁸⁴ three Christian magical documents—one, previously known, from Còmisso, now in Catania, an exorcism from a site N.W. of Ragusa, and an opisthographic text of the fifth century A.D. or later from Acrae, containing an appeal to the άγιοι άγγελοι (= άγγελοι). Guarducci examines⁵⁸⁵ a fragmentary fifth-century decree from Acrae (*SEG* IV 27) on a bronze plate, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and thinks that it may be the decree enrolling the wealthy Megarians as citizens of Syracuse or of Acrae. E. Peterson studies⁵⁸⁶ the word κάστυ, found twice (ll. 9, 25) in a Jewish amulet of Acrae (*IG* XIV 2413, 17) recently re-edited (cf. *JHS* LXXII 47), traces it to the translation of the Old Testament by Aquila and Theodotion, and interprets ll. 1-7 in the light of Ezekiel, IX; Vogliano publishes⁵⁸⁷ a letter from A. J. Festugière and a note by S. Eitrem (*Symb. Oslo* XXVII 145 f.) relating to the same inscription. A. Di Vita re-edits⁵⁸⁸ nine epitaphs of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. from Acrillae, and P. Mingazzini questions⁵⁸⁹ Pugliese Carratelli's view that the persons commemorated in an epigram from Còmisso (cf. *JHS* LXXII 47) were natives rather than Greeks, and thinks that its date may be as late as 461 B.C. Guarducci regards⁵⁹⁰ as genuine the archaic dedication to Antiphamus from Gela (*DGE* 303) and notes some epigraphical traces of Gela's relations with Megara Hyblaea and indirectly with the Megarian-Boeotian area. She also discusses two documents from Selinus—the archaic dedication⁵⁹¹ of Theyllus (*DGE* 167, 1), in which she reads πυράν ένπελάγον for εύχάν ένπέλα, and an early votive⁵⁹² to Hecate (*IG* XIV 270). G. Libertini edits⁵⁹³ a group of texts from Centuripae, including a fragment relating to contests in the gymnasium, several epitaphs and a short graffito on the foot of a skyphos.

We pass to ITALY. A. Degrassi reports⁵⁹⁴ on the published fascicules, and those in preparation, of the *Inscriptiones Italiae*, which include Greek as well as Latin texts. Part II (pp. 29 ff.) of F. Sartori's *Problemi di storia costituzionale italiana*⁵⁹⁵ examines the epigraphical and other sources for the constitutions of the Greek or Hellenized cities of Italy, especially of Neapolis (pp. 42 ff.), Croton (pp.

⁵⁶⁹ *BCH* LXXVI 238, *JHS* LXXII 108, LXXIII 126 f.

⁵⁷⁰ *BCH* LXXVI 242, *JHS* LXXII 110.

⁵⁷¹ *Univ. of Birmingham Hist. Journal*, III 95 ff.

⁵⁷² *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 26 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 167.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.* 36 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 168.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 20 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 169.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 24 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 171.

⁵⁷⁶ *CRAI* 1951, 188, 225. ⁵⁷⁷ *Actes*, 47 ff.

⁵⁷⁸ Rome, 1953. ⁵⁷⁹ *Ann.* XXVII-IX 103 ff.

⁵⁸⁰ *MA* XLI 701 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 281.

⁵⁸¹ *NS* 1951, 159, 286, 295, 327, 330 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 279.

⁵⁸² *Bull* 1953, 283.

⁵⁸³ **Sicul. Gymn.* IV 122 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 285.

⁵⁸⁴ *Rend. Linc.* VIII viii 181 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 19.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ann.* XXVII-IX 111 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 293.

⁵⁸⁶ *Aegyptus*, XXXIII 172 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 18.

⁵⁸⁷ *Prolegomena*, I 114 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 286.

⁵⁸⁸ *Epigraphica*, XII 93 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 200.

⁵⁸⁹ *AA* 1950-1, 261 f.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ann.* XXVII-IX 107 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 294.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.* 114 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 295.

⁵⁹² *Par. Pass* VIII 209 ff.

⁵⁹³ **Sicul. Gymn.* II 90 ff.; *NS* 1952, 338 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 279.

⁵⁹⁴ *Actes*, 94 ff.

⁵⁹⁵ Rome, 1953; cf. *Bull* 1954, 287, *Ant. Class.* XXIII 235 ff. *Gnomon*, XXVI 335 f., *Athenaeum*, XXXII 284 ff.

115 ff.), Rhegium (pp. 132 ff.) and Heraclea (pp. 96 ff.). G. Ricci draws up⁵⁹⁶ a list of artists of the first two centuries B.C. and the first century A.D. whose works are known in Italy, recording many Greek signatures, and G. Delling inquires⁵⁹⁷ into the conception of the after-life reflected in Jewish epitaphs from Italy. A. E. Gordon's monograph⁵⁹⁸ on Q. Veranius, consul in A.D. 49 and legate of Britain in 58, deals primarily with his Latin epitaph, but includes a study of all relevant inscriptions, indexed on pp. 337 ff. G. Jacopi edits⁵⁹⁹ an early fifth-century dedication found near Croton, τὸ Διὸς τὸ Μελίχιο Φάλλος ἑξάπτο, sees in the dedicator the famous athlete Phayllus, examines (pp. 171 f.) the Crotoniate dedication at Delphi (*SIG* 30) and Phayllus' memorial at Athens (*IG* I² 655 = *GHI* 21), and discusses (pp. 173 ff.) the nature and cult of Zeus Meilichios. A. Vogliano comments⁶⁰⁰ on a gift-deed from Crimisa (Cirò), and E. Schönbauer devotes a long article⁶⁰¹ to the exposition and criticism of previous views, especially those of Savigny and von Premerstein, of the 'Tabulae Heracleenses' (*IG* XIV 645) and to a summary of his own conclusions (pp. 130 ff.). M. Guarducci publishes⁶⁰² an early sixth-century dedication to Hera, incised on a silver disk found at Posidonia (Paestum), affording the first evidence of the cult of Hera there, apparently as a warrior goddess, and C. Picard, writing⁶⁰³ on the cult and legend of Chiron in the western Mediterranean, examines a phryx-vase in the British Museum (*BMCat Vases* IV 74 ff. F 151) and (pp. 7 f., 22 ff.) the archaic Chiron-inscription from Paestum (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 77). Other recent finds are reported⁶⁰⁴ by A. W. Van Buren, and H. Riemann gives a list⁶⁰⁵ of inscriptions found there. Guarducci describes⁶⁰⁶ a tiny lead phial of the first century B.C. from Tarentum inscribed λύκιον Ἀκροστία; eight other phials are known, but all save one are of earthenware. Some Rhodian and Cnidian amphora-stamps from Pompeii are published⁶⁰⁷ by A. Maiuri. G. Klaffenbach shows⁶⁰⁸ that a dedication from Neapolis (*IG* XIV 724) attests the name Ἐμμαντός (cf. *IG* IX² (1) 137. 101). Inscriptions play a small part in F. de Martino's account⁶⁰⁹ of the institutions of Greco-Roman Neapolis, but in a collection⁶¹⁰ of the sources for the history of that city many Greek inscriptions, mostly taken from *IG* XIV 714 ff., figure, together with (p. 408) an unpublished dedication, probably Neapolitan, though found on the island of Ischia, commemorating the victory of a lady, Seia Spes, in the running race in the 39th Italis (A.D. 154). E. Will appeals⁶¹¹ to a disk from Cumae as evidence for nocturnal consultation of the oracle there, unaware of the new reading offered by M. Guarducci (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 77). A. de Franciscis publishes⁶¹² a fragment of a Christian monument from S. Maria Capua Vetere. P. Romanelli reported⁶¹³ to the Epigraphical Congress on the inscriptions of Ostia and Porto. F. Miltner studies⁶¹⁴ the portrait-herm from Ostia inscribed Θεμιστοκλῆς, maintaining its essential lifelikeness, and P. Mingazzini states a case⁶¹⁵ for recognizing Pindar rather than Hippocrates in another inscribed herm (*Rendic Pont Ac* XXI 123 ff.), while A. Vogliano rejects⁶¹⁶ the Pythagorean interpretation given by Guarducci to three Ostian epigrams (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 78). H. Thylander's impressive *Inscriptions du Port d'Ostie*⁶¹⁷ edits, with full tables and indexes, the 759 inscriptions, mostly sepulchral, found there; all are Latin except A 158, which is Greek, and A 284, 293, B 304 (*IG* XIV 915), which are bilingual. H. J. Leon studies⁶¹⁸ a group of Jewish epitaphs (*CIJud* 535 ff.) at Porto, traces them to Rome, and argues that, though some Jews may have lived at Porto, we have no evidence of a settled Jewish community there.

He also publishes⁶¹⁹ an inscribed sarcophagus at the Villa Torlonia in Rome, commemorating the wife of the ruler (ἄρχων) of a synagogue, and discusses⁶²⁰ the symbolic representations found in the Jewish catacombs of Rome; E. R. Goodenough's article⁶²¹ on the *menorah* (seven-branched candlestick) among Jews in the Roman world is inaccessible to me. Guarducci edits⁶²² an epigram of the fourth century A.D. referring to the Temple of Bellona and the Circus Maximus and thus topographically valuable; she regards it as the epitaph of an inn-keeper (ξενονόκος), but J. and L. Robert suggest⁶²³ a charioteer as more probable. D. Detchev discusses⁶²⁴ the θεὸς Ζβελθοῦρδος and Ἰαμβαδούλη to whom a relief is dedicated on the Esquiline by a praetorian soldier (*IG* XIV 981 = *IGR* I 58), G. Q. Giglioli records⁶²⁵ a new epitaph of an Ἰλιεύς, L. Moretti publishes⁶²⁶ an interesting agonistic inscription of c. A.D. 60, found on the Via Latina, recording the successes of a distinguished wrestler, B. Lavagnini examines⁶²⁷ the epigram (*IG* XIV 1074) on the base of a statue of the poet Claudian, once in Trajan's Forum, but now in Naples, P. Boyancé⁶²⁸ a metrical epitaph in Rome (*ibid.* 2242), G. Quispel⁶²⁹ the Christian tomb-epigram of Flavia Sophe (*CIG* 9595a), which, he argues, reflects the views and practices of the Valentinian school, and H. Grégoire⁶³⁰ the epitaph

⁵⁹⁶ *Antichità*, II 80 ff.

⁵⁹⁷ *Theol. Litzig*, LXXVI 521 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 22.

⁵⁹⁸ *Univ. Calif. Publ. in Class. Arch.* II (5); cf. *Bull* 1953, 42, *AJP* LXXV 206 ff.

⁵⁹⁹ *NS* 1952, 167 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 291.

⁶⁰⁰ *Prolegomena*, I 97 ff.

⁶⁰¹ *Anz Wien*, 1952, 109 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 290.

⁶⁰² *Arch. Class.* IV 145 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 289.

⁶⁰³ *REA* LIII 5 ff.

⁶⁰⁴ *RE* XXII 1246 ff.

⁶⁰⁵ *NS* 1951, 257 f.

⁶⁰⁶ *Par Pass* VII 333 ff.

⁶⁰⁷ *Rev. Hist. Rel.* CXLIII 157 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 51.

⁶⁰⁸ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* XXVII 203 f.

⁶⁰⁹ *Actes*, 277 ff.

⁶¹⁰ *RendPontAc* XXV-VI 33 ff.

⁶¹¹ *Prolegomena*, I 120 f., 155 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 270.

⁶¹² *Lund*, 1951-2; cf. *Bull* 1954, 285, *Gnomon*, XXVI 102 ff., *CR* IV 157 ff.

⁶¹³ *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XLV 165 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 13.

⁶¹⁴ *Jew. Qu. Rev.* XLII 413 ff. ⁶¹⁵ *JAOS* LXIX 87 ff.

⁶¹⁶ *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXIII (2) 449 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 23.

⁶¹⁷ *Bull. Comm. Arch.* LXXIII 55 ff.

⁶¹⁸ *BIAB* XVIII 7 ff., 50 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 126.

⁶¹⁹ *Bull. Comm. Arch.* LXXIII 37.

⁶²⁰ *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, 174 ff.

⁶²¹ *Aegyptus*, XXXII 457 ff.

⁶²² *Mél. J. de Ghellinck*, I 201 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 192.

⁶²³ *Nouvelle Clio*, V iii f., 465.

⁶²⁴ *REA* LIV 287.

of Theonoe (*NS* 1923, 49). G. Klaffenbach corrects⁶³¹ the restoration of the prose epitaph of an Amasian (*Epigraphica*, IV 56), and two Lycian dedications, now in the Museo delle Terme, appear in Metzger's catalogue of votives at Antalya (below, n. 713). Boyancé pays⁶³² special attention to the relief and epigram of Eutychus from Albano in Latium (cf. *JHS* LXXII 47 f.), of which a new photograph is given⁶³³ elsewhere, and his interpretation is examined⁶³⁴ by J. and L. Robert. A. Rambaldi publishes⁶³⁵ a fragmentary epitaph from Spolegium (Spoleto), Guarducci studies⁶³⁶ a group of local vases from Caere inscribed with Attic names in Attic script, indicating a small Attic settlement there in the seventh or sixth century B.C., and the *Inscriptiones Italiae*, VII (1), edited by A. Neppi Modona, contains⁶³⁷ a sarcophagus-inscription from Pisae. R. Egger examines⁶³⁸ a sarcophagus of the third century A.D. from Ravenna, bearing a Greek inscription in Latin letters (Dessau, *ILS* 9442), a sarcophagus from Belluno (*IG* XIV 2381) with a Latin epitaph and a Greek phrase, and an inscription from Mutina; in all three he sees traces of the Isiac mystery-cult, and takes γρηγόρι as the watchword of the Isiaci. A. Frova studies⁶³⁹ an amphora-stamp found near Cremona, and P. L. Zovatto⁶⁴⁰ a group of fourth- and fifth-century Christian inscriptions at Concordia (*IG* XIV 2325 f., 2328, 2334). G. Posener considers,⁶⁴¹ mainly from the Egyptian standpoint, the 'miraculous rainfall' associated with the Egyptian wonder-worker Harnouphis commemorated at Aquileia (cf. *JHS* LXXII 48). A. W. Van Buren reports⁶⁴² a grave-relief found near Castelfranco Veneto, and P. Sticotti's *Inscriptiones Italiae*, X (4), includes⁶⁴³ several Greek inscriptions from Tergeste (Trieste) and its environs. B. Forlati Tamaro read to the Epigraphical Congress a paper⁶⁴⁴ on the Greek and Latin inscriptions in Venice and their provenance.

F. Benoit publishes⁶⁴⁵ two Greek *cippi* at Aix-en-Provence, which J. and L. Robert assign⁶⁴⁶ to the collection of Cardin Le Bret and ultimately to Sidon. H. Rolland reports⁶⁴⁷ the discovery of a Rhodian amphora-handle at Saint Blaise, and M. Guarducci adds⁶⁴⁸ a note to her recent article (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 78) on the invocation of Pectorius from Augustodunum (Autun). A. Garcia y Bellido's *Hispania Graeca*⁶⁴⁹ includes (II 42 ff.) an account of Greek inscriptions and brick-stamps found at Emporium (Ampurias) and (pp. 216 f.) of the famous inscribed ring from Tartessus (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 78); M. Almagro's **Las inscripciones ampuritanas*⁶⁵⁰ I have not seen. G. Ward regards⁶⁵¹ two inscribed silver spoons of sixth-century type from Sutton Hoo, Suffolk, as probably a baptismal present to a king. E. Bickel calls attention⁶⁵² to the votive inscriptions (*IG* XIV 2562) to Αἰῶνος found near Confluents (Koblenz) as an example of Greco-Celtic religious syncretism, and sees in the dedicator a Massaliote resident at Augusta Treverorum (Trèves).

VIII. ASIA MINOR

L. Robert reported⁶⁵³ to the Epigraphical Congress on the journeys made by his wife and himself in Asia Minor and on the way in which they propose to publish the results, epigraphical and other, of their travels and excavations, especially in Caria, Pisidia and Ionia. In another paper⁶⁵⁴ J. Keil gave an account of the inscriptions discovered at Ephesus and of the present position and future prospects of the *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, while C. Weickert dealt⁶⁵⁵ with the German excavations in Asia Minor and their epigraphical fruits. To D. Magie's article on the Egyptian cults in Asia Minor I refer above (n. 100), as also (n. 66) to H. Bengtson's study of the Ptolemaic strategia there. T. Zawadzki's work⁶⁵⁶ (Polish, with English summary) **Some problems connected with the social and agrarian structure of countries in Asia Minor in the period of early Hellenism* I know only by the comments of J. and L. Robert and of R. Mouterde.

G. E. Bean reports⁶⁵⁷ on visits paid in 1946-52 to Caunus (Dalyan) in CARIA, describes its site, traces its history and edits seventeen Greek inscriptions (two Carian texts were published by L. Robert in *Hellenica*, VIII 20 f., and a dossier relating to Caunian judges sent to Smyrna in *Hellenica*, VII 171 ff.); two (nos. 3, 4) are dedications of statues of members of Maussollus' family, and the rest include a list of magistrates (no. 5), a subscription list of a thiasos (no. 6), an honorary decree (no. 8), a mutilated *lex sacra* (no. 9), an honorary epigram (no. 10), the signatures of two sculptors, probably Rhodians (no. 11), two records of victories, one equestrian and the other poetic (nos. 12, 13), and a dedication to Sarapis (no. 15). Bean and J. M. Cook publish⁶⁵⁸ fifty-nine inscriptions copied in the Cnidian Peninsula, twenty-six in villages near the western isthmus, nineteen in the central plain, and fourteen from Tekir, at the western extremity; they include two texts in the archaic Cnidian script (nos. 1, 27), a fourth-century decree (no. 2), a fourth-century grant of privi-

⁶³¹ *Robinson Studies*, II 289 f.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 284.

⁶³² *REA* LIV 283 ff.

⁶³³ *Bull. Comm. Arch.* LXXIII, App. 62.

⁶³⁴ *Bull* 1954, 286.

⁶³⁵ *Bull. Comm. Arch.* LXXIII, App. 36 f.

⁶³⁶ *Arch. Class.* IV 241 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 283.

⁶³⁷ *Rome*, 1953, no. 92.

⁶³⁸ *Mitt. DAI* IV 35 ff.; cf. *Anz. Wien*, 1951, 1 f., *Bull* 1953, 267, 1954, 282.

⁶³⁹ *Epigraphica*, XIII 142 ff.

⁶⁴⁰ *Antichi monumenti cristiani di Italia Concordia Sagittaria* (Vatican, 1950) 22 ff.

⁶⁴¹ *Rev. Phil* XXV 162 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 266.

⁶⁴² *AJA* LVI 135.

⁶⁴³ *Rome*, 1951, nos. 2*, 336, 388 f., 394.

⁶⁴⁴ *Actes*, 291 ff. ⁶⁴⁵ *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant.* 1943-4, 109 ff.

⁶⁴⁶ *Bull* 1952, 187.

⁶⁴⁷ *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant.* 1943-4, 66 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 265.

⁶⁴⁸ *Actes*, 57. ⁶⁴⁹ *Barcelona*, 1948; cf. *AJA* LVII 31 ff.

⁶⁵⁰ *Barcelona*, 1952. ⁶⁵¹ *Antiquity*, 1952, 9 ff.

⁶⁵² *RhMus* XCIII 287 f.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 188.

⁶⁵³ *Actes*, 216 ff.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 202 ff.

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 210 ff.

⁶⁵⁶ *Poznan*, 1952; cf. *Bull* 1953, 27, *Mit. Beyr.* XXIX 343 f.

⁶⁵⁷ *JHS* LXXIII 10 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 229.

⁶⁵⁸ *BSA* XLVII 185 ff.

leges by Chalce (no. 3), a rent-charge payable for a τέμενος of Asclepius (no. 28), and the statue-inscription of P. Vinicius, consul in A.D. 2 and later proconsul of Asia (no. 47); inscriptions show (pp. 205 ff.) that Cnidus was transferred about the beginning of the Hellenistic age from Burgaz to Tekir. Cook reports⁶⁵⁹ the discovery of a dozen new inscriptions on the Halicarnassian Peninsula and of a fragment of an honorary decree on the N. shore of the Ceramic Gulf. Wilhelm restores⁶⁶⁰ a document from Mylasa (LeBas-Wadd. 387) recording a grant made by Philip Arrhidaeus to an individual and the recipient's dedication, revises⁶⁶¹ a decree of the Cretan κοινόν inscribed at Mylasa (*GDI* 5159), and interprets⁶⁶² a previously misunderstood sentence in a decree of Aphrodisias honouring a public benefactor (LeBas-Wadd. 1611. 21 ff.). F. W. Schehl examines,⁶⁶³ in the light of inscriptions, the functions of σύνεδροι and of ἐπιστάται at Miletus in the Hellenistic age, paying special attention (pp. 119 ff.) to *Milet*, I (3) 36a and 36aa, and E. H. Kantorowicz discusses⁶⁶⁴ the phrase σύνθρονος Δίκη (or Δίκης) in epigrams praising Roman governors, notably the Milesian hymn in honour of the proconsul Festus (*SEG* IV 467). P. Åström copied⁶⁶⁵ at Mersinet two epitaphs from the neighbourhood of Heraclea ad Latmum, W. Peek proposes⁶⁶⁶ new readings and restorations of the poems honouring the wrestler Athenopolis of Priene (*Io Priene*, no. 268), J. M. Cook announces⁶⁶⁷ the discovery of an early fourth-century epitaph at Anaea, and Wilhelm substitutes⁶⁶⁸ λοι[πογραφία]ς for λοι[πὸν λύσεω]ς in l. 79 of the record of the Mylasian arbitration between Priene and Magnesia on the Maeander (*Io Magn.* 93 = *SIG* 679). E. Martin examines⁶⁶⁹ the epitaph of Seikilos from Aidin, near Tralles (*Philol* LII 160 ff.), now lost, and its musical notation. L. Robert identifies⁶⁷⁰ the site of Euhippe, almost opposite to Nysa in the Maeander Valley, by means of a decree issued by a proconsul, otherwise unknown, in the early third century A.D. in response to complaints of the conduct of soldiers and officials. The study of the rich store of inscriptions found at Ephesus owes an incalculable debt to the ability and energy of J. Keil, who edits⁶⁷¹ the epigraphical sections of two further volumes of the final publication of the Austrian excavations, dealing with the Library and with St. John's Church respectively; for these I refer to the full analysis given by J. and L. Robert. Keil also throws fresh light on the educational system of the city in his edition⁶⁷² of four new texts, of which one (no. 1), a dedication of the five παιδονόμοι to [Hermes?], Herakles and King Eumenes II, registers the results of the competitions of παιδευταί and of παῖδες in various athletic events, grammar, drawing, and music, while another (no. 3) refers to the [παιδ]ι-ἀ ἐφηβική held on the occasion of Hadrian's visit in A.D. 123, when ὕμνησαν οἱ ἐφηβ[ο]ι ἐν τῷ θε[α]τρῷ ἀκούοντα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. Elsewhere he comments⁶⁷³ on the Ephesian ἐφηβία, emphasizing the similarity of youth organizations in the eastern and the western provinces of the Empire, and publishes⁶⁷⁴ a series of five bases from the Hellenistic-Roman Gymnasium bearing bilingual dedications (in no. 1 only the Greek text survives, in nos. 3, 5 only the Latin) of τὸ σύνπλεγμα τῶν ἀνδριάντων σὺν παντὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτὸ κόσμῳ, τὸ σύνπλεγμα τοῦ Ἀθάμαντος (*OGI* 481), etc.; each base supported two or more figures portraying pathetic scenes from Greek legend, and another base (p. 43 n. 2), dedicated soon after A.D. 85, was surmounted by a satyr. R. Muth discusses⁶⁷⁵ the derivation and significance of the title ἐσσην borne by the priest of Artemis at Ephesus. For the inscriptions relating to the τεχνίται at Teos see above (p. 125). Keil also publishes⁶⁷⁶ six inscriptions from Smyrna, copied in 1895 by R. Heberdey; two (nos. 1, 2), now at Leyden, are a metrical *lex sacra* of the second century A.D., showing the Orphic character of the mysteries celebrated in a sanctuary, probably that of Dionysus Breiseus, and a grave-epigram of the same century, while four are epitaphs of the second or third century, one of which commemorates a gladiator. A bronze bowl with a votive inscription has also been found⁶⁷⁷ at Smyrna. Keil further gives⁶⁷⁸ a new and greatly improved text of an interesting inscription (*IGR* IV 1381) of A.D. 250-270 from ruins S.E. of Kula in Maconia, recording the grant of market-rights to the δῆμος τῶν Τετραπυργιτῶν and setting forth the privileges and duties involved. W. H. Buckler translates⁶⁷⁹ and comments on an agreement concluded in A.D. 459 between the chief magistrates of Sardis and the local trade union of builders and artisans (*Sardis*, VII (1) 18), and T. Zawadzki dates⁶⁸⁰ in the last quarter of the second century B.C. the long and valuable dossier relating to Mnesimachus (*ibid.* 1). W. Hahland's study⁶⁸¹ of the Pergamene portrait of the Celtic princess Adobogiona involves a discussion of the three known bearers of that name (see the *stemma* on p. 157), of two inscribed bases (pp. 144 f.) from Pergamum, and of inscriptions from Didyma and Lesbos relating to the same family. The βασιλικὸς νόμος regarding the Pergamene ἀστυνόμοι (*OGI* 483) is assigned⁶⁸² by Oliver to Hadrian, but

⁶⁵⁹ *JHS* LXXII 106, LXXIII 125.

⁶⁶⁰ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 8 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 185.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.* 85 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 186.

⁶⁶² *Ibid.* 106 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 187.

⁶⁶³ *TAPA* LXXXII 111 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 180.

⁶⁶⁴ *AJA* LVII 63 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 33.

⁶⁶⁵ *Opusc. Athen.* I 206 f.

⁶⁶⁶ *Robinson Studies*, II 327 ff. ⁶⁶⁷ *JHS* LXXIII 125.

⁶⁶⁸ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 67 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 183.

⁶⁶⁹ *Op. cit.* (n. 60) 48 ff., 70 f.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 224.

⁶⁷⁰ *CRAI* 1952, 589 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 225.

⁶⁷¹ *Ephesos*, V (1) 61 ff., IV (3) 275 ff. (Vienna, 1944-51); cf. *Bull* 1953, 175-7.

⁶⁷² *Anz. Wien*, 1951, 331 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 178.

⁶⁷³ *Festschrift R. Egger*, II 261 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 219.

⁶⁷⁴ *ÖJh* XXXIX 42 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 179.

⁶⁷⁵ *Anz. Alt.* V 123 f.

⁶⁷⁶ *Anz. Wien*, 1953, 16 ff.

⁶⁷⁷ *JHS* LXXII 106.

⁶⁷⁸ *Robinson Studies*, II 363 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 223.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 980 f.

⁶⁸⁰ *Charisteria T. Sinko* (Warsaw, 1951) 395 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 143, *Mé. Beyr.* XXIX 343 f.

⁶⁸¹ *Festschrift R. Egger*, II 137 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 218.

⁶⁸² *AJP* LXXII 200.

J. and L. Robert regard ⁶⁸⁹ it as late Hellenistic and G. Klaffenbach ⁶⁸⁴ as passed by one of the Attalid kings, but re-engraved in the archaistic revival of the early second century A.D. At Troy a fragment of a bowl bearing an archaic graffito has been unearthed, ⁶⁸⁵ A. Wilhelm restores ⁶⁸⁶ ἀκολούθ]οις for τοῖς ἐκγόν]οις in an honorary decree of Ilium (*Troja u. Ilion*, 451 f.), and R. Van Compernelle supports ⁶⁸⁷ A. Brouwers' assignment of the Sigeum stele (*SIG* 2) to the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. (*REG* XLI 107 ff., XLII 5 f.) against Guarducci's dating in the second half of that century (*Ann.* n.s. III-V 135 ff.).

F. K. Dörner reports ⁶⁸⁸ fully on a journey in BITHYNIA taken in 1948 with a view to the preparation of the Bithynian volume of the *Tituli Asiae Minoris*; he deals, *inter alia*, with forty-four inscriptions (one in Latin) of Prusias ad Hypium (pp. 7 ff.) and ninety-six (two in Latin) of Bithynium-Claudiopolis (pp. 32 ff.), and adds an ample epigraphical index (pp. 71 ff.); nos. 4, 5, 10, 19 and 74 (a list of agonothetai and gymnasiarchs who celebrated an ἐγών in honour of Ζεὺς Κασουατρηνός) are of special interest. From Dorylaeum in PHRYGIA comes a stele with reliefs and an inscription of the second or third century A.D., edited ⁶⁸⁹ as an epitaph by D. A. Tsiribas. P. Boyancé examines ⁶⁹⁰ a metrical epitaph from Aezani (Kaibel, *Epigr.* 380), and T. R. S. Broughton points out ⁶⁹¹ that a bilingual text found there (*Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* IX 44 ff.) removes the evidence for the seizure of temple-lands in Asia Minor by the Hellenistic kings. A. Wilhelm proposes ⁶⁹² new restorations of two passages in a document of Acmonia (*IGR* IV 661. 1 ff., 25 ff.) recording the benefaction of T. Flavius Praxias, of which L. Robert promises a revised edition, and suspects ⁶⁹³ an error of the engraver or the editor in the words κατέδωκα, κατέδ[ω]κεν in two epitaphs of Hierapolis (Judeich, *Altert. v. Hierapolis*, 195, 342), denying that καταδίδωμι can mean 'give'. T. T. Duke examines ⁶⁹⁴ the numismatic and epigraphical evidence for the festivals celebrated at Laodicea ad Lycum, D. M. Robinson publishes ⁶⁹⁵ a magical text, perhaps Christian, on silver foil encased in a bronze tube, found in 1924 at 'Pisidian' Antioch, and R. Egger restores ⁶⁹⁶ ἐδίδαξε [νοεῖν τὰ] γράμματα πιστά in l. 6 of the Abercius-inscription at Hieropolis, comparing l. 19. For a portion of Diocletian's Edict discovered at Synnada see above (n. 84). P. Kretschmer uses ⁶⁹⁷ some epigraphical evidence, especially a votive from Iconium (Sterrett, *Epigr. Journ.* 155), in an article on the Leleges and the earliest population of the E. Mediterranean. F. Halkin discusses ⁶⁹⁸ two Christian inscriptions from Sebaste in Phrygia Pacatiana, one of which is treated, ⁶⁹⁹ along with a votive Ἡλίω Λερβηνηῶ καὶ Μητρὶ, by W. M. Calder and H. Grégoire in an article which I have not seen.

C. Bosch studies ⁷⁰⁰ the Celts at Ancyra, primarily on the basis of three name-lists, dating from the reigns of Tiberius, Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, and nine other inscriptions; he concludes (p. 291) that the leading Galatian families settled in the cities, especially Ancyra, from the time of Augustus and intermingled with, and so gradually assimilated, the Anatolian families, thus losing in the second century A.D. their race-consciousness. F. E. Adcock discusses ⁷⁰¹ a vital phrase in the *Res gestae*, 34. 3, which sums up Augustus' position as princeps. G. Klaffenbach substitutes ⁷⁰² ἡ αὐτός ἦ δι' ἄλλου τινός for διὰ μου τινός in an epitaph of Nazianzus in Cappadocia published ⁷⁰³ by G. Jacopi. U. B. Alkim's report on the fourth campaign of excavation at Karatépe contains ⁷⁰⁴ an inscription from Tasholuk, 5 km. S. of Göksun, which he regards as probably Cappadocian but W. M. Calder interprets as the epitaph on a grave erected c. A.D. 375 to a member of an ascetic fraternity by three fellow-members. Nine Greek inscriptions found in the third campaign are edited ⁷⁰⁵ by G. E. Bean, one (no. 1), which belongs strictly to Cilicia rather than Cappadocia, is on an altar dedicated Ὀρί ἐπηχῶ (= ἐπηκόω?) in fulfilment of a vow, and the others are a boundary-stone (no. 2), a spring-inscription (no. 3), five epitaphs (nos. 4-8), and a Christian prayer (no. 9).

L. Robert gives a preliminary account ⁷⁰⁶ of three inscriptions, of geographical or topographical interest, from Xanthus, Side ⁷⁰⁷ and Magarsus (Antioch on the Pyramus) respectively. C. Picard reports ⁷⁰⁸ the discovery at Xanthus of an Alexandrian vase inscribed θεῶν εὐεργετῶν Βερενίκης βασιλίσσης Ἀγαθῆς Τύχης. M. Segre seeks ⁷⁰⁹ to solve the problem of the NATI in l. 18 of the decree of Telmessus in honour of Ptolemy son of Lysimachus (*TAM* II 1 = *OGI* 55) by reading <κατὰ τὰ θυ>νατά. Wilhelm restores ⁷¹⁰ a phrase in an honorary inscription of Sidyma (*TAM* II 191 = *IGR* III 590), and L. Moretti's estimate ⁷¹¹ of the military strength of the Cibyratis and of Lycia in the first two centuries B.C. uses (p. 345) the evidence afforded by the Moagetes-inscription

⁶⁸² *Bull.* 1952, 137.

⁶⁸⁴ *Abh. Berlin*, 1953, 6, 19 ff.

⁶⁸⁵ C. W. Blegen, J. L. Caskey, M. Rawson, *Troy* III 1 (Princeton, 1953) 129 f.

⁶⁸⁶ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 56 ff.; cf. *Bull.* 1953, 173.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ant. Class.* XXII 61 ff. n. 8.

⁶⁸⁸ *Bericht über eine Reise in Bithynien* (Wien. Denkschr. LXXV 1), 1952; cf. *Bull.* 1953, 192 ff., 1954, 235, *Gnomon*, XXVI 99 ff., *AJP* LXXV 331 ff.

⁶⁸⁹ *Γραμ.*, 128 ff.

⁶⁹⁰ *REA* LIV 287.

⁶⁹¹ A. C. Johnson *Studies*, 236 ff.; cf. *Bull.* 1953, 191.

⁶⁹² *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 100 ff.; cf. *Bull.* 1953, 190.

⁶⁹³ *Ibid.* 104 f.; cf. *Bull.* 1953, 188.

⁶⁹⁴ Robinson *Studies*, II 851 ff.; cf. *Bull.* 1954, 231.

⁶⁹⁵ *Hesp.* XXII 172 ff.; cf. *Bull.* 1954, 17.

⁶⁹⁶ *Mitt. DAI* IV 44.

⁶⁹⁷ *Glotta*, XXXII 177 f.

⁶⁹⁸ *Anat. Boll.* LXXI 328 f.

⁶⁹⁹ *Bull. Acad. Belg.* 1952, 163 ff.; cf. *Bull.* 1954, 233.

⁷⁰⁰ *Jb. Kl. Forsch.* II 283 ff.

⁷⁰¹ *JRS* XLII 10 ff.

⁷⁰² Robinson *Studies*, II 294 f.

⁷⁰³ *Esplorazioni e studi in Paflagonia e Cappadocia*, 29 f.; cf. *Bull.* 1939, 448.

⁷⁰⁴ *Belleten*, XIV 654, 659, pl. CVII; cf. *Anat. Studies*, I 19 f., *Bull.* 1952, 153.

⁷⁰⁵ *Belleten*, XIV 535 ff., 558 ff.; cf. *Bull.* 1952, 154, 158.

⁷⁰⁶ *CRAI* 1951, 254 ff.; cf. *Bull.* 1953, 196, 201.

⁷⁰⁷ For Side cf. *Bull.* 1954, 237.

⁷⁰⁸ *CRAI* 1951, 345 f.

⁷⁰⁹ *Ann.* XXVII-IX 329 f.; cf. *Bull.* 1954, 230.

⁷¹⁰ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 102; cf. *Bull.* 1953, 197.

⁷¹¹ *Riv. Fil.* LXXIX 344 ff.

from Araxa (cf. *JHS* LXXII 52, LXXIV 80). G. E. Bean revises ⁷¹² a dedication to Men (J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica*, IX 39 ff.), of doubtful provenance but now in Adalia (Antalya), and H. Metzger's *Catalogue des monuments votifs du Musée d'Adalia* ⁷¹³ comprises thirty-two votives, of which fifteen are inscribed, arranged according to the deities to whom they are dedicated; two appendices deal with three Lycian monuments in the Mytilene Museum (*TAM* II 727, 730 from Megiste, and one unpublished) and six, of which only two are inscribed, at Rome (above, p. 145). Wilhelm's comment ⁷¹⁴ on a will from Lyrboton Kome in Pamphylia (*SEG* VI 673. 9) is, as J. and L. Robert point out, mistaken; he also suggests ⁷¹⁵ corrections in ll. 13, 15, 23 of the letter from a high priest of the Augusti to the city of Ariassus regarding a promised endowment (*IGR* III 422), referring for others to L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, 378 ff. Bean publishes ⁷¹⁶ twenty-seven epitaphs, mostly Hellenistic, from Aspendus (Balkiz), whose main interest lies in the names they record. D. Magie, discussing ⁷¹⁷ a reform in the levy of grain at Cibyra under Claudius, reads $\pi\rho\alpha\acute{\xi}\iota\nu$ for $\pi\rho\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ in *IGR* IV 914. 14. To Moretti's article on the armed forces of the Cibyratis I refer above. M. Gough's valuable account of Anazarbus in Cilicia contains ⁷¹⁸ thirty-nine inscriptions, three of which are Latin; most are epitaphs, several of them exactly dated, but there are also two milestones (nos. 16, 25), three dedications (nos. 3, 4a, 36), an inscription honouring Caracalla (no. 2), the record of an athlete who was victor in pentathlon and stadion, winning the men's stadion at Olympia thrice (no. 1). On no. 4a, a metrical dedication to Menas, F. Halkin comments ⁷¹⁹ at some length.

To the epigraphy of Cyprus T. B. Mitford is again the chief contributor. At the Epigraphical Congress he read a comprehensive survey ⁷²⁰ of Cypro-Minoan, syllabic and Greek inscriptions and outlined the scope and method of the projected corpus, while he also reviews Cypriot writing from Minoan to Byzantine times in *Archaeology*, V 151 ff. He publishes a long and valuable article ⁷²¹ on Seleucus and his son Theodorus, governors of Cyprus under Euergetes II, and their children, based mainly on epigraphical evidence, reconstructing (p. 170) their *stemma* and discussing the Ptolemaic administration of the island in the late second century B.C.; he gives improved texts of twenty-seven inscriptions, adds three previously unpublished (nos. 3, 9, 22), and revises four others (nn. 33, 52, 68, 133). Elsewhere ⁷²² he examines the character of Ptolemaic rule in Cyprus, challenging Ros-tovtzeff's account and emphasizing the vitality of the Greek cities; incidentally he publishes (p. 85 n. 4) a new inscription found near Carpasia, in which $[\sigma\iota\ \pi\alpha\nu]\sigma\iota\kappa\iota\sigma\iota\ \gamma\epsilon\omega[\rho\gamma\sigma\iota]$ honour a $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{o}\nu\alpha$ $\epsilon\pi'$ $\alpha\nu\delta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$. H. Bengtson's work on the Hellenistic strategia (above, n. 66) contains a section on Cyprus (pp. 138 ff.). In a belated *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus*, 1937-9, ⁷²³ he gives an account of the epigraphical accessions of the Cyprus Museum during that period. A revised edition of the *Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, by P. Dikaios, includes (pp. 182 ff.) the contents of Room IX, in which twenty-five inscriptions, Phoenician, syllabic, 'digraphic' (i.e. syllabic and Greek) and Greek, are exhibited (cf. *JEA* XL 139). A. H. S. Megaw's surveys of archaeological discoveries in Cyprus in 1951 and 1952 refer ⁷²⁴ to recent epigraphical finds at Pighades, Paphos, Vikles, Kafizin, Salamis and elsewhere. In a posthumous article ⁷²⁵ M. Segre studies (pp. 319 ff.) a fragmentary text from Marium-Arsinoe (LeBas-Wadd. 2783), now in Munich, which he regards ⁷²⁶ as a royal letter, probably sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus between 260 and 250 B.C., regulating a tax and throwing light on the fiscal system in the foreign provinces of the Lagid Empire. He also discusses (pp. 330 ff.) a dedication of unknown provenance, now in the Nicosia Museum (*Arch. Pap.* XIII 24 ff.), in which he sees a record of the Seleucid domination in Cyprus, dating it between 200 and 150 B.C. and identifying Ptolemy father of Eirene with Ptolemy Macron; but J. and L. Robert point out ⁷²⁷ the serious difficulties of this view. Segre deals ⁷²⁸ thirdly with the amnesty granted by Ptolemy Euergetes II on his accession in 145/4, of which an abstract is engraved on the same base (*Arch. Pap.* XIII 32 f.), proposing new restorations of ll. 10, 12 f., 17. The amnesty is followed by a letter of Ptolemy to his troops in Cyprus, in which W. Schubart modifies ⁷²⁹ Rehm's text (*Philol.* XCVII 267 ff.). K. Friis Johansen publishes ⁷³⁰ an inscribed amphora and ten sherds from Kafizin, acquired in 1924 by the Danish National Museum, and studies the problems presented by the votive inscriptions from that site, especially their date, their religious significance, and the meaning of $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ and $\upsilon\delta\rho\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$. O. Vessberg's work on Roman glass in Cyprus includes ⁷³¹ two beakers inscribed $\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\eta\nu\ \nu(\epsilon)\iota\kappa\eta\nu$ and $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\phi\rho\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon$. Klaffenbach restores ⁷³² $\acute{\alpha}\pi'$ $[\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\varsigma]$ in place of $\acute{\alpha}\pi'$ $[\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma]$ in an epigram of Palaeopaphos commemorating a doctor (*Mnem.* VI (1938) 107 f.), Mitford restores ⁷³³ a phrase in an honorary inscription of Paphos (LeBas-Wadd. 2795), and a fragmentary text of the same provenance (*JHS* IX 244 no. 71) is restored divergently by

⁷¹² *JHS* LXXII 118; cf. *Bull.* 1951, 217, 1952, 155, 1953, 198, *Gnomon*, XXIII 390.

⁷¹³ Paris, 1952; cf. *Bull.* 1953, 195.

⁷¹⁴ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 12; cf. *Bull.* 1953, 200.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.* 103 f.; cf. *Bull.* 1953, 199.

⁷¹⁶ *Jb. Kl. Forsch.* II 201 ff.; cf. *Bull.* 1953, 202.

⁷¹⁷ A. C. Johnson *Studies*, 152 ff.; cf. *Bull.* 1953, 189.

⁷¹⁸ *Anat. Studies*, II 127 ff.; cf. *Bull.* 1954, 238.

⁷¹⁹ *Byzantion*, XXIII 239 ff., *Anal. Boll.* LXXI 346 f., 498; cf. *Bull.* 1954, 238.

⁷²⁰ *Actes*, 166 ff.

⁷²¹ *Opusc. Athen.* I 130 ff.; cf. *Bull.* 1954, 258.

⁷²² *Aegyptus*, XXXIII 80 ff.; cf. *Bull.* 1954, 257, *JEA* XL 140.

⁷²³ Nicosia, 1951, pp. 203 f.; cf. p. 55.

⁷²⁴ *JHS* LXXII 113 ff., LXXIII 135 ff.; cf. *Bull.* 1953, 224.

⁷²⁵ *Ann.* XXVII-IX 319 ff.; cf. *JEA* XL 138 f.

⁷²⁶ Cf. *Bull.* 1954, 262, *Aegyptus*, XXXIII 88.

⁷²⁷ *Bull.* 1954, 259.

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.* 260.

⁷²⁹ *Aegyptus*, XXXI 149 f.; cf. *Bull.* 1954, 260.

⁷³⁰ *Danske Arkæol. Kunsthist. Medd.* IV 1 (Copenhagen, 1953); cf. *JEA* XL 139.

⁷³¹ *Opusc. Arch.* VII 120 f.

⁷³² *Robinson Studies*, II 294; cf. *Bull.* 1954, 263.

⁷³³ *Opusc. Athen.* I 154 n. 80.

him ⁷³⁴ and by Segre. ⁷³⁵ R. E. Carter and E. P. Hamp discuss dialect-forms found in the longest extant syllabic text, the Idalium land-donation (*DGE* 679), the former ⁷³⁶ δοφέναι and δοφάνοι (ll. 5, 6), the latter ⁷³⁷ υφαις ζαν (l. 10). For the Cypro-Minoan inscriptions of Enkomi see above, p. 127.

IX. SYRIA, PALESTINE AND THE EAST

F. K. Dörner reports ⁷³⁸ the discovery of a new sanctuary at Kâhta, halfway between Karakuç and Nemrud Dag in COMMAGENE, whose rock-cut inscription of over 250 lines, relating to the cult of Antiochus I, proves the site to be that of Arsamea on the Nymphaeus. P. M. Fraser revises ⁷³⁹ the text of another cult-regulation from Selik, about six miles N. of Samosata (Samsat), now in the British Museum (*IGL Syr* 51); he argues that, though it may possibly be the close of the text of which an earlier portion, said to come from Palas on the Euphrates, was found by Jacopi at Adiyaman, it cannot be part of *OGI* 404 (*IGL Syr* 52), which is also in the British Museum (*IBM* 1048a).

R. Mouterde submitted to the Epigraphical Congress a report ⁷⁴⁰ on the present position and future prospects of the *IGL Syr*. To H. Bengtson's account of the Ptolemaic strategia in SYRIA I refer above (n. 66). Ernest Will announces ⁷⁴¹ the discovery at Khaltan, about 12 miles from Afrin, of two inscriptions, one wholly, the other almost, illegible, in connexion with remarkable memorials of the cult of Zeus Dolichenos. G. Downey discusses ⁷⁴² the date of the Syrian liturgical treasure in the Cleveland Museum and challenges L. Bréhier's views ⁷⁴³ of its date and origin, denying that it must be earlier than A.D. 434 and that its provenance must be Rosafa-Sergiopolis; he also examines ⁷⁴⁴ the inscription on a sixth-century silver chalice from Syria in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, compares it with that on a sixth-century paten from Riha, near Aleppo, now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, and records the inscriptions on a silver cross in the Antioch hoard. G. Haddad's article ⁷⁴⁵ on 'The Population of Antioch in the Hellenistic-Roman Period' is condensed from the first two chapters of his *Aspects of Social Life in Antioch* (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 82). L. Robert gives a brief account ⁷⁴⁶ of an inscription valuable for Antiochene topography, and points out ⁷⁴⁷ that χαλκωμῆς in the Yakto mosaic is not, as Haddad and Mouterde thought, a Semitic or Greek personal name, but a professional term, 'bronzesmith'. G. Spano examines ⁷⁴⁸ other mosaic inscriptions in his article on the 'Nymphaeum of the Proscenium' in the Theatre at Antioch. E. L. Sukenik edits ⁷⁴⁹ the mosaic inscriptions found in the synagogue at Apamea in 1934 and 1937, C. Picard comments ⁷⁵⁰ on the Socrates-mosaic at Apamea (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 82), and R. Mouterde revises and completes ⁷⁵¹ the text of an inscription (*PAES* 126) honouring Caracalla on the occasion of his tour of provincial inspection in A.D. 214/5. An interesting, if enigmatic, metrical epitaph of A.D. 150-250 of uncertain provenance (various accounts point to Qalat Yahmour, E. of Marathus, to Gabala, and to Tortosa as its source) is edited ⁷⁵² by H. Seyrig, who also publishes ⁷⁵³ a dedication θεῷ μεγίστῳ κεραυνίῳ Βηχιχί from the temple of Baetocaece, studies the name and nature of the god, and examines the famous dossier (*OGI* 262 = *IGR* III 1020 = Welles, *Royal Corr.* 70), concluding that King Antiochus (l. 1) was Antiochus I, or possibly II, and that the πόλις which sent a decree to Augustus (l. 18) was Aradus, in whose territory the village and temple lay.

J. and L. Robert emphasize ⁷⁵⁴ the extreme rarity of Greek inscriptions in the N.W. portion of Palmyrene, explored and described by D. Schlumberger, and H. Seyrig maintains ⁷⁵⁵ that an inscription of Palmyra (*Syria*, XXII 256) proves that a Bruttius Praesens governed Syria at some time between A.D. 120 and 130, but Pflaum and G. Picard prefer ⁷⁵⁶ a later date, between 135 and 137. Part III of the *Preliminary Report of the Ninth Season of Work, 1935/6*, ⁷⁵⁷ at DURA-EUROPOS, edited by M. I. Rostovtzeff, A. R. Bellinger, F. E. Brown and C. B. Welles, deals with the Palace of the *Dux Ripae* and its Dolicheneum. ⁷⁵⁸ The inscriptions of the Palace are edited by Rostovtzeff and Welles (pp. 27 ff.), those of the Dolicheneum by J. F. Gilliam (pp. 107 ff.); the former number twenty-six (including five Latin and three Pehlavi), among which are μνησθῆ-*inscriptions* of two tragic solo singers (τραγωδοί), in one case associated with his ὑποκριτής (nos. 945, 948), and fragments of household accounts (nos. 958 f.), while the latter number nineteen (three of them Latin), including a dedication Διὶ μεγίστῳ καὶ θεῷ Δολιχέῳ by a *vexillatio* of *cohors II Ulpia Paphlagonum* (no. 971), and another by soldiers of *cohors II Ulpia equitata* (no. 972), a votive by a soldier Διὶ Ἠλίῳ Μίθρα ἁγίῳ ἐπηκόῳ (no. 974), other votives (nos. 973, 976, 978) and a Bacchic φῶδιον (no. 979) previously published (*AJP* LXIX 27 ff.). Welles also studies ⁷⁵⁹ the various elements in the population of

⁷³⁴ *Ibid.* 160; cf. *Bull* 1954, 259.

⁷³⁵ *Ann.* XXVII-IX 333.

⁷³⁶ *Cl Phil* XLVIII 23 f. ⁷³⁷ *Ibid.* 240 ff.

⁷³⁸ *Bibl. Orient.* IX 93 ff.; cf. *BSA* XLVII 96 ff., *Die Rundschau*, LIII 143 ff.

⁷³⁹ *BSA* XLVII 96 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 242. ⁷⁴⁰ *Actes*, 176 f.

⁷⁴¹ *Syria*, XXIX 66 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 203.

⁷⁴² *Art Bulletin*, XXXV 143 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 241.

⁷⁴³ *Syria*, XXVIII 256 ff. ⁷⁴⁴ *AJA* LV 349 ff.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ann. Arch. Syrie*, I 19 ff.

⁷⁴⁶ *CRAI* 1951, 255 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 204.

⁷⁴⁷ *Bull* 1951, 227, 1952, 159.

⁷⁴⁸ *RendLinc* VIII vii 152 f., 155.

⁷⁴⁹ **Hebrew Union Coll. Ann.* XXIII (2) 541 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 245.

⁷⁵⁰ *RA* XLI 100 ff.

⁷⁵¹ *CRAI* 1952, 355 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 244.

⁷⁵² *Syria*, XXVIII 220 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 211, 1954, 246.

⁷⁵³ *Syria*, XXVIII 191 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 212.

⁷⁵⁴ *Bull* 1953, 209.

⁷⁵⁵ *Syria*, XXVII 380 f.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 163.

⁷⁵⁶ *Karthago*, II 91 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 163.

⁷⁵⁷ *Yale*, 1952; cf. *Bull* 1953, 205 f., *Rec Bibl* LX 155 ff., *Gnomon*, XXV 132 ff.

⁷⁵⁸ Cf. *TAPA* LXXII 157 ff.

⁷⁵⁹ *A. C. Johnson Studies*, 251 ff.

Dura, especially in the ninety years of Roman occupation beginning in A.D. 165, when the city 'became an undistinguished part of the Roman Levantine world, sharing that uniformity toward which the Empire led' (p. 274). P. V. C. Baur publishes ⁷⁶⁰ the lamps found at Dura, some of which have impressed or incised letters and two (nos. 89, 261) bear names, and examines ⁷⁶¹ the cock and scorpion which figure on the Orthonobazus-relief. J. and L. Robert suggest the reading $\mu\eta\sigma\theta\eta$ for $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\sigma\theta\eta$ in a graffito of Zenobia published ⁷⁶² by J. Lauffray, F. Halkin comments ⁷⁶³ on an inscription of A.D. 457/8 from Ser'in, near Heliopolis (*Mél. Beyr.* XXIX 64 ff.), A. Maricq reads ⁷⁶⁴ $\rho\alpha\mu\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (second aorist imperative of $\rho\alpha\mu\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$) in ll. 19-21 of a *defixio* from Beyrouth (*SEG VII* 213), and H. Seyrig publishes ⁷⁶⁵ a bronze ship, later used as a lamp, found at Beth-Maré (Aithenit), some 15 miles from Chalcis, and now housed in the Beyrouth Museum, bearing a dedication, probably of A.D. 121/2, $\theta\epsilon\omega\acute{\iota}$ $\Delta\iota$ $\beta\alpha\iota\theta\mu\alpha\rho\eta$. In a long and amply illustrated report entitled 'Antiquités de l'Hermon et de la Beqâ' R. Mousterde presents ⁷⁶⁶ the fruits of his travels in the region of Hermon and the upland valley between Lebanon and Antilebanon, from Hasbaya, W. of Hermon, to Nêbi Sît, S.E. of Baalbek, and Souq Wâdi Barada toward Damascus; his report includes twenty inscriptions—four votive and two sepulchral from Hermon, dating from the first three centuries A.D., and fourteen (five Latin and nine Greek) from the temples of Antilebanon—of which the most interesting is an altar-dedication of A.D. 166/7 (pp. 78 ff.).

M. Schwabe re-edits and interprets ⁷⁶⁷ a late building-record (*CIG* 8945) from ed-Dumêr, N.E. of Damascus, and L. Wenger examines ⁷⁶⁸ the bilingual report (cf. *JHS* LXVII 125, LXXII 53) of a case tried before Caracalla at Antioch in A.D. 216, primarily with a view to discovering what light it throws on that Emperor's character. Ernest Will studies ⁷⁶⁹ three dedications from Sidon, now in the Clercq collection, Paris, dates them in A.D. 389, and argues that they prove the existence of a flourishing Mithraic cult in the East towards the close of the fourth century. H. Seyrig publishes ⁷⁷⁰ a bronze *testera* from Tyre with an inscription in Phoenician script on both sides; that on the reverse may, he thinks, be a transliteration of $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$ $\delta\sigma\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ referring to the $\delta\sigma\upsilon\lambda\iota\alpha$ granted to the city by Demetrius II in 141/0 B.C. A. Maricq explains ⁷⁷¹ the term $\epsilon\mu\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, found in various forms in two *defixiones* from Apheca (Fiq), E. of the Sea of Tiberias, and now in the Louvre, ⁷⁷² not as 'aemulus', but as $\epsilon\mu\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, 'long-haired', a technical title for a kind of pantomime. D. Sourdell studies ⁷⁷³ in detail the cults of the Hauran in the Roman period, for which inscriptions afford the main evidence, beginning with an account of the country and ending with chapters on religious feeling and cult organization (pp. 95 ff.), ruler- and Emperor-cult (pp. 113 ff.), and Judaism (pp. 117 ff.). Ernest Will publishes ⁷⁷⁴ a fragment of an honorary text from Qanaouat in the Hauran, R. de Vaux ⁷⁷⁵ a second-century dedication $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\tau\omega\upsilon\varsigma$ $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\omega\upsilon\varsigma$ $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omega\acute{\iota}$ $\text{'}\text{Α}\rho\alpha\beta\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}$ from Hamâmeh, E.N.E. of Gerasa, and L. Mowry ⁷⁷⁶ a carelessly scratched text from Jathum in N.E. Transjordan commemorating a citharode and a barber who $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\lambda\theta\alpha\upsilon$ $\omicron\iota$ $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\sigma\tau\tau\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omega\upsilon\varsigma$ $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\alpha\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\gamma\upsilon\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\pi\omega$ $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota\kappa\omega$ $\pi\acute{\omicron}$ $\lambda\iota\varsigma$ $\text{'}\text{Α}\beta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\upsilon$.

M. Schwabe and M. Avi-Yonah sent to the Epigraphical Congress a report ⁷⁷⁷ on the Greek and Latin inscriptions of PALESTINE and projects for their publication; a useful list of Schwabe's recent articles appears in *Biblica*.⁷⁷⁸ Avi-Yonah publishes ⁷⁷⁹ a broken plinth of the second or third century A.D. from Mount Carmel, bearing a foot dedicated $\Delta\iota$ $\text{'}\text{Η}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\eta$ $\text{'}\text{Κ}\alpha\rho\mu\acute{\eta}\lambda\omega$, showing that Ba'al of Carmel was identified with Hadad, the great god of the Syrians and Phoenicians, and R. Dussaud studies ⁷⁸⁰ this votive and the deity to whom it is offered. H. B. Rosén points out ⁷⁸¹ that in an inscription of Capernaum (*J. Pal. Or. Soc.* VI 160) $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ was originally written $\tau\omicron\gamma$. F. de Visscher re-examines ⁷⁸² the $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$ $\text{Κ}\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ usually associated with Nazareth (*SEG VIII* 13), of which he gives the text, a Latin version, a careful analysis and a new explanation, according to which the $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$ ends with l. 18, and ll. 19-22 are a private addition in which the deceased restates the essence of the edict and expressly invokes its application to his own tomb. Schwabe publishes ⁷⁸³ a late Jewish epitaph of a $\mu\eta$ $\chi\alpha\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ from Caesarea, two Jewish-Greek inscriptions ⁷⁸⁴ recently found there, indicating the existence of a Greek-speaking Jewish community, and a Christian epitaph ⁷⁸⁵ of a $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\mu\alpha\upsilon\delta\rho\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon$ from Beerot Yishak, while P. Benoit deals ⁷⁸⁶ with an inscribed sheet of gold found in a sarcophagus near Emmaus-Nicopolis (el-Athroun-Amwâs) and collects nine other inscribed *bratteae* from Palestine. The ossuary-inscriptions of Talpiot are discussed ⁷⁸⁷ by F. Poulsen, who regards 'Jesus woe' as a cry of distress with which our Lord's followers

⁷⁶⁰ *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report*, IV 3 (Yale, 1947).

⁷⁶¹ *Robinson Studies*, I 771 ff.

⁷⁶² *Ann. Arch. Syrie*, I 55; cf. *Bull* 1953, 208.

⁷⁶³ *Anal. Boll.* LXXI 333.

⁷⁶⁴ *Byzantion*, XXII 369; cf. *Bull* 1954, 21.

⁷⁶⁵ *Syria*, XXVIII 101 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 171.

⁷⁶⁶ *Mél. Beyr.* XXIX (2) 21 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 214.

⁷⁶⁷ *Proc. Am. Ac. Jew. Research*, XX 265 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 215.

⁷⁶⁸ *Mél. Grégoire*, III 469 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 216.

⁷⁶⁹ *Syria*, XXVII 261 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1952, 170.

⁷⁷⁰ *Syria*, XXVIII 225 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 213.

⁷⁷¹ *Byzantion*, XXII 360 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 20.

⁷⁷² Audolent, *Def. Tab.* 15, 16; cf. Robert, *Ét. ép. et phil.*

99 ff.

⁷⁷³ *Les cultes du Hauran à l'époque romaine*, Paris, 1952; cf.

Bull 1953, 217, *RA* XL 239 f. nos. 241-7, *Mél. Beyr.* XXIX 315 f., *JRS* XLIII 186 f., *Gnomon*, XXV 552 ff., *Syria*, XXX 151 ff., *OLZ* XLVIII 363 f.

⁷⁷⁴ *Syria*, XXVIII 356 f. ⁷⁷⁵ *Ann. Dep. Ant. Jordan*, I 23 f.

⁷⁷⁶ *BASOR* CXXXII 34 ff.

⁷⁷⁷ *Actes*, 178 f.

⁷⁷⁸ *Israel Expl. J.* II 118 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 220.

⁷⁷⁹ *Syria*, XXIX 385 f. ⁷⁸⁰ *Bull Israel Expl. Soc.* XVI 58 f.

⁷⁸¹ *Nouvelle Clé*, V 18 ff.; cf. *Rev. Int. Droits Ant.* II (1953)

285 ff., *CRAI* 1953, 83 ff., *Bull* 1954, 248.

⁷⁸² *Bull Israel Expl. Soc.* XVI 53 ff.

⁷⁸³ *Israel Expl. J.* III 127 ff., 233 ff.

⁷⁸⁴ *Bull. Jew. Pal. Expl. Soc.* XV 103 ff.

⁷⁸⁵ *Rev. Bibl* LIX 253 ff.

⁷⁸⁶ *Robinson Studies*, II 419 ff.; cf. *Jew. Qu. Rev.* XLV 73.

greeted one another immediately after the crucifixion, and 'Jesus aloth' as a reference to His resurrection; the difficulties of such a view are formidable, if not insuperable. E. Stauffer comments⁷⁸⁸ on the use of the cross in these inscriptions, and B. Bagatti describes⁷⁸⁹ the Orpheus mosaic at Jerusalem, on which are the names of two women. P. Benoit and M. E. Boismard give a full account⁷⁹⁰ of an ancient Christian grotto-sanctuary at Bethany (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 83), in which are (pp. 206 ff.) seventy-one graffiti (nos. 8, 53 are Latin, no. 70 is Syriac), mostly of the fifth or sixth century A.D., though some may be of the fourth; one (no. 21) refers to the raising of Lazarus, but the grotto cannot be regarded as Lazarus' tomb. D. Van Berchem's work⁷⁹¹ on the army from Diocletian's time emphasizes (p. 6) the paucity and unsatisfactory nature of the epigraphical materials (indexed on p. 121); he proposes (pp. 24 f., 33 ff.) a new explanation of the fragments of the Beer-sheba edict (cf. *JHS* XLI 66), which in his opinion regulates the amount of the *annona militaris* assigned to the general and his staff. H. G. Pflaum discusses⁷⁹² in the light of ten new inscriptions due to H. Seyrig, referring to the bounty of Valerian, Gallienus, Saloninus and Aurelian, the fortification of Adraha (Dera'a) in Arabia from A.D. 259 to 275, probably prompted by fear of Arab raids from the desert; all other relevant inscriptions are examined and several of them revised. An epitaph of A.D. 555, edited⁷⁹³ by M. Schwabe, proves the existence of a Christian community at Aila, on the Gulf of Aqabah.

C. Habicht studies⁷⁹⁴ a fragmentary text of c. 200 B.C. containing twelve metrical lines, found at Armavir (Armenia), N.W. of Artaxata, on the basis of J. and L. Robert's texts and comments; ⁷⁹⁵ he shows that ll. 7-9 are Euripidean and suggests that the others also may come from the same source and that the whole may have belonged to a school for the children of Greek settlers. The Armavir inscriptions are fully published⁷⁹⁶ in Russian by K. V. Trever.

I have not seen the important work⁷⁹⁷ of A. Maricq and E. Honigmann on the trilingual inscription of Shapur (Sapor I) from the 'Kaaba of Zoroaster' (cf. *JHS* LXV 98, LXVII 126, LXXII 54), usefully summarized by J. and L. Robert. W. B. Henning comments⁷⁹⁸ on some points, especially on the relation between the three versions, and shows⁷⁹⁹ that the Μησιχιση or Μησιχη of the Greek text (Mšyk of the Parthian) is the Massice of Pliny (*N.H.* V 21, 90) and the Βεσήχωνα πόλις of Isidorus Characenus (*GGM* I 249), where Shapur defeated the Romans under Gordian III, who fell in the battle. R. Ghirshman reports⁸⁰⁰ that the French excavations at Susa uncovered in the Fifth City, dating from the Parthian period, a mosaic pavement bearing an inscription which he reads as Σοῦσα, but in which J. and L. Robert prefer to see Μοῦσα. A. J. Festugière maintains⁸⁰¹ that the liturgical *vex* of the acrostic hymn to Apollo (*SEG* VII 14) is not Oriental, but a normal feature of Greek hymnody.

X. NORTH AFRICA

For the Greek inscriptions found in, or relating to, EGYPT and Nubia I refer to P. M. Fraser's Bibliography for 1952-3 (*JEA* XL 124 ff.). J. Machu, discussing⁸⁰² the relation of CYRENE to the sovran power in the Hellenistic age and especially (pp. 51 ff.) the policy of the Lagid kings, studies the διάγραμμα of Ptolemy I (*SEG* IX 1), the Cyrenean decree accompanied by a letter and rescript of Ptolemy and Cleopatra (*ibid.* 5), and the document by which Ptolemy VII Euergetes II left his realm to Rome in the event of his death without heirs (*ibid.* 7). H. Bengtson's account of the στρατηγία in the foreign possessions of the Ptolemies includes a section on the Cyrenaica (above, n. 66). A. Wilhelm restores⁸⁰³ τ[ὸ] οἶκω ἐκάστω, πλὴν δε] in l. 29 of the Theraean decree regulating the colonization of Cyrene (*ibid.* 3) and revises⁸⁰⁴ the reading and restoration of the end of the decree governing the use of the sacred vessels of Apollo, and of the heading of the appended list (*ibid.* 73), and comments on some items in the list itself. Inscriptions of Cyrene and Thera are used by F. Chamoux in his *Cyrene sous la monarchie des Battiades*; ⁸⁰⁵ he also examines⁸⁰⁶ the relief surmounting the epigram (*ibid.* 63) celebrating the close of the Marmaric War in A.D. 2. J. A. O. Larsen discusses⁸⁰⁷ Hadrian's letter to Cyrene (cf. *JHS* LXXIV 84) with special reference to the light thrown on the composition and organisation of the Panhellenion, of which the city or province of Cyrene was a member. G. Pesce publishes⁸⁰⁸ eight inscriptions, of which one is Latin and one bilingual, found in the temple of Zeus at Cyrene; most are votive, but no. 3 is a list of priestesses, no doubt of Hera, like *SEG* IX. 182. P. M. Fraser publishes⁸⁰⁹ a fourth-century proxeny-decree of Euesperides (Berenice, Bengazi) and discusses the name and history of that city and the date and

⁷⁸⁸ *Zts. neust. Wiss.* XLIII 262.

⁷⁸⁹ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* XXVIII 151.

⁷⁹⁰ *Rev. Bibl. LVIII* 200 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 249a.

⁷⁹¹ *L'armée de Dioclétien et la réforme constantinienne* (Beyrouth, 1952); cf. *Bull* 1953, 222a.

⁷⁹² *Syria*, XXIX 307 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 251.

⁷⁹³ *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XLVI 49 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 252.

⁷⁹⁴ *Hermes*, LXXXI 251 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1954, 255.

⁷⁹⁵ *Bull* 1950, 218, 1952, 176.

⁷⁹⁶ *Očerki po istorii kul'turi drevnei Armenii* (Moscow, 1953) 88, 120 ff., 174 ff., 237 ff.

⁷⁹⁷ *Mém. Acad. Belge*, XLVII 4; cf. *Bull* 1954, 254.

⁷⁹⁸ *Bull SOAS* XIV 509 ff.

⁷⁹⁹ *Bull SOAS* XV 392 f.; cf. *op. cit.* (n. 797) 111 ff.

⁸⁰⁰ *Rev. Assyriol.* XLVI 10; cf. *Bull* 1953, 223.

⁸⁰¹ *Symb. Oslo*, XXIX 78; cf. *Bull* 1954, 253.

⁸⁰² *Rev. Hist.* CCV 41 ff.

⁸⁰³ *Op. cit.* (n. 92) 5 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 252.

⁸⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 83 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 254.

⁸⁰⁵ Paris, 1953 (see Index, 411 f.); cf. *Bull* 1954, 278.

⁸⁰⁶ *Robinson Studies*, I 694 ff.

⁸⁰⁷ *Cl. Phil.* XLVII 7 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 255, *AJA* LVI 76 f.

⁸⁰⁸ *BSA Alex.* XXXIX 83 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 251, *Chron. d'Ég.* XXVIII 185 ff.

⁸⁰⁹ *BSA Alex.* XXXIX 132 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 256, *Chron. d'Ég.* XXVIII 186 f.

language of the decree. R. G. Goodchild's exploration of the Cyrenaica has borne epigraphical fruits; an article ⁸¹⁰ on Roman milestones contains a revision of those already known, including the bilinguals *SEG IX* 251-2, and adds a new Greek fragment (pp. 86 f.), while a survey of the Roman and Byzantine *limes* has brought to light ⁸¹¹ at Zauiet Msus, an important Roman outpost S.W. of Cyrene, the names and ranks of some members of the Greco-Roman garrison.

In *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* ⁸¹² J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins edit 988 texts, of which Lepcis Magna contributes 593 and Sabratha 229. The great majority are Latin, but there are also a trilingual (no. 481), two bilingual (nos. 654-5) and a number of Greek inscriptions, for the most part dedications, epitaphs, or masons' marks; on this work the authors reported ⁸¹³ to the Epigraphical Congress, and it receives a specially full notice ⁸¹⁴ from J. and L. Robert. L. Leschi's paper ⁸¹⁵ on 'Travaux et publications épigraphiques en Algérie' deals almost exclusively with Latin inscriptions. For C. Picard's examination of the third-century sculpture, rescued from the sea at Mahdia and now in the Bardo Museum, signed by Boethus of Chalcedon, see above (n. 119). F. Icard publishes ⁸¹⁶ two Greek fragments, an amphora-neck and twenty-four amphora-handles from Carthage, and H. Doisy ⁸¹⁷ a group of inscriptions from Caesarea (Cherchel), one of which is the epitaph, on a white marble urn, of a *στιχολόγος*. Two Greek grave-inscriptions of Syrians, discovered in 1951 at Volubilis in Mauretania, are discussed ⁸¹⁸ by É. Frézouls.

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⁸¹⁰ *BSR XVIII* 83 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 250.

⁸¹¹ *JRS XLIII* 76.

⁸¹² Rome-London, 1952; cf. *REA LV* 334 ff.

⁸¹³ *Actes*, 132 ff.

⁸¹⁴ *Bull* 1953, 257.

⁸¹⁵ *Actes*, 112 ff.

⁸¹⁶ *Bull. Arch.* 1943-5, 359, 458, 619 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 11.

⁸¹⁷ *Mél. Rome, LXIV* 107 f.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 261, *RA XL* 192 no. 100.

⁸¹⁸ *REG LXV* 363 ff., *CRAI* 1951, 350 ff.; cf. *Bull* 1953, 262, 1954, 279.

NOTES

Diodorus Siculus, iii. 12-14; v. 36-8.

For the historian of the ancient world there is nothing more necessary and nothing more difficult than the task of discriminating between fact and fiction, between accuracy and exaggeration, in his sources. The *Bibliotheca Historica* of Diodorus Siculus presents this problem in an acute form, and while certain passages, such as Iambulus's discovery of the Islands of the Sun,¹ are quite evidently dominated by an uncritical acceptance of romantic tales, other sections of this extensive miscellany are less easily categorised.² It is the purpose of this note to examine two short passages only, viz. iii. 12. 1-14. 5 and v. 36. 1-38. 4, which contain Diodorus's description of the mines in Egypt and Spain, in order to determine how far they may be accepted as a reliable record.

Diodorus's account may be divided conveniently according to subject matter into those statements concerned with mining and metallurgical technique and those referring to the treatment of the labourers. The first of these groups requires no extensive consideration, since, quite apart from other literary evidence, archaeological research over the past sixty years has provided full corroboration of all that Diodorus had to say on this score. His references to fire setting,³ to the Archimedean screw,⁴ to the crushing of the stone in pestles and in mills,⁵ to the washing and to the smelting of the ore,⁶ can be illustrated time and again by remains from Attica to Baetica.⁷ But the second group of statements are, because of their very nature, more difficult to check, and Diodorus has indeed been declared by some⁸ guilty of exaggeration in his report of the conditions under which the miners in Southern Egypt and in Spain had to toil.⁹

In his description Diodorus lists five details of the treatment of the miners. First, they are all bound in chains (πάντες πύσαις δεδεμένοι).¹⁰ Second, they work unceasingly at their tasks both by day and throughout the night, enjoying no respite (προσκαρτεροῦσι τοῖς ἔργοις συνεχῶς καὶ μετ' ἡμέραν καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτός, ἀνάπαισιν μὲν οὐδέμιν λαμβάνοντες).¹¹ Third, they are cut off from any means of escape (δρασμοῦ δὲ παντός φιλοτιμῶς ἐργαζόμενοι).¹² Fourth, they are forced by blows to persevere in their tasks until through ill-treatment they die in the midst of their sufferings (πάντες δὲ πληγαῖς ἀναγκάζονται προσκαρτερεῖν τοῖς ἔργοις, μέχρι ἂν κακοχούμενοι τελευτήσωσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις).¹³ Fifth, they have no garment to cover their shame (τῆς τὴν αἰδῶ περιστελλούσης ἱσθητός μὴ προσούσης).¹⁴

Archaeology can provide some support for the first and fourth of these items, since a skeleton has been found in a gallery at Kamareza with its foot still chained¹⁵ and since the number of human remains discovered indicates a very high death-rate.¹⁶ But an almost exact correspondence in all details can be recognised in the letters of an independent writer, viz. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage. In the year A.D. 257 Cyprian wrote a letter¹⁷ to nine bishops, with their fellow presbyters and deacons and the rest of the brethren who had been condemned to the mines of Sigus.¹⁸ He received in reply three letters:¹⁹ the first from four of the bishops whom he had addressed; the second from another of the bishops and 'all those brethren who are with me'; the third from three more of the bishops 'with the presbyters and all who are abiding with us at the mine of Sigus'. From these documents we may glean the following particulars of the treatment of these Christians, reduced to slavery, in the mines. First, they are bound in chains and have fetters on their feet (*imposuerunt compedes pedibus vestris, et membra felicia ad Dei templa infamibus vinculis ligaverunt*).²⁰ Second, they toil without intermission day and night (*sine intermissione die ac nocte*).²¹ Third, they are beaten with clubs and ill-used (*fustibus caesi prius graviter et afflicti*).²² Fourth, they are naked—'shivering you want clothing' (*vestis algentibus deest*).²³

While Cyprian and his correspondents say nothing of the impossibility of escape, although this may well be obvious in the circumstances, they do provide additional items of information. So we are told that the slaves are unbathed and are foul and disfigured with filth and dirt (*squalent sine balneis membra situ et sorde deformia*);²⁴ that their hair has been half

shorn (*semitonsis capitis capillaturam*),²⁵ and that the foul odour of the smoke (*tetrum odorem fumi*),²⁶ probably from the fire setting, stifles the nostrils.

Although Cyprian wrote many years after Diodorus, there can be no question of literary dependence. These letters were written and received at the very time when those to whom they refer were working in the mines, and they preserve information obtained through bitter personal experience. The fact that these details correspond almost exactly with those listed by Diodorus indicates that, whatever one may decide about other passages in the *Bibliotheca Historica*, those that are concerned with the mines in Hellenistic Egypt and Roman Spain may be accepted as an accurate record of fact.²⁷

J. G. DAVIES.

¹ ii. 55-60.

² For an example of the slighting of Diodorus's evidence see A. W. Gomme, 'The Slave Population of Athens', *JHS* LXVI (1946), pp. 127-9.

³ iii. 12. 4.

⁴ v. 37. 3.

⁵ iii. 13. 2.

⁶ iii. 14. 1.

⁷ See especially O. Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe*, 1935, pp. 16-62.

⁸ E.g. by E. Ardaillon, *Les Mines du Laurion dans l'Antiquité*, 1897, p. 94.

⁹ The distinction should be noted between the condemned criminals working in State mines, to whom Diodorus refers, and the slaves working in privately owned concessions; in the latter case, where the supply of labour was more costly and less easily obtained, care would be taken not to overwork the men.

¹⁰ iii. 12. 3.

¹¹ *ibid.*, cf. v. 38. 1.

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ iii. 13. 3; cf. iii. 12. 6; v. 38. 1.

¹⁴ iii. 13. 2.

¹⁵ *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Technik und der Industrie*, VIII, 1918, p. 155.

¹⁶ Davies, *op. cit.* p. 16.

¹⁷ *Ep.*, 76.

¹⁸ About twenty-five miles south-east of Cirta in Numidia.

¹⁹ *Ep.*, 77, 78, 79.

²⁰ *Ep.*, 76. 2; cf. 77. 3.

²¹ 76. 3. Cyprian is a little involved here. He is comforting his correspondents for their inability to celebrate the divine sacrifice, i.e. the eucharist, by saying that the true sacrifice is a broken spirit; it is this sacrifice, he states, that they celebrate without intermission. The implication is not that while asleep they continue to make their offering but that they have little or no respite from their labours.

²² 76. 2; cf. 77. 3.

²³ 76. 2.

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ 77. 3; cf. 76. 2.

²⁶ 77. 3.

²⁷ This correspondence in detail between the descriptions of Cyprian and Diodorus sheds some light upon another question which is raised by these passages in the *Bibliotheca*, viz. how far Diodorus was describing contemporary conditions in the mines. It is probable that he was drawing upon the account of Agatharchides of Cnidos, who, in his *Περὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης*, described the conditions of the late second century under the Ptolemies. The fact that Cyprian agrees with Diodorus, or with the latter's source, indicates that the conditions in the mines scarcely changed throughout the centuries, and therefore one may legitimately suppose that what obtained in the later second century B.C. was also the practice a hundred years later at the time of Diodorus, and indeed still persisted, unreformed, nearly three hundred years after that, during the life-time of Cyprian.

A Name for the Cerberus Painter?

The small group of white-ground votive plaques from the Athenian Acropolis which is listed below is distinguished both by the technique of the pieces which comprise it and by their decoration. For their size their thinness is unusual among the Acropolis plaques, some being as little as 0.4 cm. thick, and the thickest only 0.8 cm. Their surface is prepared with a thick and often glossy white ground, far heavier than that generally employed on plaques. All are bordered by two thin lines, no. 5 having a meander upper border also, and the inscriptions on nos. 3, 4, 5, 8 all have the same small, neat, and well-spaced letters. From their technique they may then

2. Acropolis 2584 and North Slope A-P 2360. Roebuck, *op. cit.* fig. 3, *ARV* 56, no. 15, 950. A striking Athena to the right and other fragments, including one figuring part of a warrior, so perhaps a gigantomachy (Vian, *Répertoire des Gigantomachies* 56, no. 213).

3. Acropolis 2585. Roebuck, *op. cit.* fig. 4, *ARV* 56, no. 1. An armed Athena to the right with her raised shield turned side on. The inscription reads retrograde ...]αδως, not ...]αδωι (δδωι) as Peek in Graef-Langlotz II 130. Possibly Πωδ]άδως then, but see below.

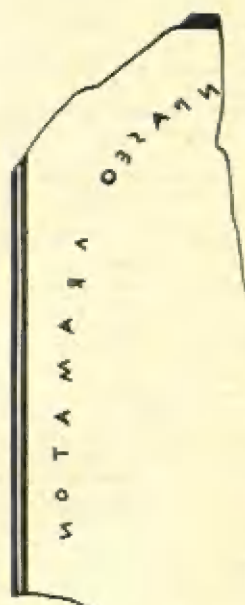
4. Acropolis 2587. Roebuck, *op. cit.* fig. 5, *ARV* 56, no. 2. An armed Athena to the left. Before her the inscription retrograde 'Αθ]εναία.



(a)



(c)



(b)

FIG. 1.

be assigned to a single workshop: for their decoration, several (nos. 1-5 below) have already been grouped together as the work of the Cerberus Painter by Roebuck (*AJA* XLIII 467 ff.), some of which Beazley assigns rather to the manner of that painter (nos. 3-5: *ARV* 56, nos. 1-3). There seems, however, to be little in the decoration of these plaques and of the fragments (nos. 6-8) which I have added below which is incompatible with their attribution to a single hand, and the technical considerations outlined above lend weight to the argument.

The group is as follows:

1. North Slope A-P 2073 a-c and 1774 d. Roebuck, *op. cit.*, fig. 2, *ARV* 56 no. 16, 950. A standing Athena to the right holding a palmette tendril on which is perched an owl. Before her stands the smaller figure of a female votary.

5. Acropolis 2591. Roebuck, *op. cit.* fig. 1, *ARV* 56 no. 3. Heracles and Iolaus in a chariot drawn by four horses beyond which stands Athena. Inscriptions $\eta\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, $\iota\omicron\lambda\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$, $\alpha\theta\eta\eta\alpha\iota\alpha$.

6. Acropolis 2588. Graef-Langlotz, pl. 109. A striding Athena to the right and the legs of a warrior who has fallen to his knees before her. No doubt a gigantomachy as no. 2 (Vian, *op. cit.* no. 214). For the drapery compare no. 4, for the execution of the spirals on the greaves compare the helmet on no. 2. The bare leg is outlined, unlike no. 4, but as faces on nos. 2, 5, and 3 and the arm on the last.

7. Acropolis 2589. Fig. 1 (c). 4.0 x 2.7 cm.; 0.5 cm. thick. Technically like the others of this group, but the armed Athena to the right is very small and her face not in the usual outline style, perhaps because of the scale. The only other

Acropolis plaque with a rightward Athena holding her shield side on in this way is no. 3 above.

8. Acropolis 2583. Fig. 1 (a), (b). Benndorf, *Griechische und Sizilische Vasenbilder*, pl. 5, 5, 8. The spear, shield rim, and drapery of an Athena to the left, with before her part of the head and arm of a garlanded votary holding branches, and the painted inscription τῷ Πασί γράματ' ὅν Πασί γράματ' (Graef-Langlotz I 252): if so, the first three words could only have appeared to the right of Athena, which is rather awkward, and, at any rate, as we shall see, the inscription may be complete without them. Peek's '... ν Πασί, alles übrige Willkür' (Graef-Langlotz, II 130) is unduly pessimistic. Of the very little preserved of the decoration the shield rim, drapery pattern, folds, and votary's garland find their closest parallels in the Cerberus Painter's other plaques, and for a similar isolated votary in this position the closest contemporary parallel is no. 1 above, though a similar group appears on the Lydos Panathenaic, Beazley, *Development*, pl. 18, and cf. *ibid.* 116 n. 16 (also Acropolis 2512 a, Graef-Langlotz, pl. 103, to which another fragment has been joined).

Paseas then should be our painter, a name on which I will not comment, except to point out that a Pasiades made and painted white-ground alabaster in this period (*ARV* 69 f.), and that the ... Ιασος (a most uncertain last letter) on no. 3 remains unexplained; but the philological objections to associating these three facts seem considerable. The method of signing here, 'one of the paintings of Paseas', is unique among painters' signatures, but admits an explanation which in its way reflects the character of the artist. Before such a striding Athena the vase-painter would be accustomed to see and write the traditional formula familiar from so many Panathenaic amphorae, τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἔδωκεν, 'one of the prizes from Athens'. Here, before a similar figure, in a similar position, and in what can only be a deliberate imitation of the Panathenaic formula, the Cerberus Painter, Paseas, chose to sign a plaque.

Athens.

JOHN BOARDMAN.

The Rhoymas Herm: A Postscript.

Soon after the publication (*JHS* LXXIII 138 ff.) by Mr. D. E. L. Haynes and myself of the portrait-herm of Rhoymas recently acquired by the British Museum I was informed by Mr. Michael R. E. Gough that he had found in his copy of LS⁸ some correspondence, dated 1910, relating to the herm. The dossier, which he kindly sent to me for examination, consists of three letters and two post-cards addressed by Arthur Sidgwick in March 1910 to the 'Rev. A. S. Lamfrey, Grammar School, Ashford, Kent', who had evidently written asking the meaning of the word ρουμασπίαιστος. Sidgwick's provisional rendering was 'struck with a stone', but he asked for a copy of the whole inscription, and on receiving it sent it to Professor Percy Gardner, who replied that 'the forms of the letters of the inscription seem to belong to the third or fourth century, not earlier. No doubt it is Christian, one would like to know where it comes from: probably Asia Minor or Thrace. I suppose Ρουμασ is a proper name: perhaps short for Romanus'. Sidgwick himself remarked 'The odd thing is that to my (untutored) eye the letters look old, while both the language and the ideas ("faith reached by prayer" and "dead, yet not dead") are manifestly Christian. Further, no ancient would use πίστις in plural for 'faiths', nor would he write at the end of a hexameter ἐτύγγατε γνώμης, i.e. use ἐ before γν'. The correspondence closes with a request for a photograph of the monument for submission to Gardner, and a promise (which was not fulfilled) that "ρουμασπίαιστος will certainly be in the new LS if ever that is done!!" It is a pity that the letters sent by Lamfrey to Sidgwick have not survived, but it is at least certain that he knew in 1910 the monument which has now found its permanent home in the British Museum.

MARCUS N. TOD.

An Inscription from Caunus.

Among the inscriptions from Caunus published by Mr. G. E. Bean in *JHS* LXXIV (1954), 85-110 there is one, no. 21, pp. 85-7 with fig. 36, which requires further comment. This 'first recorded response of Gryneian Apollo' consists of a prescript in prose, eleven lines very well preserved, and the first two hexameters of the oracle, the second with two not so short lacunae. The prose text says that under the priesthood of Eunomus, son of Leonidas, Menodorus, son of Sosikles, an Imbrian, was sent to the Gryneion and brought back an oracle. Good luck! The people of Caunus inquire which gods they should appease so that their crops may be good and profitable. The god announced:

τιμῶσιν Ἀητοῦς Φοῖβον
καὶ Ζῆνα πατρῶιον
ὅμμι κλέος δεσμοῖς Ἄ[- -]
vac. ἀραπίσκειτε [- - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - -]

In the interpretation of these two hexameters Mr. Bean has been unsuccessful. My first point is the right punctuation: full stop or semicolon after κλέος. The meaning, then, of the first sentence is 'glory is yours if you honour Apollo and Zeus', with ἔστι or, perhaps, ἔστω understood. Secondly, the word after δεσμοῖς cannot have been a verb, as Mr. Bean presumes, but most certainly an adjective qualifying the noun δεσμοῖς. I believe this was [συγίνοις], made of chaste tree (*citex agnus castus*), see Paus. 3. 16. 11, where he mentions λυγοδέσμα as an epithet of Artemis. The λῆγος, also called ἄγνος, was a symbol of chastity, and therefore suitable for a virgin goddess. The rest is plain sailing, for the end I suggest δαγῶμα and for the beginning of the third hexameter Ἀρτίμωδος. δεσμοῖς λυγίνοις ἀραπίσκειν means just the same as λῆγος δειν, to fetter with withes, only in a more ornate poetical style. Artemis comes in very well after the names of her father, mother, and brother. One is tempted to say that Apollo was a chivalrous brother.

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A New Oracle in an Inscription.

In *JHS* LXXIV (1954), 85-7, Mr. G. E. Bean publishes a mutilated inscription from Caunus (no. 21 of his collection) which contains the response of the Gryneian Apollo to an inquiry of the Caunians as to which god they must propitiate to obtain good harvests. Mr. Bean seems not to have noticed that the text of the oracle (which begins at l. 12) consists of two hexameters; if he had, I do not think he would have thought a new sentence must begin with ἀραπίσκειτε or worried about the sense of δεσμοῖς. I suggest that τιμῶσιν agrees with ὅμμι and that ἀραπίσκειτε is imperative. The word after δεσμοῖς will be an adjective agreeing with δεσμοῖς. I can think of no suitable one beginning with Ἄ, but Ἄ is very like Ἄ and ἄλῳτος will suit the sense; it is an epithet of δεσμοῖς at *Od.* 8. 275, *Aesch. P.V.* 155. At the end of the line I would supply an adjective agreeing with κλέος (e.g. ἀγῆρων) an adverbial phrase (e.g. ἐς αἰεί) or perhaps a vocative (e.g. λαοί).

So we get a text something like this:

τιμῶσιν Ἀητοῦς Φοῖβον καὶ Ζῆνα πατρῶιον
ὅμμι κλέος δεσμοῖς Ἄ[λῳτοις] ἀραπίσκειτε [ἐς αἰεί].

An elegant writer would have said τιμῶντες. But we are not to expect elegance from the Gryneian Apollo; look at his effort at Kaibel *ep. gr.* 1035. The metaphor of 'binding' is awkward and unusual; but one may compare the use of ἀραπε at *Pind. Nem.* 3. 64 τηλαυγὲς ἀραρεν φέγγος Αἰακάδην αὐτόθεν and *Eur. Med.* 414 θεῶν . . . οὐκ ἐπὶ πίστις ἀραρεν.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS

Varia Variorum. Festgabe für Karl Reinhardt, dargestellt von Freunden und Schülern zum 14. Februar 1951. Pp. 282. Münster/Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1952. DM. 22.80.

This volume is a worthy tribute to the wide-ranging interests of the recipient. Only half of the twenty contributions are connected with Greek studies, if one includes among these an article by C. M. Bowra which well describes the Sophoclean affinities of Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, though it will surprise students of the *Poetics* (see 1452 a 12-18) by the statement that 'Aristotle regards recognition as indispensable to tragedy'. There are two articles on Homer. B. Snell considers that by furthering the growth of human self-consciousness Homer gave an impulse to the historical sense, though his own attitude towards his partly historical material is not that of the historian. A notable contribution by W. Schadewaldt deals with some of the antecedents of the *Iliad*; using Pestalozzi's work, he finds in the *Memnonis* (i.e. so much of the *Aethiopis* as dealt with the conflict of Achilles and Memnon) a series of seven themes which in his view Homer took over, rehandled, and adapted; it is an enterprising attempt to gain a glimpse into Homer's workshop. W. F. Otto examines structural aspects of the *Theogony*; numerical considerations help to dispose of certain difficulties, particularly those found by modern scholars in the opening passage describing Hesiod's relations with the Muses. On early Greek philosophy there are reflections by H.-G. Gadamer on recent study of Parmenides; and W. Hölscher compares the different meanings of Logos in the fragments of Heraclitus. K. Riezler, on 'Das Nichts und das Andere; das Sein und das Seiende', educes from Parmenides and Plato some considerations which the Existentialists ought not to have overlooked. K.-H. Volkmann-Schluck has a rather novel approach to the doctrine of catharsis on Aristotle's *Poetics*, which he seeks to explain from the standpoint of Aristotle's metaphysics, metaphysical psychology, and ethics, making no use of *Politics* viii or the *Rhetoric*. His conclusions appear in rather abstract form, but seem compatible with the simple view, for which there is much to be said on other grounds, that tragedy tranquillises the emotions which it has itself aroused, and this 'working-off' of the emotions is catharsis. Among articles of post-classical interest there is one by E. H. Kantorowicz on 'Kaiser Friedrich II und das Königsbild des Hellenismus', which deals, among other matters, with the influence exercised by Hellenistic theories of kingship in medieval and later times. There is an especially interesting contribution by W. Jaeger, who writes a running commentary on the *De professione Christiana* of Gregory of Nyssa, illustrating how Gregory echoes, and transposes into Christian contexts, Greek philosophic language and doctrine; it is an illuminating investigation of what Jaeger rather sweepingly calls the process of Christianising Hellenism; there were only certain elements in Hellenism which lent themselves to this treatment.

J. TATE.

Archaeologia Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld. Ed. G. C. MILES. Pp. 280, with 36 plates. New York: J. J. Augustin, 1952. \$8.50.

Among the contributions to this fine volume, which is chiefly devoted to Iranian archaeology, there are four articles of special interest to Hellenists, in that they are concerned with relations between Greece and the East. In '“Graeco-Persian” Seal Stones', Dr. Gisela Richter stresses the difference between these seals and objects of purely Achaemenian art. The continuation of earlier styles, she says, by Persian sculptors of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. is evident also in their seal stones. During this period Greek engraved stones reflected the phases of naturalistic development apparent in Greek sculpture. Miss Richter believes that the 'Graeco-Persian' seals, which reflect the current styles of Greek art, were made by Ionian Greeks working for Persian masters. Though following their patrons' choice of subject, they could not prevent their artistic individuality from asserting itself.

H. Seyrig, in *Cachets achéménides*, discusses four decahedral seal stones in private ownership, one of which shows on its lower face a hoplite defending himself against a mounted Persian warrior. The second depicts a Persian hunting scene, and the sides of both are carved with insignificant beasts.

Seeing Greek influence here in both men and animals, the author inclines, nevertheless, to the opinion that the craftsmen were not Greek by birth, but members of the heterogeneous Persian empire who had been in contact with Greeks. He believes the secondary motives round the sides, and also the horses in the main scenes (in which the animals always face to the left), to have been imitated from Greek coinage, with no attempt to express a third dimension.

In an article entitled *Ptolemy's topography of India. His Sources*, J. Ph. Vogel makes a study of Ptolemy's chapter on Cisgangetic India, which reveals a topographical knowledge far more extensive than European maps of the seventeenth century. His names, however, are mostly unfamiliar, and do not include Benares or Indraprastha. They are often strings of stations along caravan routes, but are occasionally derived from literary tradition, the Greek names being reproduced not from Sanskrit but from Prakrit sources. There are also, of course, directly Greek names for islands known from voyages, or from Alexander's campaigns in the Punjab. The author concludes that Ptolemy's Greek sources were mostly contemporaneous. The mathematical equivalents of positions, and the courses of rivers are mainly conjectural.

K. Weitzmann, in *The Greek Sources of Islamic Scientific Illustrations*, examines the influence of Greek manuscripts on Islamic book-painting. The technical treatises of Heron of Alexandria had illustrations which were preserved in the eleventh century. These show the maximum of clarity. In Byzantine times human representations were added as a necessity where compressed air and water power moved the automatic figures. The Islamic illustrator gave the human beings the chief importance.

The successors of Dioskorides were exclusively concerned with the veracity of plant drawings, which were successfully copied through Byzantine times. The Arab artists enriched the Greek originals with ornament. The serpent illustrations of the pseudo-Galen *Theriaca* are in the direct line of ancient scientific illustration. The basic difference is not between Greek and Arabic manuscripts, but between classical and mediaeval.

G. R. LEVY.

Die griechischen Landschaften: eine Landeskunde. Band 1. Der Nordosten der griechischen Halbinsel.

By A. PHILIPPSON. Pp. 1087, with 10 maps. Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1950-52. DM. 88.

Philippson was a master of universal geography; but Greece was his special love, and it was to a full-scale geography of Old Greece that he devoted the last twenty years of his long life. The project that he set himself was a huge one, these three volumes in fact form only the first (though largest) of four 'Bänder' in which he proposed to cover the whole of Greece save for Crete, Macedonia, and Thrace; unhappily the hardships that he was exposed to during much of that time made it impossible for him to see his task through to completion. This first 'Band', however, had appeared before his death; the first part covers Thessaly and the Spercheios Valley, the second eastern Central Greece and Euboea, the third Attica with the Megarid. Each of the three parts is supplemented by a long chapter by E. Kirsten on the geographical history of the region under review. Kirsten's collaboration has also made it possible for the historical geography to be fully attested and supported by innumerable references, and thus greatly increased the value of Philippson's work in its bearing on Hellenic studies. The maps at the end of each volume are sufficient to illustrate the main trends, but for closer study they need supplementing with larger-scale surveys.

The substructure of Philippson's work throughout is the geology. His mastery of this subject, to which he himself in the past has contributed so much, can hardly be disputed. The strongest impression the Hellenist receives is the unexploredness of the country. Even at the present day the structure of Parnassus, the most accessible of the great mountains, seems to be known only from examination of its flanks and distant views of the heights; the coire between the peaks (characteristic of Tymphrestos also, where a path traverses it) is not yet known to geographers, though it enables shepherds to live in summer at pastures near the 8000-foot level; and one suspects

that the denser folds of the Pindos are shrouded in almost impenetrable darkness. Olympus is fortunately better known through the survey of the Swiss engineer Kurz. The geography of the country is articulated by comparative figures (given where they have most point, in the narrative and not in appendices) of population, products, climate, and the modern administrative divisions.

Philippson first came to Greece in 1887-88, and knew Athens as a city one tenth of its present size. It is partly this long vista over half a century of unprecedented development, coupled with his understanding of political geography, that makes many of his pronouncements so impressive—his just appreciation of the spatial and architectural growth of the city, avoidance of dust and smoke, of the effects of the change in Athenian life and the rise of a proletariat since the settlement of the refugees of 1922. His last visit was in 1934, and to a large extent his vista closes there; he did not know of the towering blocks of city flats, power schemes, with towns like Aliveri booming as in a gold rush, the flight from the mountain villages, and the bus routes that radiate from the capital; he was fortunate to be spared the knowledge that Socrates' Ilissus has gone to ground in a tube. But the value of his work is hardly impaired by this; and his chapters on Athens and its environs are not likely ever to be bettered. His insight into the history of the city reaches back into the past, into the problems, for instance, that faced King Otho and his advisers, and the enlightenment of the Turks in Athens. He stresses that Athens was a city of some consequence in Byzantine times and that it was the Venetian commercial stations that killed the trade of the Piraeus.

In Attica, where he relies most on autopsy, Philippson is especially at home. His description of the physical relief illuminates the landscape, and its man-made features come to life in their setting; we consequently miss all the more the things which Philippson did not see. Outside Attica Philippson's vision is often more distant; he has not seen the relics of Galaxidi's greatness before the coming of steam. But he tells us the secrets of the Euripus and how many days it should have taken the Greek fleet to work its way through (but why should they not ride the flood tide, since children shoot the rapids under the bridge in dinghies to-day?); he explains the prosperity of the Pelion, and why the olive trees died off at Skripou, describes the sights and sounds of the Thessalian plain and the flood in the western sleeve in 1893; and he does not spare those who cut the trees on the river-bank in Tempe or removed the village at Delphi to the edge of a crumbling slope. Observations such as these constantly enrich the geographical narrative and greatly enhance the value of the description for historians and archaeologists. Philippson rightly insists on giving alternative forms of place names where national sentiment and railway companies with an enthusiasm impatient of topography have given almost every other village a pseudonym for official and cartographical use, and he is most scrupulous in rendering the names in local use correctly and with accents. Occasionally he is at fault (probably through having to rely on the Greek staff maps); he rejects (but unwittingly reproduces) the popular form *Ay Iliä* (i.e. *Prophetes Ilias*), and is surely wrong in regarding *Kakiskala* as a landsman's term. Philippson was in sympathy with the Greek temperament as well as the landscape; his only serious barbarism is the characterisation of *Tyrnovo ouzo* and *Votrys cognac* as 'Schnaps'.

Kirsten's supplementary chapter in each volume is divided into two sections, the first on natural and political boundaries, and the second on how the settlements in different ages fitted into the land. His marshalling of the available testimonies commands the greatest respect. The archaeologist may here and there feel doubts of the validity of the methods, and the prehistoric city at Kolonos with the dancing Athenai is anathema to the conservative Acropolite, but Kirsten's picture of the pattern of occupation in Attica, on a basis of the latest German and American research, is generally convincing. In Central Greece the position is different; Kirsten perhaps makes too much of the unity of the central states, both geographically and politically, and he draws his distinctions too sharply. But, here and in Thessaly, essentially Kirsten seems to be right in his portrayal of the clustering neolithic tells, the Dorian (and Turkish) appropriation of the broad acres, and the development and decay of the Hellenistic foothill cities; it was worth remark that the *güflliks*, which we particularly associate with Thessaly, only appeared there in the time of Ali Pasha. Much of Kirsten's reconstruction of the migrations in the Dark Ages (especially the ancient one) in Central Greece is speculative, his sevenfold division of Boeotia seems to misfire, and his identification of all stone fortifications as Hellenistic is probably too sweeping—not to mention the Procrustean dating of the dragon houses; the prehistoric marsh in the West Thessalian sleeve and the later appropriation of grazing lands there by the

horse-breeders of Krannon are guesswork. Kirsten's work does not have the authoritative ring of Philippson's, and is not as easy to read; but in the correlation of Greek history and geography it marks a bold advance, and it is always well informed and stimulating.

The most serious fault of this work, in your reviewer's opinion, is the failure to recognise the complementary functions, in the life of Greece, of mountain and plain. This failure to relate the two is already foreshadowed in the boundaries that Philippson sets between east and west. The inclusion of the geological no man's land of the Vardousia, with the upper Mornos valley, in the eastern Steria is the more unfortunate if, as seems likely, Mt. Korax (the limit of the ancient horizon to the west) is to be identified with Giona instead of the Vardousia. It is, however, in West Thessaly, where the mountain background is deepest, that the effects are most serious. The mountains are left out of consideration in the historical as well as geographical view because Kirsten at least seems to understand the normal intercourse of mountain and plain as one of hostility, as in Turkish times and the years 1942-44 (when the inhabitants of the mountains were harrying the 'peace-loving' people of the plains); but these hostilities had a broader patriotic aim—the ultimate recovery of Greek sovereignty—and can hardly be regarded as the normal relationship. The exchange of produce with the plains is indispensable to the mountain economy; the Greek Government was right in attaching the Agrapha to the nome of Trikkala. To ignore the place of the Agrapha (that is, the lofty ranges that flank the long eastern tributaries of the Akhelos) in the historical geography of West Thessaly is to deny the historical significance of names like the 'Portai' of Trikkala (the entry to the Agrapha and the main southbound track) and Metropolis, the Hellenistic predecessor of Trikkala's new and successful rival, Karditsa, as the nearest market on the edge of the plain.

The *Landschaften* is Philippson's *magnum opus*. On Philippson's account, and on account of his own contributions also, it is to be hoped that Kirsten will be able to continue the editing of Philippson's drafts and bring this great project as near as possible to completion.

J. M. Cook.

Studies presented to David Moore Robinson on his seventieth birthday. Vol. II. Ed. by G. E. MYLONAS and D. RAYMOND. Pp. xx + 1336, with 98 plates. Saint Louis: Washington University, 1953. \$24.

This is the second, the larger, and apparently the concluding volume of the Robinson Festschrift. It contains 24 articles under the title of Vase Painting, 12 under Coins, 17 under Inscriptions, 8 under Linguistics, 28 under Literature, 31 under History and Life, 20 under Religion, Mythology, Philosophy, and 9 Miscellaneous. With the articles on pre-historic and oriental studies, architecture and topography, sculpture, and painting in the first volume a total of 240 contributions has been reached, apart from the many translations of modern Greek landscape poems interspersed between them. There could be no clearer indication of the range of David Robinson's friends and interests. He has perhaps not been sufficiently honoured by the more serious scholars in his own country; but the response to his appeal on this side of the Atlantic has been equal to the opportunity, and nowhere more so than in Germany and Italy.

The articles in Vol. II that come within the scope of a review in this journal are too numerous to be mentioned individually. Many of them are good, and some important; among the latter are articles on the composition of the Attic glaze, Sappho's ode to Kleis, the use of myth as political propaganda in early Athens, the territory of city and sanctuary at Delphi, the authenticity and survival of the Hyperborean offerings, the early history of the Achaean League, Alexander the Great's plans, the origin of the myth of Bellerophon and the Chimera, and the anthropological approach in classical archaeology. A good deal of archaeological material, not all second rate, is presented here for the first time; and much is written that could otherwise hardly have been brought to the notice of scholars. While few people will have the means to buy this bumper volume, many will have occasion to study it.

J. M. Cook.

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. LXI. Pp. 186, with 12 plates. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953. (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege.) 40s.

This volume contains four papers, of which the last is important.

G. M. A. Hanfmann (pp. 1-37) speculates on early Ionian history. A few small Mycenaean settlements, as at Miletus,

were soon destroyed or barbarised. The Ionian migration began not long before 850 B.C.—on the recent finds from Old Smyrna he is boldly sceptical—and till the middle of the seventh century the Ionians remained provincial. Then they, or some of them, rapidly advanced to cultural primacy. Though Hanfmann has collected a useful mass of evidence, much of it is ambiguous or inconclusive, and some of it, particularly his interpretation of art, seems dubious. But this paper was probably composed as a conference sally rather than as a reasoned study.

W. C. Greene (pp. 39–71) observes that some recent thinkers are offended by parts of Plato's political theory. With amiable suavity he explains the offences away: Plato need not be taken literally. This is a presidential address, and deserves attention as a good example of the genre.

C. Mitchell (pp. 73–84) considers some later reliefs in an Archaic manner. Genuinely Archaic reliefs are conceived as two-dimensional designs, but later sculptors—so long as they were interested in the human figure—saw their subjects in three dimensions and when archaizing could not consistently adjust them to two. Though aesthetic feeling is not easily put into words, there is a good point here.

J. B. McDiarmid (pp. 85–156) throws new darkness on the Presocratics. A few years ago H. F. Cherniss argued cogently that Aristotle distorted the tenets of the earlier philosophers to fit his own classification of philosophies, and that being so he is an unreliable source for the Presocratics. McDiarmid now examines the fragments of the *Physical Opinions* of Theophrastus and proves—what before had been only suspected and that not generally—that Theophrastus takes his comments on the Presocratics directly from Aristotle and is a still more unreliable source. Since many of our later authorities are indebted to Theophrastus, the number of untainted testimonies for the Presocratics is greatly reduced. McDiarmid's arguments are convincing and the consequences serious. He also makes some good positive observations on the Presocratics. This is an excellent piece of research.

R. M. COOK.

Problems in Greek Poetry. By C. M. BOWRA. Pp. 171. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953. 21s.

Sir Maurice Bowra here reprints ten papers which have appeared before: the first nine in periodicals and the tenth in *Greek Poetry and Life* (Oxford, 1936).

No. 1 puts Xenophanes fr. 1 in its context by showing its relation to other elegiac verses on the subject of proper behaviour at the symposium. B. concludes that in these lines 'Xenophanes used the normal language of sixth-century aristocrats to express views which, even if unusual, must have been intelligible and not absolutely repellent to them'. This conclusion is surely right, and might indeed be carried further. Are the views expressed really at all unusual? I cannot discover in the fragment the 'puritanical quality' which B. attributes to it. It is true that the poet says one must begin the party by singing the paean in a reverent manner; it is true that he does not wish to hear mythological narrations or *σποσιαστικά*. But he makes it clear that wine and food are there in abundance; and he says it is not *ὄρεος* to drink as much wine as a man who is not altogether old can carry home with an attendant.

No. 2 is a fully justified protest against W. Jaeger's view that the lines in which Xenophanes claims that his own title to honour is greater than that of athletes are an attack on aristocracy. One may, indeed, wonder if Xenophanes is so much concerned to attack the cult of athletes as to assert his own claim to a greater consideration than he in fact receives. The words *οὐκ ἴων ἄξιος ὥσπερ ἐγὼ* (l. 17) do not mean 'though he is not worthy, whereas I am', but 'though he is not as worthy as I am' (so Diels-Kranz); and the lines contain no censure of athletes beyond the assertion that they bring no profit to the city; contrast the passage from Euripides' *Antiochus* which Athenaeus associates with them. Tyrtaeus' disparagement of athletic in comparison with military prowess (fr. 9 D., 1–4) suggests that it may not have been uncommon for a poet who wished to praise a particular kind of excellence to compare it favourably with that of the athletes who enjoyed such extraordinary honours, even without wishing to deny their right to them.

No. 3 usefully illustrates the religious and poetical imagery of the opening of Parmenides' poem: the observation that Parmenides desired to stress the religious and ethical nature of his revelation, probably to justify himself in the eyes of 'his fellow-Pythagoreans', is an important one (cf. J. E. Raven, *Pythagoreans and Eleatics*, p. 23).

No. 4 is an ingenious attempt to supply the names of those five of the nine daughters of Asopus who are not mentioned

in the surviving portion of Corinna's poem about them. B. accounts for the naming in different sources of at least twenty-four daughters of Asopus by the existence of a 'Boeotian list' and a 'Peloponnesian list', and derives both from a common origin in Eumelus. Unfortunately these conjectures rest on flimsy evidence (see D. L. Page, *Corinna*, p. 27, n. 1).

In No. 5 B. supports by a new set of arguments the view of D. S. Robertson (*Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.*, 1924, p. 35) that Pindar's second Pythian was written in 468, on the occasion of Hieron's only Olympic chariot victory, and was not commissioned by him, but sent by the poet on his own initiative as an expostulation against the commissioning of a poem from Bacchylides. Robertson argued that the *Καστόρειον* of l. 69 was the First Olympian; B. is perhaps on safer ground in accepting the statement in the scholia (p. 52 Dr.) that it was the poem whose opening is preserved in fr. 105 Sn.—94 B. It is less easy to follow him in believing that the Ixion myth must be construed as a warning from Pindar to himself against the danger of ingratitude. Robertson suggested that the mention of the Locrian maiden at l. 18 alluded to Hieron's victory over Leophron, and that the myth which follows was aimed at Leophron, with a subsidiary reference to Bacchylides. A transitional passage (ll. 49–53) separates this myth from the lines in which Pindar eschews the example of Archilochus; and it is surprising that B. offers no attempt to refute Robertson's view, which seems to me more probable than his own. B. may well be right in thinking that when Pindar called Bacchylides a monkey he meant to accuse him of plagiarism; but perhaps he narrows the scope of the accusation unduly by seeking to restrict it to Bacch. 3, which seems to contain less imitation of Pindar than some other poems of Bacchylides.

No. 6 is a discussion of the epigram, probably written for the Athenians killed at Coronea, which was discovered in the Cerameicus and first published by W. Peek in *Ath. Mitt.* lvii, pp. 142 f. After offering improved supplements in ll. 1 and 4, B. seeks to identify the mysterious *ἡμίθεος* to whom the Athenian defeat is attributed. Peek thought this might be Trophonius; B. suggests Orion. He renders the words

πρόφρων [γὰρ ἡὸ πέφρα]δε δύσμαχον ἄγραν
ἐχθροῖς θηράσας [θάνατον ἢ] μετέρωι
σὺν καιρῷ ἐπέλεισσε

by: 'The oracle which he gave, with seeming good will, of a prey hard for foemen to hunt, that oracle he himself fulfilled to your ruin by his pursuit.' But if this text, or something like it, is right, it must surely mean: 'The oracle which he had given he readily accomplished to your undoing, by hunting for your enemies a prey hard to combat.' The epigram continues:

βροτοῖσι δὲ πᾶσι τὸ λοιπὸν
φράζεσθαι λογίων πιστὸν ἔθηκε τέλος

which B. renders: 'For all men for the future he made the fulfilment of oracles to be trusted and reckoned upon.' I should translate: 'To all men for the future he has given cause to take heed of the certain fulfilment of oracles.' B. attributes a peculiar significance to this epigram's addressing the dead in the second person, which is unusual at this date, and assigns it to the 'Peloponnesian type' of elegiac lament, whose existence was first conjectured by D. L. Page in his discussion of the elegiacs in Euripides' *Andromache* in *Greek Poetry and Life*. I share the doubts of P. Friedländer and H. B. Hoffleit (*Epigrammata*, p. 66, n. 5) regarding this type of elegy.

In No. 7 B. examines the passage of Plutarch's *De Profectibus in Virtute* 7 which reports Sophocles' account of his own development: 'ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς λέγει τὸν Ἀλκυῶν διὰ πεπαιχῶς ὄγκον, εἴτα τὸ πικρὸν καὶ κατὰ τεχνον τῆς αὐτοῦ κατασκευῆς, τρίτον ἦδη τὸ τῆς λέξεως μεταβάλλαν εἶδος, ὅτι ἐπὶ ἡλικιωτάτων καὶ βέλτιστων, οὕτως οἱ φιλοσοφούντες, ὅταν ἐκ τῶν παινηγυρικῶν καὶ κατὰ τεχνον εἰς τὸν ἀπτόμενον ἥθους καὶ πάθος λόγον μεταβῶσιν, ἀρχονται τὴν ἀληθῆ προκοπὴν καὶ δεινὸν προκοπῆν'. B.'s purpose is to show that the passage refers, not simply to diction, as has been generally assumed, but to more general aspects of the poet's art. This, I believe, is right; but I do not think B. has proved it. He mentions, but never faces up to, the initial problem, that of determining whether Plutarch is echoing actual words of Sophocles or has transposed them into the language of Hellenistic literary criticism. He is doubtless right in holding it more probable that the passage derives from Ion's *Epidemiae*; but he fails to point out that, even though any individual expression might have been used in the fifth century, the language of the passage as a whole strongly suggests that Plutarch has rephrased the original. B. shows convincingly that *δύσως* is not used only of diction, that *διεπρωγῶς* must mean 'having practised to the full' and that it must be supplied to govern the object of the second clause.

He mentions the use of κατασκευή to mean 'ornament', but believes that its meaning here is 'fabrication' or 'invention'; λέξις, like his predecessors, he takes to mean 'diction'. He translates: 'After practising to the full the bigness of Aeschylus, then the painful ingenuity of my own invention, now in the third stage I am changing to the kind of diction which is most expressive of character and best.' The second stage B. takes to be the 'ingenuity in providing painful effects' shown in plays like the *Ajax*; he does not explain why from the mention of this Sophocles suddenly turns to the topic of diction. But each of the two senses of κατασκευή which B. mentions is an extension of its general meaning of 'contrivance', 'elaboration'; this is well brought out by Rhys Roberts, *The Three Literary Letters of D.H.*, p. 194 (note especially the passage of D. H. *de Isaeo* there quoted). The sense must be 'what was displeasing and artificial in my own manner of elaborating my theme'.

This is confirmed by the second half of Plutarch's sentence, which B. ignores. Plutarch is comparing Sophocles' second stage to the panegyric style with its irritatingly conventional devices, his third to the truly pathetic utterance of the orator who speaks from the heart. If this is right, it is strange that in describing the third stage, Sophocles should refer only to diction. But in fact λέξις is commonly used of style in general; 'strictly λέξις refers to diction, but it is often used in the general sense of literary expression' (Rhys Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 195).

No. 8 is perhaps the most valuable part of the book: here B. compares the language of the epitaph on Dion ascribed to Plato with expressions used in other works of Plato, particularly of the Seventh Letter, and makes it highly probable that Plato was in fact its author. B. rightly takes βέβαντι καλῶν ἐπινίκων ἔργων to mean 'having made sacrifice after a victory consisting in noble deeds', and shows that the ἔπος of the last line is a chaste love in the most exalted Platonic sense. He is strangely puzzled by the opening couplet: 'The mention of Hecuba and the Trojan women does not seem very relevant to Dion'. The point is not the contrast between Hecuba and Dion, but the contrast in their fates. The ruin of the Trojan women was, as we know from Homer, ordained as a consequence of one of Zeus' plans; that of Dion was an accident caused by the spiteful intervention of ἡ ποῦ τις δαίμων ἡ τις ἀλγίστηρος ἐμπιστῶν (*Ep.* vii 336 b., quoted by B. on p. 132).

No. 9 seeks to classify Aristotle's poem to Arete in honour of Hermias, and concludes that it is modelled on the Paean, but has some characteristics of the ἑρπῆνος. This is not particularly helpful as the distinctions between the different lyric genres were in Aristotle's time already beginning to break down. Xenophon (*Hell.* iv, 7, 4) mentions a paean to Poseidon, and paeans to living men are attested as early as the time of Lysander (*Plut. Lys.* 18). More useful is B.'s warning against trying to read philosophical ideas into the poem.

No. 10 is B.'s useful discussion of the papyrus fragment of Erinna, reprinted with slight modifications from *Greek Poetry and Life*: the book went to press too early for B. to take account of the recent article by K. Latte (*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 1953, No. 3).

In a modest introduction B. admits that some of the content of this book is speculative, but argues that none the less, such inquiries as these are worth pursuing. This is true; but one may wonder why some essays of this kind need be reprinted when they are already available in the periodicals in which they originally appeared. Nos. 4 and 6 were less worth reprinting than B.'s two valuable articles on the affinities between the language of Homer and that of the Arcadian and Cyprian inscriptions (*CQ.*, 1926; *JHS.*, 1934), which have now acquired added interest owing to Mr. Ventris' decipherment of the Mycenaean script. But such reflections should not cause one to forget the usefulness of part of the content of this book.

HUGH LLOYD-JONES.

Menander. Ed. A. KOERTE. Vol. II. *Reliquiae apud veteres scriptores servatae.* Pp. xii + 394. Leipzig: Teubner, 1953. DM. 16.60.

Alfred Körte gave the second volume of his *Teubner Menander*, containing testimonia, fragments quoted in ancient authors, index of plays and words, to the printers in 1943. The type was destroyed by fire, but some sets of proofs survived, and have been edited since Körte's death by Professor A. Thierfelder. The present edition is therefore the final word on Menander by a great Menander scholar, edited and brought up to date with the most discriminating and self-effacing scholarship by his pupil, who has added addenda and corrigenda not only to this Part II but also to Part I, the papyrus fragments.

This volume supersedes Kock. Körte has quoted the Kock numbers in brackets, and Thierfelder has provided a concordance, giving Körte's reasons for dropping more than ninety Kock fragments, including all Kock's forty-eight doubtfuls except three. Of these survivors 493 (1109K) was saved

because a papyrus ascribes a slightly different version to Anaxandrides—Menander borrowed and changed it. 1125K now appears as a fragment of Aeschylus' *Niope* quoted by Menander in *Com. Flor.* 70; the late author who quoted this as Menander did not record that Menander himself was quoting. Some at least of the twenty-five Kock fragments which Körte abandoned because they were known as fragments of other authors were probably similarly quoted by Menander, and therefore illustrate Menander's use of earlier literature; they can, however, still be found in Thierfelder's concordance. The majority of the other abandoned Kock fragments belong either to the *monosticha* (or *disticha*) or to the *Comparatio Menandri et Philistionis*; Körte only accepted what was supported by quotation elsewhere, and this is a sound criterion unless exceptions should be made for fragments such as 549K because of its likeness to 740 (531K) or 598K because it quotes Demetrios of Phaleron (fr. 81 Wehrli). Further genuine stuff may be lurking, and Thierfelder has pointed out (p. 283 and p. 109) a genuine monostichon in a Warsaw papyrus. There is a slight confusion over 930 (948K); the concordance does not mention 930, but only refers to '210/4 cf. II p. 291', where Thierfelder quotes Otto's opinion that 930 is Justin's comment on 210/4 (254K); I see no connexion; in 210 the priestess and in 930 the sculptor is 'greater than god'.

It will be convenient to note first Thierfelder's Addenda to Part I. The fragment of the *Kekryphalos* (951) is a major gain (I see no reason to doubt either the play or the author). It is a Hamburg papyrus (656) and has been published by Bruno Snell in the very recent *Griechische Papyri der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg*, Bd. II. Some twenty fairly complete lines survive from the preliminaries of a recognition scene involving a youth, a slave, a 'noble lady', a girl, and a female slave. The noble lady makes a generous offer with regard to some clothes and golden objects. They will: (a) provide money towards the girl's purchase price; (b) bring about the recognition (they will include the Kerchief or Headband). Thierfelder, in his full and admirable commentary, suggests that the noble lady contributes them that they may be pawned to help the girl, and the girl then finds in them the recognition token which proves her to be the noble lady's daughter. I find a real difficulty in supposing that a mother gives away the *crepundia* of her lost daughter. It seems to me just possible that the girl has been persuaded to pawn her *crepundia* (she needs comforting, l. 21) and the noble lady gives 1000 dr. for them and then has them brought into her house (ll. 17–18), where she will discover that they are the *crepundia* of her long-lost daughter. If so, Moschion speaks ll. 15–17, and repeats his desire to visit the girl in l. 19. Note that the girl's name, Dorkion, recurs in Menander/Turpillius *Leucadia*.

The other addenda consist mainly of corrections and later literature to Körte, Part I. Add now on *Epitrepontes* 103, Eitrem in *Symbolae Osloenses* 23 (1944), 104; on *Theophrastumene Garzya* in *Dioniso* 16 (1953), 54. Thierfelder prints a new fragment of the *Perinthia* (1a), which tells us that Menander uses *προσάρτης* in the beginning of the play for the patron of a metec (presumably the woman from Perinthos). He also includes the new (but now unhappily destroyed) papyrus of the *Misoumenos*, including the readings of a transcript made by Schubart earlier than the one published in *Griechische literarische Papyri* (1950). He has made out a very good case for the order Schubart II 2, II 1, and then the overlapping Berlin papyrus, and has given us the best text that we can get, but both the details and the sense remain desperately unclear.

The collection of testimonia is extremely useful. In 8, Diog. Laert. V, 79, the addition of '(sc. Poliorcetae)' to Δημητρίου would make the sense clearer. 12. Athenaeus xv, 594d (fr. 945K): a reference to Suess, *Rh. Mus.* 1910, 449 might have been added. 22. Portraits: add now a reference to Schefold, *Bildnisse der Antiken Dichter, etc.*, where all are figured; the mask on the silver cup I believe to be an Agrokios, i.e., a reference to Menander's *Hypobolimaos*. 22–5. Körte rejects the statements that Menander won a victory with the *Orge* in 321; I am not clear why this should not be his first victory at the Lenaia (as distinct from his first victory at the Dionysia in 316/5).

It would be impossible to indicate all the improvements that Körte has made in text and commentary to the Kock fragments, and in what follows I only mention additions later than Demianczuk and give a few notes. *Adelphoi*: 13K is rescued from *Haliis* and attributed to *First Adelphoi* with 8K; Kauer's suggestion that 13 (11K) belongs to the parasite's monologue of this play is not quoted, but seems to me probable. *Anatithemous* and *Messenia* are taken to be different plays; but this is uncertain, as Thierfelder notes. *Arrhephoros*: Körte believes that 66 (72K) 'a man's character is known from his words' came in this play only and not also in *Heautontimoroumenos* (143K); the Bembine scholiast quoted the *Arrhephoros* to

illustrate *Haut*, 384, where presumably Terence's *ingenium* translates *φῶς* rather than *χαρσάνη*. *Achaioi*: the mosaic from Oescus giving this title is now published in the *Report of the Bulgarian Archaeological Institute*, 1950, 576 f. and *Meander* 9 (1954), 171 f. and with magnificent coloured pictures and full commentary by T. Ivanov in *Monuments de l'Art en Bulgarie*, II, Sofia, 1954; it is now clear that there were four figures: a standing man without a mask in the centre (the poet?), a soldier with mask on the left, a young man with mask on the right, and between them a seated figure, probably masked and perhaps a woman with her himation over her head. *Daktylios*: Thierfelder suggests a much more likely text for 88 (102K). On 91 (105K) Antiphanes 16K shows that *autolekythos* is not necessarily an *adulescens insolens*, but simply someone without a servant. 92. *τῶπος* is new. *Didymai*: Körte rightly suppresses 118K and with it the need for dating the play late. *Dis Exapatōn*: two new fragments translate respectively Plautus' *Bacchides* 820 and 144. *Dyskolos*: it should be made clear that Choricus on Smikrines is referring to the original of *Aulularia* 300 f. (as I think, Menander's *Apistos*). *Heautontimoroumenos*: 134 (147K) Erbse nicely interprets *ταῦτα* as *digitorum crepitem*. *Encheiridion* gains a reference to Sarapis. *Epikleros*: in 155 (167K) supply perhaps *ἡ δ' εὐδός*. For this play particularly it would be useful to include all the fragments of the Latin adaptation, since they give considerably more of the action (so also for *Tharyleion*, *Paidion*, *Plokion*, *Hypobolimaia*). *Eunouchos*: Thierfelder suggests adding 658 (888K) and 907 (1062K). *Kanephoros*: Körte interprets his 219 (253K): 'It is foolish to flee from an evil which we cannot control'. But (a) his index shows no parallel for *τῶπος ἐπὶ*, (b) an *ἀνύχνη* is by definition (*cf.* 358 (425K)) out of our control. I prefer Kock: 'It is beyond our control to avoid the misfortune of a foolish character'. The sense then comes very near to Turpilus (IR). *Kekryphalos* gains a tiny fragment (Milne no. 183), as well as the Hamburg passage discussed above. *Leukadia*: Körte gently removes the nonsense written about this play by Ribbeck and Wilamowitz; add Fraenkel's important note in *Plautinisches im Plautus*, 112 n. 3. Here, too, the Latin fragments are badly needed. *Methe*: 264/14 (319K) Kallimedes is related to the eel because he is the Crab (not because he liked fish). *Nauplieros*: 286 (348K), Körte's ingenious theory that the messenger talks about a cup but Straton about a ship is due to the confusion in Athenaeus (473d). The three boat passages have somehow got mixed up with the ten cup passages. Thierfelder rightly takes as report of return made by parasite or slave; *cf.* *Stichus* 364 f. (Menander). *Nomothetes* gains fr. 4D, which does not belong to *Thetale*, and a papyrus fragment. *Olynthia*: 298 (927K), Körte follows Kaibel, who argued that Zenobius interpreted 927K as an allusion in the *Olynthia* to Aristarchos' proverbial line (358K) 'not starting the quarrel but seeking redress'. But Photius and Suidas expressly quote 358K and 927K for different senses of *ἐπαρχν*. Therefore, unless Zenobius was blundering, 927K comes from an unknown play of Menander and 358K is a quotation of Aristarchos in the *Olynthia*. *Orge*: 308 (7D), Thierfelder achieves a convincing text. *Plokion*: Körte, like Ribbeck, assumes that the youth was identified by a *plokion* which he left with the girl when he violated her at a *pannychis*. But do young men wear necklaces? I thought therefore that it must be the recognition token of the maid 'haud illiberali facie'. *Synaristosai*: Körte refers the quotation in P. Oxy. 1803 (which also adds to *Phanion* and *Philadelphoi*) to the context of Plautus *Cist.* 48 f., but although the fragment can be so divided as to read as iambs, I see no place for *ταῦτα* here in Plautus. *Trophonios*: 397 (462K) Thierfelder rightly removes the second speaker. *Hypobolimaia* loses 489K to an unknown poet. A reference to Part I, lxiv, would have helped. *Phanion* loses 497K to an unknown poet. *Philadelphoi* loses 507K to an unknown play. *Psophodees*: Headlam's reference to Lucilius *Anth. Pal.* xi, 210 deserves preservation. On 479 (59K) Thierfelder quotes an Ausonian epigram. On 566 (581K) Thierfelder convincingly argues against Post's assumption of a new play, *Hypergeros*, 681: is an extremely doubtful fragment from Clement. 701 is a new fragment from Favorinus describing a storm at sea. 715 (17D) 'A Nereid on a dolphin' surely belongs with 720 (831K) 'Is this not a Hippocamp?' to a description of a textile (recognition token). 722 is the prologue from the Freiburg papyrus. Five other very small fragments are new. One addition may be made: Kock, *adespota* 487, is proved by the subsequent quotation of *Epitrepontes* 157 to be Menander.

Finally, the index to both volumes would alone make this volume indispensable; it gives titles of plays; gods, heroes, and festivals; names of men and women; geographic and ethnic names; vocabulary; metrical and other peculiarities. This is a great work, and it must have been some satisfaction to Körte to know that he left it in such competent hands.

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

Teognide nella tradizione gnomologica. By A. PERETTI. Pp. xi + 399. Pisa: Istituto di Filologia Classica, 1953. L. 4000.

Despite diversity of opinion on the origin and nature of the units which make up the *corpus Theognideum*, there has been general agreement until recently that it assumed substantially its present form by c. 400 B.C. Carrière (*Théognis de Mégare*, 1948) argued that it represents the fusion, in the Byzantine era, of two hitherto independent Theognis texts: one formed at Athens by c. 400 B.C., the source of the quotations in writers of the pre-Christian era but unknown to most later writers, and the other formed in Hellenistic Alexandria, the source of most of the later quotations and of all those in Stobaeus. The *propositum* of Peretti's masterly book is the rejection of Carrière's thesis on the grounds that no conclusions can be drawn concerning the scale and structure of any Theognis texts in antiquity, since (a) of the quotations in Plutarch, Athenaeus, Clement, etc., many are demonstrably derived from anthologies or critical and didactic works, while there are none for which this explanation is unacceptable, and (b) we have Books I and II of Stobaeus only from the hands of an epitomator who dealt severely with poetry, and it is precisely in those books that passages from parts of the *corpus* not represented in Books III and IV would be apposite. The former argument leads Peretti into a general study of gnomonic anthologies. Building on the foundations laid by Wachsmuth, Elter, and Hense, but using also the Ptolemaic and later papyri, he emphasises the prodigious quantity of material once available in this form, illustrates the use made of it by writers of diverse intentions, e.g. Ath. 427f-428d ~ Stob. 3. 18. 12-3 (pp. 113, 186), Theophil. Antioch. *ad Autol.* 2. 37, p. 178 ~ Stob. 1. 3. 19, 26-9 (pp. 164-5), Ath. 159bc ~ S.E. *adv. Math.* 1. 279 ~ *PRuss-Georg.* 1. 9 (pp. 152-4), and elucidates certain common principles observed by ancient anthologists in their arrangement of material, e.g. *PBerol.* 9772 ~ Stob. 4. 22. 76, 78 (p. 146), *PHibeh* 1. 7 ~ Stob. 3. 33, 34, 36 (p. 156). This study prepares the way for his central thesis that the direct transmission of the text of Theognis ceased in Hellenistic times and that our *corpus* is simply a compilation of Theognis quotations available in the ninth century in anthologies and didactic works. He observes that most of the *corpus* can be divided into units which, while differing in scale, can be classified by structure and sequence of thought under a small number of types. The most conspicuous types are those represented by: (1) e.g. 351-70 ~ 649-98 (pp. 281-7); (2) e.g. 971-8 ~ 979-88 ~ 993-1002 (p. 321, n. 1); (3) e.g. 539-604 ~ 793-856 (pp. 225-6); and (4) e.g. 365-9 ~ 1183-5, 619-21 ~ 1114a-7 (pp. 252-3). There is in some cases a close resemblance, in others an appreciable resemblance, between the arrangement of subject-matter within a unit of the *corpus* and that within a group of chapters in Stobaeus, e.g. 87-130 ~ Stob. 2. 32-46 (p. 267). Other obvious points of contact with anthologies are the occasional arrangement of a series of distichs in alphabetical order—*cf.* Orion 8. 5-9a (pp. 134-5), 9. 7-9 (p. 142)—and the linking of contiguous poems by the occurrence in both of a word or phrase not necessarily dictated by community of point, e.g. 1249 ~ 1253 (p. 215), *cf.* Orion 8. 2-4.

Peretti's leisurely, remorseless argument, which leaves no detail unaccommodated and makes many fascinating excursions into minute problems of literary history, does not all carry the same degree of conviction. The identification of Theognidean with anthological patterns can hardly fail if one takes sufficient licence to ignore inversion, omission, or interruption of the elements common to the patterns compared, and Peretti has perhaps overreached himself in pp. 295-316. Nevertheless, he has offered and defended a positive explanation of the structure of a large part of the *corpus*. Equally positive explanations in earlier theories were of more limited scope (e.g. Friedländer, *Hermes* 48) and did not survive intact the destructive zest of Kroll (*Philologus Supplbd.* 29. 1). Those who still wish to attribute large portions of the *corpus*, as they stand, to an early Megarian poet must contend with the fact that while we are free to imagine a traditional literary form of which such portions could, theoretically speaking, be the sole extant representatives, the parallels in the literature which we actually possess are those provided by the *capitulatio* of anthologies. If a parallel for Peretti's general principle is demanded, I suggest that we should ask, in the light of D. H. L. 618, *Lyr.* 497 sqq., how the *ἐκκεννιστοὶ λόγοι* of Isocrates, and especially the decapitated Speeches XVI and XX, found a place in the *corpus Isocrateum*.

By way of peripheral criticism, there are three points in Peretti's reconstruction which deserve amplification or reconsideration:

(i) If we suppose that the ninth-century compiler used no earlier compilations, and if we attempt to trace the whole process by which he constructed the *corpus*, adding set after

set of excerpts from his sources, we must conclude either that the material available to him but now lost comprised a prodigiously large number of works, each yielding a small set of quotations, or that he alternated inexplicably between thoughtful design and blind indifference in his arrangement of sets of excerpts from a small number of comparatively rich sources. Neither alternative is entirely satisfactory, and the dilemma is largely resolved if we can believe that others at earlier dates had made Theognis compilations. Comparison of 155-8, 175-80, 649-52 with Stob. 4. 32, 34, 36, 38 shows (p. 37, cf. p. 246) that Stobaeus did not actually use a Theognis text arranged like our *corpus*; but should we have expected that, and can we argue that no compilation existed in his day? Cyril's disregard of any but the austere aspects of Theognis (pp. 115-17) is not more easily explained by Peretti's hypothesis than by any other. Plutarch's reference to γυναικολογία Θεόγνητος (*Mor.* 16c) is reconcilable with the existence in his time of Theognis texts which were professedly compilations.

(ii) Following Elter in essentials, despite his cautious appraisal (p. 48, n. 1), Peretti tends to treat Chrysippus as the founder of the gnomological tradition. This, however, ignores the reasonable inference (cf. Barns, *CQ* N. S. 1) from Pl. *Lg.* 810e that the compilation of gnomologies may antedate the mid fourth century a.c.

(iii) Since the compiler of the *corpus* was interested specifically in Theognis, not in elegiac poetry in general—for otherwise the proportion of verses attributable with certainty to other poets would be larger than it is—we must choose between two assumptions: either his sources and the sources of these sources teemed with wrong attributions of one kind or another, or any given passage in the *corpus* must be supposed, in default of some evidence to the contrary, to have stood in the text of Θεόγνητος ὁ ποιητής as known, e.g., to Isocrates (*Nicochl.* 43). The nature and extent of wrong attributions in extant literature do not justify us in discarding the latter supposition. Thus in one important respect the problem of separating Theognis of Megara from the rest of the *corpus* remains as it was. All periods of Greek poetry up to the early fourth century a.c. may be represented therein, and can be disentangled only on grounds of stylistic, social, and moral differences. Peretti's own investigation of such differences is subtle and interesting, but detection of inconsistency is notoriously subjective; one should begin not by assuming that a man cannot ever utter apparently conflicting generalisations and recommendations, but by attempting to envisage the circumstances in which he can. But—and in this respect the problem is changed—the context of a passage in the *corpus* is no longer relevant evidence, Kroll divined this, as Peretti acknowledges, but Kroll's scepticism competed on unequal terms with the constructive ingenuity of unitarians. Peretti has now suggested positive reasons for believing that no verses in the *corpus* stand necessarily in the context, or even in the kind of context, envisaged by their original composer.

K. J. DOVER.

Greek Prose Style. By J. D. DENNISTON. Pp. x + 139. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952. 15s.

The material was assembled and seen through the press by Mr. H. Lloyd-Jones. Chapter I is a lecture on 'The Development of Greek Prose' delivered by D. at Oxford in 1937. Chapter VII, 'Assonance', was read as a paper to the Cambridge Philological Society in 1934. Chapters II-VI contain much that was delivered in D.'s Honour Moderations lectures on Greek Prose, and deal with Abstract Expression, Order of Words, Sentence-Structure and Antithesis, Repetition, Asyndeton. A chapter on Diction was projected by D., but no trace of it has been found.

As we should expect, the book contains much stimulating, penetrating, and combative criticism. It provides information about work which is not easily accessible, combined with the valuable results of the author's own wide reading, careful observation, and sensitive taste. But some of the material is not really ready for publication. Reasons of space forbid the recording here of more than a few examples of each of the several types of defect which should be remedied.

Sometimes the course of the argument would not be easy for the ordinary reader to follow—cf. p. 43 on order of words, or pp. 57-8 on hyperbaton. Sometimes obscurity results from imperfect definition of terms, e.g. p. 25 'periphrasis', p. 30 'abstract' and 'inanimate' (apparently treated as equivalent), p. 64 (and thereafter *passim*) 'clause', p. 74 'symmetrical' as the antithesis of 'chiasmic'. Or the English is loose—p. 57, l. 7, 'placing both of the two cohering words at beginning and at end' is meant to convey 'placing one of the two cohering words at the beginning, the other at the end'. On p. 18 'St. Paul's pulpit' should be 'the pulpit of St. Paul's'.

Some disputable views are expressed. P. 22: 'rapid

degeneration . . . after Chaeronea' hardly does justice to *de Corona*. Pp. 41-2: 'short words' are not obvious in the Sappho passage, where *πρὸς Δίος* is a virtual trisyllable (cf. 'Dioscuri') and *αὐτὸς* is enclitic. P. 111: examples of asyndeton with *μὲν* are not adequately analysed, and Neil's view on *μὲν γὰρ* (*Knights*, App. I, p. 192) might well have been mentioned. P. 138: 'contempt for his opponent' is not to be found in Blass, *A.B.* Vol. 1, pp. 481-6. On pp. 484-5 Blass does say 'the orator does not condemn paronomasia'.

Inconsistency appears between 'sacrifice of the unifying effect' (p. 57, l. 6) and 'desire to bind the clause into a compact unity' (p. 59, l. 6). 'In general the orators avoid such antitheses' (p. 78, l. 12) is immediately qualified by 'examples . . . in Lysias', and at the end of the paragraph by three from Dem. Thuc. iii 37. 2 is given as an example of asyndeton (p. 114, l. 1), and the reading is at once rejected.

Some passages are not very sympathetically interpreted. On p. 13 an unusual meaning is attributed to Thuc. ii 43. 3; on p. 73 the passage is taken in the usual way. If a 'later writer' had written the version suggested on p. 3 he would have shown that he had not appreciated the meaning of Heraclitus, *Fr.* 30. P. 13: the irony of Timocles has been missed. P. 72, l. 33: in Ant. v 74 'the whole *μὲν* clause' is not 'devoid of meaning', since *προσγυμνῶν, περὶ προσγυμνῶν* is not 'a purely stylistic variation'; in the son's troubles the old father cannot help (cf. 79 γέρον *μὲν* *ἐκείνου* *ὥστ'* *ἐμὸν* *βουθεῖν*), and of the father's past actions the son is too young to give first-hand evidence. P. 74, l. 12: the *ἐὶ* clause seems the more emphatic in Dem. ix 1; D. might have referred to iv 38, where *μὲν* appears to predominate over *οὐ μὲν ἄλλα*, perhaps because *ἡδὲ* *ἀκούειν* in the latter clause is picked up by *πρὸς ἡδονὴν* *δημηγορεῖν* soon after. P. 113, l. 19: in Aeschin. iii 82 *οὕτως* does not so much point 'dramatically' as mitigate asyndeton, introducing an explanation; cf. Dem. xix 112 *οὕτως μὲν γάρ*. . . P. 122, l. 18: in Pl. *Lg.* 920D the asyndeton introduces a statement giving the ground for the legislation before and after it—*εἰκὼς εἶναι* and *δύστην ὁρᾶν*. For parallels (supporting Dr. England) cf. 918c *ἰδωμεν*. . . *πράγμ' ἐστ'*. . . *οὐ φαῦλον*; 923a *ἀποκρινόμεθα*. . . *ἐφιστομεν*. P. 133, l. 31: *οὗτοι αὐτοῦ* is justified by *τοὺς ποιητὰς αὐτοῦ* occurring two lines before; it emphasises the contrasted relationship, as the conventional *οὗτος αὐτοῦ* or *-οῦ* (admittedly with the second pronoun more emphatic than in this passage) stresses reflexive relationship; cf. p. 43, l. 6, 'contrast between subject and object . . . naturally draws the two into rhetorical juxtaposition'. P. 134, l. 1: *ἀνδρὶ* . . . *ἀνδρᾷ* fairly makes the point that one soldier brings a charge against another.

Lack of care in distinguishing genuine from spurious speeches has led to some confusion. P. 53, l. 5: vii 5 is given as an example of Dem.'s use of hyperbaton. P. 70, l. 8: xliii 14 is said to illustrate 'simple coordination . . . rare in Dem.', though sometimes found in him'. P. 96, ll. 4 and 15: xlii and liii are the only speeches quoted as showing the alleged use by Dem. of a type of repetition of which there are 'hardly any (examples) in the orators'. 'The occasional poeticisms in Andocides' (p. 138, l. 24, cf. p. 17, l. 22) are illustrated by a quotation from iv 40 (p. 136, l. 16).

In the discussion of many passages it might have been recorded that the reading is doubtful. P. 53, l. 19: *γυναικὸς* is not accepted by Wyse. P. 96, l. 23: *τε* . . . *ἐὶ* is not recorded by Burnet, nor is the passage quoted as an example in *Particels*. P. 102, l. 6: *ἐκείνους ἀπὸ δώλων* is bracketed by Weil and Butcher. P. 120, l. 30: *ἀπίδοχα* (ἐὶ) Dobree, a reading backed by parallels in Wyse; cf. several examples from Xen. on p. 121, where *ἐὶ* may have fallen out.

Often additional points might have been usefully made. P. 27, l. 7: 'the imagination' is helped by the verb; cf. l. 15, *ἐφ' οἷς* . . . *προσέτι*, 'sacrifices made'. P. 51, l. 28: the real climax may be 'and Charidemus at that!'. P. 77, l. 11: 'inversion' is natural as *τοὺς μὲν* = 'the latter'. P. 112, l. 21: *μὲν γὰρ* might be unfamiliar to a reader not well up in Herodotus. Add a reference to L. & S. *μὲν* B. 11. 2. *μὲν οὖν* is found in Sophocles too: cf. Jebb on *Trach.* 441. P. 113, l. 9: 'Ἀδώντησον ἰδίδου' is virtually a temporal clause. P. 113, ll. 29 and 33: the questions are virtually protases. P. 114, l. 14: a question may naturally be answered with asyndeton. P. 120, l. 31: note that some case of *ὅπως* occurs in Dem. xxi 220, 221, 223, 224, 226 (quoted), and 227.

Analysis of asyndeton might have been carried further. P. 111, l. 17: the paragraph on *μὲν* does not give the common use of *ὥς μὲν* or *ὅτι μὲν* after a document has been read (cf. Wyse on Isaeus iii 7). Dem. xviii 43 (p. 115, l. 30) shows the use of asyndeton in a list; cf. Aeschin. iii 169-70. P. 116, l. 26: asyndeton 'at the beginning of a story' is akin to 'forecast' asyndeton; cf. Th. vi 90. 2 (p. 110, l. 23). For assonance the influence of legal formulae might be pointed out—p. 125, l. 10, and p. 134, l. 26.

Among various inaccuracies may be noted: P. 39, l. 5:

'the Homeric Κάστωρος βία' (to judge by indices) is not found even in tragedy and obviously not in Homer. P. 110, l. 7: the passage of Xen. has twenty-six (not fifteen) such sentences. P. 116, l. 29: ὧν is a misquotation for ὥρεός δι' τίνος δαμάσσανον. P. 125, l. 19: τῶν σὺμα might be rendered by a plural in English. P. 133, l. 34: 'same trick with αὐτός twice in the next two pages'—where? P. 136, l. 2: leaving out καὶ δάβαλλες would involve hiatus, and the suggested version would not have been written by Isocrates. P. 136, l. 3: for μνησθήσονται read τούτοις.

Of some fifty misprints noticed, most involve accents or punctuation. 'Thucydides' (for 'Thrasymachus', p. 15, l. 15) and 'accused' (for 'accused', p. 64, l. 5) are easy to emend. P. 47, l. 13: 'distributed' may be a corruption of 'disturbed'. P. 125, l. 6: read παραβαίνειν for παραλαμβάνειν. P. 129, l. 34: ἐνέφαιες has fallen out before ἐκπλύνεις, and Κλεινία has become Κλεινίη. There is inconsistency in inserting a Greek word used to head a paragraph—e.g. pp. 111 and 112.

As there is no index, the addition of several cross-references would be convenient. P. 3, l. 19: for chiasmus cf. pp. 48, 74, and 127. P. 47, l. 7: with 'beginning' for 'emphasis' cf. 'reserving his emphasis' (p. 67, l. 20). P. 74, l. 8: 'above' see p. 67, l. 20. P. 99, l. 18: for Andoc. and Xen. see pp. 121-2. P. 101, l. 24: for Hdt. i 32. 6 cf. pp. 6-7. P. 132, l. 11: 'already' see pp. 111-12.

Quotations. These are sometimes so fragmentary as to be unintelligible. P. 74, l. 3: it is misleading to omit the negative before the second main verb, and all the gaps are not indicated. P. 101, l. 7: insert ἀλεπτήριον at the beginning, or omit εἰς. P. 34, l. 25: ἴσως ἢ, heal the hiatus by inserting the γάρ or '...'. P. 113, l. 36: οὐδὲ . . . τοιόνδε might be omitted as superfluous. P. 111, l. 17 (and many subsequent examples): there is an awkward use of an English summary to introduce Greek. Is the inverted comma to be put at the end of the Greek, as at εἰδέναι (l. 19), and as in *Particels*, or misleadingly separating English and Greek, as in other examples here? The separation is made worse by the intrusive colon in ll. 18, 19, and 31.

Loose classification is very prevalent. P. 30: Herodotus appears as a writer of philosophical prose. P. 34, ll. 20-1: ἀλήθεια, πεπραγμένα, κηρός are classed under *Misc.*, though they have already been illustrated on pp. 32-3 as 'particularly selected'. P. 49, l. 16: Dem. iv 43 is quoted, and in l. 21 the reference is given as if it were another example (cf. p. 113, ll. 8 and 13). P. 115, l. 26: Dem. ix 65, given as an example of 'full asyndeton', has already been quoted (p. 107, l. 14) as an example of 'half asyndeton'. P. 116, l. 27, and in a dozen more subsequent examples: the 'mitigating' effect of οὐτός (see pp. 109-10, a confused paragraph) is not noted. P. 119, l. 35: the *Gorg.* passage should be printed with at least colons, if it is to come under the definition of full asyndeton. P. 127, l. 9: 'other forms of assonance' occur under the heading *Alliteration*. P. 127, l. 27: chiasmus of terms and chiasmus of alliteration are not distinguished.

The headings might often be tidier—e.g. p. 47, l. 11 *Hyperbaton* as printed hardly suggests to the reader that this is the topic of the whole of the rest of the chapter (twelve pages). Pp. 81, 82, 83, 86: italic headings are immediately repeated in ordinary type. Pp. 92 and 96: main headings are not distinguished from sub-headings. Pp. 106 and 107: headings are confused, and there is one example that is admitted under both. From p. 112 to 119 and from p. 121 to 123 there is an awkward variety of headings, which, moreover, do not quite agree with the table of contents.

In spite of the criticisms which may be made of points of detail, the book contains so much of value, that no one who is interested in Greek can afford to do without it. But loyalty to the memory of the author calls for a carefully revised second edition.

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Greek Drama for Everyman. By F. L. LUCAS. (A companion volume to *Greek Poetry for Everyman*.) Pp. xvi + 454. London: Dent, 1954. 21s.

This is the companion volume to Mr. Lucas' *Greek Poetry for Everyman* reviewed in *JHS* LXXII (1952), p. 126. It contains complete translations of six tragedies (Prometheus Vincetus, Agamemnon, Antigone, Oedipus Tyrannus, Hippolytus, and Bacchae) and one comedy (Clouds). A short general introduction on tragedy is followed by sections devoted to Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, in which each play receives individual discussion, usually with the inclusion of selected passages in translation unless a complete version is given. Some fragments are translated without comment at the end of the account of each author's work (the tragic 'adespota' coming immediately after those of Euripides), and they are followed by brief notes on varied topics. After the

tragic authors come an introduction to comedy and a section on Aristophanes. The final section deals very briefly with Menander, and includes a scene from the Arbitrants.

As one would expect, Mr. Lucas contrives to combine up-to-date information with lively comment and criticism of a kind which cannot fail to provoke thought both in the classical specialist and the newcomer to Greek Drama. His Everyman must, of course, be a literary fellow of wide general reading, who is prepared to examine ancient drama play by play, and the book will probably make most appeal to students of English and modern literature in foreign tongues who are prepared to go foraging for information which once would have come their way automatically in the course of a humane education. For all his sympathy with the Greeks, Mr. Lucas loves their drama *this side* idolatry, and is the better able therefore to match and compare its excellencies and deficiencies with what succeeded it. As readers of his 'Tragedy' will remember, he is no slave of the unities and will not tolerate the infatuation which sometimes leads the scholarly commentator on Greek Tragedy to claim supremacy for it in every field; and, as he puts it, he prefers Johnson to Verrall as literary critic. But there is some danger, perhaps, that under his guidance Everyman may not even give the benefit of the doubt to some genuine Greek institutions. His evident dislike of stichomythia and of the cramping dramatic problems set by the Greek chorus seems likely to obscure to the uninitiated their formal importance in a kind of drama which, though it started with a stage as bare of trappings as the Elizabethan, developed on opposite artistic principles; and even the 'dozen old gentlemen or young ladies in white sheets mopping and mowing about the stage', who misrepresent the ancient chorus in modern revivals, sometimes bring the audience within glimpsing range of a strange, lyrical, perhaps over-statuesque beauty which did not, all the same, lack dramatic force. Housman's parody, which Mr. Lucas quotes, is not altogether without tinges of this, even where it mocks hardest, and it would be a pity if Everyman, for whom Mr. Lucas has done so much, should not think it worth while to consider whether the Greek dramatists found their fetters as constricting as we sometimes suppose.

In so brief a space, more information could not be hoped for, and the selection is sound, though my own inclination would have been to give more space to the physical setting of the plays and the nature of the religious festivals. The notes help mainly with mythology, geography, and details of interpretation, and both here and in the introduction Mr. Lucas is always watchful to link the ancients and moderns. His choice of plays for full translation is clearly based on personal preference, as well as significance, and though others might perhaps have chosen differently for Euripides and Aristophanes, it would be ungenerous to wish it otherwise. To the classicist, one of his most interesting passages is the Preface, in which, so much more considerate than most translators, he explains the aim and method of his translation—blank verse for iambics, not the monumental alabaster of Milton but the controlled freedom of the Elizabethans and of Landor and Beddoes amongst later authors; rhyme for lyrics, despite the extra labour, and roughly the shape of the original; in diction a mean between modern colloquialism and Victorian frigidity; no over-translation, but nothing which could not conceivably be re-translated to give the original text; and especially justice to the spirit of the author and his period.

In the main, Mr. Lucas justifies to my ear and understanding the principles of his translation, though at times his blank verse lacks a little in rhythmic cohesion and therefore in force. There is real variety, though perhaps it would be impossible for one translator to do equal justice to the three tragedians and Aristophanes; the imagery of the Greek is rendered with genuine feeling and economy; and very few liberties are taken with the text. *Agamemnon* vv. 217-27 well illustrates Mr. Lucas' approach to lyrics and his dramatic vigour . . .

So, yoked beneath Necessity,
His purpose veered; heart-hardened thus,
He let that outrage be;
Unclean, unhallowed, impious!
When guilty madness goads the brain,
It blinds to the ruin that lurks before—
He did not quail.
For a woman's sin his child was slain,
To speed his host to war,
To let his galleys sail!

Occasionally his choice of metre and rhyme seems to me to produce almost too much lilt and swing, but the lyric feeling comes through, and the intricacy of his patterns is a measure of the versatility and skill with which he has carried through an almost Herculean undertaking.

The Preface concludes with some personal views on the correct approach to literary criticism of ancient drama. I share much of his distrust of the expenditure of too much cleverness and midnight oil in the interpretation of plays whose effect must be judged by what they conveyed to an audience during performance, though, as the recent history of Shakespeare criticism has shown, this in itself is by and large a historical problem. He is right, too, to point out, in the best traditions of Collingwood, that the interpreter of Greek drama must ask himself the right question, viz. 'What would this mean to a sensible man sitting on a hard seat in the open air of a Greek spring, along with 14,000 others, for six or seven hours at a stretch?'

Though he is at times something of an iconoclast and a heretic in his interpretations—he confesses as much in a footnote to the Oedipus on p. 170—Mr. Lucas has supplied Everyman not only with a forceful, lively, and attractive general answer, but also with information where to seek for further and more detailed assistance—though he should perhaps have warned him that some of the books referred to, for example, Pickard-Cambridge's *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*, will be hard going for the Greekless reader.

P. G. MASON.

Aeschylus. Oresteia, Trans. R. LATTIMORE. Pp. vii + 171. Chicago: University Press, 1953 (London: Cambridge University Press), 195.

Sophocles. Oedipus the King, Trans. D. GRENE, **Oedipus at Colonus**, Trans. R. FITZGERALD, **Antigone**, Trans. E. WYCKOFF. Pp. v + 206. Chicago: University Press, 1954 (London: Cambridge University Press), 22s. 6d.

Old men of Argos, lieges of our realm,
Shame shall not bid me shrink lest ye should see
The love I bear my lord. Such blushing fear
Dies at the last from hearts of human kind. . . .
For me, long since the gushing fount of tears
Is wept away; no drop is left to shed.
Dim are the eyes that ever watched till dawn,
Weeping, the bale-fires, piled for thy return,
Night after night unkindled. If I slept,
Each sound—the tiny humming of a gnat,
Roused me again, again, from fitful dreams
Wherein I felt thee smitten, saw thee slain,
Thrice for each moment of mine hour of sleep.

(E. D. A. Morshead.)

Grave gentlemen of Argolis assembled here,
I take no shame to speak aloud before you all
the love I bear my husband. In the lapse of time
modesty fades; it is human . . .
For me: the rippling springs that were my tears have dried
utterly up, nor left one drop within. I keep
the pain upon my eyes where late at night I wept
over the beacons long ago set for your sake,
untended left forever. In the midst of dreams
the whisper that a gnat's thin wings could winnow broke
my sleep apart. I thought I saw you suffer wounds
more than the time that slept with me could ever hold.

(Lattimore.)

Here is a passage from one of the best speeches in Aeschylus. Morshead remains, I think, one of the best of his older translators. The test seems a fair one. Preference must depend partly on facts, which can be argued; partly on feelings, about which argument can reach no end, and serve no end. Some may find Morshead too fond of poetic diction; yet Greek poetry had a passion for poetic diction; no other language that I know has so sharp a cleavage between prose-words and verse-words—a fact prudently forgotten by Wordsworth in his plea for unpoetic diction in general. Mr. Lattimore, on the other hand, is of that modern school which likes to present Greek poetry as mainly prosaic, matter-of-fact, bleak, and bald. In tradition, his bald head cost Aeschylus his life; but bald in style he was not. As Aristophanes made him fulminate in *The Frogs*—

Poor wretch, can you not see
That souls high-wrought, and mighty thought, must speak
with majesty,
And heroes, whose line is half divine, need words with a
nobler air
Just as their dress has a lordliness beyond our common
wear?

Metrically, Morshead may seem too regular, too afraid (like most nineteenth-century blank verse, after Beddoes) of extra syllables, especially feminine endings, with their invaluable variety. But, for me, his version keeps at least some of the vibrant swing and quiver of the Muse of Aeschylus—'that

pulse's magnificent come-and-go'; whereas Mr. Lattimore's continuous Alexandrines seem to drag—like an exhausted bee toiling up and down a window-pane.

But these are largely matters of taste. The question of faithfulness rests on rather firmer ground. 'Grave gentlemen of Argolis' hardly matches *ἄγριοι* *Ἀργείων*, with its hint of the Elders' years. 'Gentlemen', I suppose, is meant as a touch of vitalizing modernity; but 'grave gentlemen' falls between two ages; a modern meeting so addressed would hardly keep its gravity. 'Modesty' is a risky word for an adulteress; *ταῦρος*—'timidity'—was a foible Clytemnestra could claim with safer irony. The reader of 'it is human' may excusably be misled for a moment to refer 'it' to 'modesty', instead of to the loss of it. 'Rippling springs' does not give the sense of waters bursting tumultuously (*ῥέοντες ἐκ τῆς ὄρεως*) from a hillside—as they still gush to-day at Pegé on the Langada. And how can tears 'ripple' unless one weeps a bath full? If the beacons had been 'untended', they could not have blazed when Troy fell: it was their *kindling* that remained, perforce, neglected. Aeschylus says nothing of 'winnowing whispers'. How does one 'winnow' a whisper? Why foist metaphors of one's own invention on such a master of them as Aeschylus? It is most misleading to the Greekless reader. Again *ῥέοντες* suggests more than a 'whisper': the word is used of dogs barking, or men crying, and here, I take it, of a gnat's odious, strident whine. The curious 'broke my sleep apart' is another interpolated metaphor, where Aeschylus says only 'I awoke'. Such details may seem trivial; but, cumulatively, I think they are not. This book might justify itself as a twentieth-century adaptation of Aeschylus; but I cannot regard it as a faithful translation.

Mr. Lattimore's introduction raises points of interest; when, however, he pleads that Clytemnestra was to the end 'intensely proud of her husband', that her supposed anguish over his absence at Troy was 'real', that she is one of those for whom 'what they kill is what they love', this is really more than I can swallow. Clytemnestra as a sort of bleached and feminized Othello? This terrible woman's picture of herself as a weeping Penelope would be spoilt for me if it were not a piece of superb acting, brazen lying, and magnificent effrontery. For Aeschylus, I believe, Clytemnestra's love of her husband died once for all with her daughter Iphigenia, on the altar at Aulis.

With the three Sophocles versions the case remains curiously similar.

What man is he that yearneth
For length unmeasured of days?
Folly mine eye discerneth
Encompassing all his ways . . .
This man, as me, even so,
Have the evil days overtaken;
And like as a cape sea-shaken
With tempest at earth's last verges
And shock of all winds that blow,
His head the seas of woe,
The thunders of awful surges
Ruining overflow.

(A. E. Housman.)

Though he has watched a decent age pass by,
A man will sometimes still desire the world.
I swear I see no wisdom in that man . . .
This is the truth, not for me only,
But for this blind and ruined man.
Think of some shore in the north the
Concussive waves make stream
This way and that in the gales of winter:
It is like that with him:
The wild wrack breaking over him
From head to foot, and coming on forever.

(R. Fitzgerald.)

For some, Housman may be too Swinburnian; but at least his lines dance, as a Greek Chorus did; they do not labour lamely along, burdened with phrases like 'a decent age' or 'Concussive waves'.

O tomb! O nuptial chamber! O house deep-delved
In earth, safe-guarded ever! To thee I come,
And to my kin in thee, who many an one
Are with Persephone, dead among the dead.

(R. Whitelaw.)

O tomb, O marriage-chamber, hollowed out
house that will watch forever, where I go.

[The full stop seems an error.]
To my own people, who are mostly there;
Persephone has taken them to her.

(Elizabeth Wyckoff.)

For some, Whitelaw may be too Tennysonian (though Sophocles might have preferred Tennyson to us); but at least his verse moves like 'a princess Descended of so many royal kings'; and it puts more plainly what the Greek says.

This volume too tends to inaccuracies. For example, Mr. Grene renders both *Λύκαιος* and *Λύκος* by 'Lycean' (which becomes elsewhere 'Lycæan'). He makes the Chorus lament in the Theban plague that 'there are no women bearing the pangs of childbirth'; on the contrary, there are—but their pangs are fruitless. Again he assigns the writing of the *Oedipus Coloneus* to 405 (yet by the Lenæa of 405 Sophocles seems to have been already dead); and its production to 'the year after', instead of the usually accepted 401.

Literary taste can swing back and forth between the sugared and the peppered, the coloured and the plain. To-day we react from the music and colour of the Romantics, as Donne from Spenser, Wordsworth from Pope. Vain to regret such changes—they increase life's variety; but vain to ignore such differences—as if one were to render the music of Ronsard into the discords of Donne's *Satires*, or Victor Hugo's *Gastibelza* into the style of Wordsworth's *Peter Bell*. Pope's age liked tinsel added to the gold of Homer: now, on the contrary, some prefer the marble of Aeschylus reproduced in brick; and the ivory of Sophocles, in bone. The results in each case may be pleasing to some, unpleasing to others; but you must not call them Homer, or Aeschylus, or Sophocles.

F. L. LUCAS.

Euripides. The Bacchæ and other Plays (Ion, Women of Troy, Helen, Bacchæ). A new translation by P. VELLACOTT. Pp. 234. London: Penguin Books, 1954. 2s.

In this translation of four of the later plays of Euripides Mr. Vellacott uses, as is now not uncommon, prose for the iambic and verse for the lyric portions. His prose rendering steers a course between the pedestrian and the stilted which falls short of the mean more often than it goes beyond it, but keeps in general pretty close to the middle way, quite as close as the taste of the age is likely to favour. If there is little to suggest that the original is poetry, neither are there any excursions into bogus vivacity. Altogether it would be hard to find a translation better fitted to give the prose meaning to an ordinary reader without interposition of extraneous associations. A few liberties have been taken, such as compression of diffuse passages of stichomythia, but nothing which need be objected to in a version not intended for use as a crib.

It will hardly cause surprise that the lyrics are less successful. The 'champagne flavour' of the original can hardly be suggested in any verse form used to-day, and neither the antistrophic, the rhymed, nor the unrhymed versions given here have much life. When, as often, the choral songs are only loosely connected to the play, it matters little, but we miss the sparkle of Ion's monody. Where the Chorus signifies more, as in the *Bacchæ*, these rather light-weight renderings do disturb the balance of the play. But the many who are interested in Greek drama without themselves knowing Greek will find this translation valuable as an intelligible and sober rendering of what Euripides said.

The introduction of some twenty-five closely printed pages is perhaps less well suited to its purpose. The account of the *Ion* and *Helen* is admittedly based on Verrall's; the interpretation of the *Trojan Women*, particularly of the Helen-Menelaus scene, is the translator's own, but it involves the assumption so often made by his brilliant predecessor that the characters mean little of what they say, and say little of what they mean. The *Bacchæ* alone is explained in an acceptable way, since here Verrall is displaced as guide by Winnington-Ingram. Vellacott never pretends that his personal view is anything other than his personal view, but it is inevitable that few users of this book will have any notion how small a proportion of those who read the plays in Greek find this sort of interpretation plausible.

Attention is rightly drawn to the situation at Athens in the year of the production of the *Trojan Women* (pp. 14, 230), but it is wrongly stated that the Athenians were already in Sicily when the play was performed in 415; they did not sail till three months later. Nor can the spirit of the Athenians be excused or explained by the irritation aroused by annual Spartan invasions, since the soil of Attica had not been violated since the Athenians acquired Spartan prisoners as hostages by the capture of Sphacteria nearly ten years before.

D. W. LUCAS.

L'Antigone di Sofocle. Introduzione saggio e versione poetica. By E. DELLA VALLE. Pp. 137. Bari: Gius. Laterza, 1952. L. 1000.

The main purpose of Della Valle's Essay is to controvert the views of those critics who have seen in *Antigone* a symbolic

presentation of a clash between rival concepts rather than a living drama of concrete personalities. He finds in the play a set of characters each shut up in private worlds of their own, between which there is little or no communication, with the result that the characters tend to talk to themselves rather than to each other. Thus, in the prologue, Antigone and Ismene are already poles apart. Perhaps Della Valle misses the main virtue of this remarkable scene, which is that Sophocles has, within the short compass of 100 lines, shown the rending apart of the two sisters as something that happens before our eyes as they converse with one another. Nothing illustrates this better than the contrast between the first line of the play, in which Antigone addresses Ismene as if she were part of herself, and the two lines towards the end of the prologue, in which she says

εἰ τοῦτο λέγεις, ἔχθρῃ μὲν εἰς ἑαυτοῦ,
ἔχθρὰ δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἐνὶ προσηύκῃ εἶπες.

There is a good discussion of Creon's character, though possibly Della Valle is a little harsh on him at his first appearance. His tone and sentiments are highly reasonable to begin with, and it is only when his will is thwarted that he develops by stages into a typical autocrat and stands revealed as a nature that hates, in contrast to Antigone, a nature that loves. This contrast between the two is well illustrated by appropriate quotations from the text; and there are several remarks which show Della Valle's sympathetic insight into Antigone's character. One in particular is worth recording: that the secret of her serenity, even coldness, in her great scene with Creon lies in her deep love for her brother and her calm acceptance of the idea of death as a means of overcoming her grief.

Della Valle carefully traces the theme of conflict between these isolated figures, Antigone, Ismene, Creon, Haemon, and reserves a long discussion for the *κομμός* and Antigone's final speech. He notes that in the *κομμός* there is a difference in the tone of Antigone's emotions very difficult to reconcile with the earlier scenes, and he regards this as a failure on Sophocles' part to preserve the unity of her character. It may well be doubted whether there is such a break. But on the assumption that there is, Della Valle advances an explanation that is ingenious but not very convincing. He suggests that Sophocles has here lost himself in a vision of Antigone's suffering and superimposed his own cries of woe upon the accents of the character he has created. The truth is more likely to be that the *κομμός* represents an emotional break-down after her heroic stand: face to face with death, she at last realises her utter forlornness, her physical and spiritual isolation, and she can no longer withstand the strain of being heroic.

As for her last speech, Della Valle is convinced, rightly, that Sophocles wrote it in the play at the time of composition, and suggests that its peculiarities arise from the fact that she is here communing with herself confusedly, unaware of the presence of others. This suggestion is of a piece with his general view of the play as a 'tragedia di umane solitudini', a thesis which he maintains consistently and argues sympathetically and persuasively. One feels, however, that in emphasising the isolation of Sophocles' characters, he tends, perhaps, to regard them as ready-made and static, and to underestimate the dramatist's amazing skill in showing the development of their personalities as a dynamic process revealed by the interplay of thought and feeling as they communicate with one another.

Of the translation an Englishman cannot competently say very much of value. The iambic parts are in blank verse, the choruses in a rough approximation to the Greek lyric metres, and from the fact that the number of lines in the translation is the same as that in the Greek, it may be inferred that the translator has achieved an admirable brevity. To the reviewer the general impression is one of economy, vigour, and fidelity. There are also useful stage-directions.

R. W. B. BURTON.

Deux thèmes de la cosmologie grecque: Devenir cyclique et pluralité des mondes. By C. MUGLER. Pp. 193, 9 diagrams. Paris: Klincksieck, 1953. Fr. 960.

This monograph is a fresh and intelligent study of an aspect of Greek science by an author who, while interested in classical syntax, has also given much attention to ancient physics, astronomy, and cosmology. Early in their philosophical development the Greeks became aware of what M. calls the Principle of Indifference (p. 21), i.e. that there is in nature no preference for any one form rather than another, and therefore any process of change to which matter is subjected may continue indefinitely, to reach, it may be, what we regard as its perfection, but not to remain there, else there would now be no changes in the observable universe, whereas we perceive that there are. The universe, therefore, must continue to change indefinitely as a result of the forces which compel it to alter at all.

This principle was first applied by Anaximandros, whose universe was the result of interaction between different elements or forces separated out from the infinite store of primary matter (the *ἀπείρον*) or rather (p. 145) the 'dynamisme incessant ne permettant jamais l'établissement définitif d'un arrêt du devenir cosmique'. Sooner or later this will result in a counteraction; the universe as we know it will disappear, and the whole process will recommence, and so on indefinitely. Incidentally, this everlasting recurrence confers on man a sort of discontinuous immortality (p. 22), for as every cycle repeats the former ones exactly, those who are now alive will repeat their present lives in the next recurrence, as they already have done an indefinite number of times. The doctrine had its moral side (p. 23), since the formation of the universe and its dissolution are the result of a series of encroachments by one element upon another and the necessary repayments; and a like law governs human life (Herodotos' famous 'wheel', Hdt. i. 207, 2). Anaximenes, Herakleitos, Parmenides, and Empedokles (pp. 24-58) all handled the same fundamental idea of recurrence in their various ways, the last being perhaps the most interesting and elaborate, with his concept of the opposed forces of Love and Strife (pp. 30-58; M. of necessity makes use of a considerable, though not illegitimate, amount of conjecture in reconstructing Empedokles' universe from the surviving fragments of his work).

The second chapter handles a new element in the discussion. With the Pythagoreans came the concept of the independent life of the soul, which had its own cycle of reincarnations and was not simply governed, like physical phenomena, by the recurrent changes of the material universe. With them came also the conception of the heavenly bodies as undergoing no change save regular motion in their orbits. Clearly, both these ideas (expounded on pp. 59-67) were inconsistent with any thorough-going scheme of everlasting cosmic deaths and births. Hence the remarkable cosmologies of Philolaos (pp. 71-81) and of Archytas (pp. 81-3), the last supporter of everlastingly recurrent world-periods. The measure of these cycles was the astronomical Great Year, i.e. a lapse of time which should be the common multiple of all the observed stellar periods, conceived as expressible in whole numbers; and a scientific weakness was the absence of any serious attempt to explain why the stars should be immutable.

Plato, who furnishes the subject-matter of the third chapter, pp. 85-143, was confronted with all the difficulties the Pythagoreans had created and with the recent and disturbing discovery of mathematics that not all relations are expressible in rational numbers (that of the diagonal to the side of the square was the first to be noticed). Furthermore, the ethical and metaphysical atmosphere of his age had changed. So simple and consoling a view as that a compensatory justice is inherent in the scheme of things could no longer be held (p. 90) by the generation in which the Melian dialogue was written, and everlasting recurrence of a state of things in which might was so obviously right was no longer a comfortable doctrine. Something must be substituted for it.

Plato's answer was contained in the *Timaeus*, with its finite, geocentric, single universe, constituting a projection of the ideal world on matter, conditioned in its elements by the finite number (recently demonstrated by Theaitetos) of the regular solids and limiting its cyclic changes to the sublunary sphere. To examine in detail M.'s most interesting exposition of all this would need more space and a more exact and critical knowledge of Platonic thought than the reviewer commands; I draw attention especially to pp. 102 (Plato's reason for supposing there is but one world), 113 (his introduction of a quantitative element into physics), 114-15 (the weakness of his treatment of the solid state of matter), 117 (the importance of fire in his cosmology), and 139 (his relations to Empedokles), and leave the rest to specialists in this department.

The fourth and last chapter treats of the atomists (Leukippos and Demokritos; the Epicureans are but mentioned incidentally). These men abandoned Plato's mathematical preconceptions and stressed the unlimited possibilities of structure resulting from the unlimited differences in size and shape of the atoms. They also introduced the conception of space as a real thing, not a mere negation, and thus rendered possible the supposition of a plurality of universes totally separate from each other. Their application of the Principle of Indifference was thus a new one. There being no reason why nature should produce one form rather than another, and space, time, and material being unlimited, nature does in fact produce all possible combinations, including those which result in relatively stable universes. The facts here are pretty well known, the exposition lucid, and this and the preceding chapters are illustrated with interesting parallels from modern science.

Two minor faults might be worth putting right if more

editions should be called for. The doctrine of world-ages is in itself neither of philosophic origin nor demonstrably Greek. M. does indeed repeatedly call it a *viens mythe*, but might add a section dealing with its pre-Ionian stages. Two or three times (pp. 80, 107) M. seems to attribute to comparatively early Greeks, contemporaries of the first Pythagoreans and of Plato, belief in something very like Hellenistic astrology. This ought to be either corrected or defended. On p. 89, I confess that I cannot find in Aeschylus that the sufferings of his characters have 'précisément pour fin de conduire le personnage condamné à l'intelligence de [la] loi de compensation et du rapport nécessaire entre la faute et l'expiation'. The hearers or readers of the play may draw such conclusions for their own edification, but not the characters.

H. J. ROSE.

ΔΙΟΣ ΑΙΣΑ. *Destino, uomini e divinità nell'epos, nelle teogonie e nel culto dei Greci.* By U. BIANCHI. Pp. viii + 233. Roma: Angelo Signorelli, 1953. L. 1500.

This interesting monograph is Fasc. 11 of the *Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto italiano per la storia antica*. It consists of a series of studies connected by their common relationship to the ideas of destiny or fate, as conceived, not by Greek philosophy, but rather by popular or semi-popular thought, especially religious. It begins, as is natural, with Homer and with the linguistic question of what difference, if any, there is between the various words which we commonly render by something like 'fate', especially *μοῖρα* and *αἶσα*. So far as these two words can be distinguished, the result is summed up on p. 10. *μοῖρα*, which unlike *αἶσα* can be plural, includes the purely quantitative sense of 'part' of a greater whole, whether in time or space, though specialising into the meaning of 'share', 'portion', e.g., of a meal, whereas *αἶσα* is rather the '*spettanza* in senso concreto, ma in relazione all'idea di equa ripartizione'. Evidently, the distinction is too fine to be always strictly observed, and the two words are often synonymous. This is not least true when they have the familiar sense of the 'lot' assigned to someone, though the author emphasises the tendency of *μοῖρα* to be felt as a sort of hostile force, an adversary, pp. 29-41. Inevitably, the familiar passages in which someone undergoes or achieves something beyond his *μοῖρα* or *ῥῶπος* are touched upon, the relation of all such ideas to the belief in the power of the gods is handled (very sensibly; B. is much too well read and too acute not to see that belief in an overruling Fate to which the gods are subject is not Epic), and there is a good section, pp. 71 ff., on the typically Epic theme of a hero and his destiny, and in general (pp. 85-113) on the relation between divine sovereignty and human free-will as envisaged by Homer. Follows an appendix on the meaning of *δαίμων*, pp. 115-32, in which he criticises certain views of Nilsson and other authors. Rightly refusing to equate the word with anything so impersonal as *mana*, he misses, in my opinion, part of the point, and is not alone in doing so. Whether or not a *daemon* is a 'distributor' (p. 126, n. 1, B. favours the etymology from *δαῖναι*), he is indeed an agent but a vague one, of whom it is known, or expressed, only that he has and exercises power, in fact *mana* of some kind. He is thus a supernatural being as conceived by the less imaginative or less curious in such things, by persons having rather a Roman than a typically Greek attitude towards deity.

From Homer, B. passes in Chap. II to Hesiod and his followers, the later constructors of the theogonies. Here he has to deal with the idea of a destiny of the gods, still not an impersonal, overruling force to which they are subject. In what sense, then, is Zeus 'fated' to do this and that? It was 'fated' (*ἐξῆκε*) that Metis should bear a son who should overthrow Zeus, yet she never did (p. 144). It is then an *destino puramente ipotetico, condizionato*, in other words the logical result of certain courses of action which may or may not be taken. A thoughtful analysis of the Hesiodic story of how the lordship of the universe changed hands emphasises the increasing rationality and ordered justice of the three generations, Uranos-Kronos-Zeus. In some later cosmologies (pp. 165 ff.; hardly enough emphasis is laid on their highly artificial and more or less philosophic origin) the stress is rather on the increase of civilisation, each contributing to it in some measure, Zeus most of all.

These discussions almost inevitably lead to mention more or less detailed of subsidiary problems, notably of the origin in Oriental religion and myth of the succession of divine rulers (pp. 145 ff., 160 ff.), the motif of the separation of heaven and earth and its relation to that succession (pp. 183 ff.), the Moirai as figures of cult (pp. 193 ff.; more stress might be laid on their importance in popular worship and belief, which continues to this day), and the idea of the spinning (or weaving) of human destinies (pp. 205-20). Here, apart from some rather tentative conclusions, a good deal of useful material is handily accumulated.

Altogether, this is a useful piece of work, by an author who does not like to speculate beyond what his evidence seems to justify and is careful to provide abundant references for those who would judge or continue his researches.

H. J. ROSE.

Hecataeus Milesius. Fragmenta. Testo, introduzione, appendice e indici a cura di G. Nenci. Pp. xxxii + 143. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1954. L. 1600.

For those who cannot find, or cannot afford, the first volume of Jacoby's *F. Gr. Hist.*, Dr. Nenci's edition of Hecataeus in the *Biblioteca di Studi Superiori* will have considerable attraction. The main Greek material is accurately printed, some of the problems about Hecataeus are discussed in a short Introduction, and there are useful indices and a bibliography. However, the edition as a whole is disappointing. Its defects are those of practical judgement rather than of learning. For example, Nenci makes the mistake of altering, for no satisfactory reason, Jacoby's numeration of the fragments. It should be obvious that the numeration of great modern standard collections like *F. Gr. Hist.* and Diels's *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* is not lightly to be abandoned. If a new fragment comes to light it can be inserted, as e.g. fr. 100a, or added at the end of the series; or if a fragment in the standard collection is proved to be false, it can be removed elsewhere without altering the other numbers. Nenci, however, for the sake of a very small number of alterations, and those for the most part trifling at best, has constructed an inconvenience which no amount of correlative tables and parenthetic numbers can redeem. Although the numbers are changed, Nenci in fact follows Jacoby's geographical arrangement of fragments of the *Periagesis* (which form the greater part of the whole), merely omitting his useful geographical headings. The *testimonia*, too, are re-arranged. This does not matter so much, although the order which is adopted, by descending chronological sequence of authorities (in which, however, Actius appears oddly between Isidore and Freculpus Lexoviensis), is not really helpful. It would be better to group testimonies on the same general subject together, only adopting chronological order within each group.

Another fault of arrangement is that notes in the apparatus (which is mainly derived from Jacoby) are referred only to a particular passage, not to the line or word within that passage: so that a note on a manuscript divergence in a long extract, between, e.g., ἀπό and ὑπό (as in T IX), involves the reader in a tiresome and unnecessary search. A more serious objection may be brought against the classification of fragments. First, it is highly desirable that *verbatim* quotations should be distinguished from paraphrases by the use of a distinctive type. Secondly, although the relevant context of each fragment should be quoted, Nenci often goes to excess by printing surrounding matter which clearly has no bearing whatsoever on the reference to Hecataeus. This does not help, but hinders, the user of an edition of fragments. Thirdly, Nenci argues that everything which might conceivably be held to be a genuine fragment (in the wider sense of that word, as either paraphrase or *verbatim* quotation) should simply appear in the main fragment-section. On the contrary, such passages should obviously be clearly marked as 'doubtful', and may conveniently be grouped in a separate, appended section, as in Diels-Kranz. On his fr. 386 (additional to Jacoby) Nenci remarks in the appendix: 'Non vi sono, a mio avviso, ragioni preminenti per attribuirlo all' Abderita piuttosto che al Milesio. Come nel caso della T. 41, ho preferito inserirlo sia pure con riserva'. This well-merited reserve should have been unmistakably expressed in the classification of the passage. Similarly, Nenci has seen fit to print among authentic fragments, without distinction, his new fragments 45 and 52; the latter entry is as follows: 'ΣΤΕΡΗ BYZ. s. v.: Στάλις πάλιν Μαστιγίδω. (<Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπη>'. The note in the apparatus simply says: '(<Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπη> supplevi'. Further 'improvements': when two separate ancient reports survive of what was obviously a single Hecataean statement, Jacoby counted those reports as, e.g., fr. 1a and 1b; Nenci makes them into separate fragments. Again, fr. 324b Jacoby (a longish quotation from Herodotus bk. II) is now omitted, with a reproachful note in the appendix that Hecataeus is not even mentioned in the passage. But Porphyry explicitly stated (in fr. 324a) that Herodotus, in treating in his second book the subjects actually described in the passage in question, was quoting verbally, though with some condensation, from Hecataeus. Who is right, Jacoby or Nenci?

The Introduction for the most part summarises arguments that the author has advanced, in greater detail, in contributions to journals—e.g., that Hecataeus' part in the Ionian revolt was exaggerated by Herodotus; that the *Periagesis* are genuine, and ancient doubts misplaced; that Hecataeus' 'rationalism' has been exaggerated. One could have wished for less con-

densation, and more evidence, here: for example, the statement that the *Asia* envisages a geographical situation anterior to the Scythian expedition, the *Europe* one between 514 and 510, deserves some support. It would have been useful, too, to mention what is known of the Abderite Hecataeus. Nenci's text of Athenaeus II, 70 A (T 15a Jacoby), which mentions Callimachus' doubts on the authorship of the *Tour of Asia*, is relevant to his discussion of authenticity in the Introduction. He prints (in his T XXVIII) . . . Καλλιμαχὸς γὰρ [Ἠσιώτου] ἀντ' ἀναγράφει. He has well argued elsewhere that the surprising Nesiotēs arises out of a dittography of the words γνησίον τοῦ, which occur roughly one line above. The difficulty is ἀναγράφει or ἀνταναγράφει, which can hardly be absolute. (ἀντ' ἀναγράφει, the text of L adopted here, is obviously impossible: in his article Nenci had ἀνταναγράφει. P, L in *margin*, and the editors have αὐτὸ ἀναγράφει.) On Hecataeus' much-emphasised rationalism Nenci rightly stresses that he did not reject myth altogether, but criticised and avoided its indiscriminate and contradictory use; though it is excessive to assume that in fr. 1a λόγοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ γελοιοὶ signifies 'ridiculous because many'. The author has dealt firmly elsewhere with the fantastic conviction (on which much paper has been wasted by those who should know better) that the reason for Heraclitus' criticism of Hecataeus in fr. 40 Diels was that the former was anti-barbarian (in view of fr. 107 Diels!), the latter pro-barbarian! It is these useful aspects of Nenci's work on Hecataeus that should be emphasized.

G. S. KIRK.

The Sophists. By M. UNTERSTEINER. Translated from the Italian by K. Freeman. Pp. xvi + 368. Oxford: Blackwell, 1954. 31s. 6d.

For a generation or more in this country it has been the fashion to regard the sophists as almost anything rather than as philosophers. This attitude has found reflection not only in standard works on Greek philosophy, but also in Liddell and Scott s.v. σοφιστής, where philosophy finds no place among the subjects taught by the sophists. But it is probable that to an increasing number has come the realisation that this view is unsound, and that the major sophists were philosophers with just as good a claim to that title as others to whom it is never refused. To these the present publication will have a double interest, first, because it is permeated with the view that the sophists were serious thinkers and makes a full-scale attempt to determine the views which they were concerned to put forward, and secondly, because both in the text and in the copious footnotes it digests and presents the results of innumerable articles and monographs. A great deal of this work is barely accessible and little known in this country, and in this category are probably some of Prof. Untersteiner's own articles in Italian periodicals.

In the past, it might be said, scholars have tended to be at fault, when studying the sophists, through failing to recognise philosophic arguments when confronted with them. They were consequently largely immune from a different danger, that of recognising a modern philosophic argument in an ancient author when it is not there at all. This is unfortunately a marked fault in the present book. Add to it a use of the apparatus of scholarship so fanciful that one wonders at times whether the author can really be serious, and it becomes very difficult to accept the picture of the sophists which we are given as correct. Yet just because of its originality and on occasions its startling conclusions this is a work which needs the most careful attention by all who are concerned with the development of ancient thought.

The hard core of the book lies in the interpretations of Protagoras, Gorgias, and Antiphon. The relationship suggested between these three might very well be a standard illustration of the working of the Hegelian dialectic. The universe is seen as wholly interpenetrated by conflicting forces, and it was consciousness of this conflict which constituted the tragic dilemma confronting Greek thinkers. Protagoras held that it was possible for man to master the conflicting opposites by means of superior rational knowledge, the κρείττων λόγος (Thesis). This proposed solution provoked Gorgias to take the opposed view (Antithesis)—the tragic antilogies of experience cannot be overcome by rational means. But above them Gorgias places an 'irrational cognitive factor', variously called 'deception' and 'persuasion', by means of which factor decision imposes one of the alternatives of an antithesis. Finally, Antiphon (Synthesis) reacted against the arguments of Gorgias and restated Protagoreanism in terms of time—καρπός. Once time is introduced as the basis of judgements, the tragic antilogies of Protagoras cease to cause trouble to philosophers. Within this general sequence the work of the other sophists is found to have a subordinate but relevant place. Particularly remarkable is the treatment of Hippias. It is argued that he

was still alive in 343 B.C., that he wrote the Proem attached to Theophrastus' *Characters*, also *Anonymus Iamblichi* and [Thuc.] III. 84, and that he had the additional distinction of being attacked in his own lifetime by Plato in the Seventh Epistle.

In this the Hegelian framework and terminology with its elaborate theme of conflict and tragedy are clearly imported by the author from without. But the detailed treatment of the doctrines of particular sophists cannot be so dismissed—it springs from a thorough study of the relevant sources. Though I believe much of it is mistaken, it deserves to be taken very seriously. Through lack of space I speak only of the interpretation of Protagoras, and then with the utmost brevity.

The doctrine of Protagoras is the key point in Untersteiner's interpretation of the sophistic movement, and within the doctrine itself it is the interpretation of the 'Man-Measure' principle which is of crucial importance. Untersteiner tries to establish that for Protagoras man is the measure in the sense that he is the master or determinant of his own experiences. The commonest interpretation of the principle, that, e.g., of Zeller, that Protagoras held a form of subjective idealism, is emphatically rejected by Untersteiner, who repeatedly emphasises the objective reality of phenomena for Protagoras. But the view diametrically opposed to that of Zeller, the theory of Brochard and Cornford, is not discussed by Untersteiner, and it seems clear that his view is not theirs either. On that view the mind perceives any one of a pair of opposite qualities at any one time, but both qualities are always present in reality and are in no way dependent upon any mind for their existence. Untersteiner holds that it is only with their realisation as phenomena that experiences were regarded as real by Protagoras. They are thus, he says, 'within the power' of the man who makes them real, though apparently they are not dependent upon the man experiencing them for their reality, which is something objective. Protagoras was then, it appears, an anticipator of the creative power of the absolute mind. But there is simply no evidence that Protagoras ever thought along these lines, and the case is not strengthened by a mistranslation of Sextus Empiricus' *δύνασθαι τὴν ὅλην ὁσον ἐπ' ἑαυτῇ πάντα αἰεὶ ὅσα πᾶσι φαίνεται*, which is rendered 'matter in its essential nature is the sum of what it appears to be to everybody', instead of something like 'matter, so far as depends upon itself, is able to be all those things which appear to everybody'.

The translation of the book from the Italian is not very well done—obvious mistakes and misprints in the original are faithfully reproduced in the English version and many new ones added. Nor can one always rely on a correct rendering of the meaning. On p. 249, *Già da molti ho sentito*, which correctly represents the Greek *ἤδη γὰρ πολλῶν ἤκουσα*, with *sentire* used for *uñre*, has become 'Like many others I have felt', which makes nonsense of the paragraph in which it occurs.

G. B. KERFERD.

Association Guillaume Budé. Congrès de Tours et Poitiers 3-9 Septembre 1953. Actes du Congrès. Pp. 422. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1954. Price not stated.

The fifth Congrès Budé was devoted, in the words of M. Heurgon, *par une dualité presque agressive*, to two topics, Rabelais and Platonism. The present volume records the papers presented, in part in full and in part in summary form. Platonism occupies nearly three hundred pages of the whole, and it is with these that the present notice will be concerned.

For purposes of publication the papers are arranged to provide a chronological sequence from Plato to the sixteenth century. Each group begins with a survey of work already done and problems remaining to be explored. There follow more specialised contributions dealing with particular passages and problems of varying interest and importance. The survey papers printed in full are as follows:—P. M. Schuhl, 'Platon, quinze années d'études platoniciennes', which is almost wholly bibliographical in character; P. Boyancé, 'Le Platonisme à Rome, Platon et Cicéron'; P. Courcelle, 'Travaux néoplatoniciens', both of which are masterly presentations; M. de Gandillac, 'Le Platonisme au XIIe et au XIIIe siècles'; R. Marcel, 'Le Platonisme de Pétrarque à Léon l'Hébreu'; R. Lebeque, 'Le Platonisme en France au XVIe siècle'; and A. Chastel, 'Le Platonisme et les arts à la Renaissance'. Among the twenty-nine more specialised contributions, only a few can be separately mentioned. Of special interest is likely to be the discussion of Marsilio Ficino and his manuscripts of Plotinus, by P. Henry, which includes a personal statement of Henry's attitude towards the work of Bréhier. An attempt to explain the *Oceanus dissociabilis* of Horace, *Odes* I. iii in terms of the (Platonic) Ocean which encircles the whole world does not read very convincingly. An unexpected

contribution discusses the essentially Platonic nature of the sonnet form. The papers directly concerned with Plato deal mainly with political philosophy and with literary and philosophical questions. An exception is a contribution by Richard Robinson on 'The two senses of *ἐν ἑαυτῷ* in Plato's *Parmenides*'.

The volume concludes with a summing up by Fernand Robert, which seems expressly designed to prevent complacency arising among Platonic scholars. He suggests briefly that the Socrates of the middle and even later dialogues may be more historical than the Socrates of the earlier dialogues, and pleads for a qualified return to a unitary, as opposed to an evolutionary, approach to the thought of Plato.

G. B. KERFERD.

-IKOΣ bei Platon. Ableitung und Bedeutung mit Materialsammlung. By A. N. AMMANN. Pp. 270. Freiburg: Paulusdruckerei, 1953. Sw. Fr. 12.50.

This investigation should be of value in a number of quite different ways. The greater part of the book consists of an alphabetic list of some 429 words ending in -ικος found in the Platonic corpus. Every occurrence of every such word is listed, usually with the clause or sentence in which it occurs. The occurrences are classified under five headings—ordinary attributive adjective, attribute of *τιχῆ* or *ἰσότητος* and as a substantive with the article in the feminine, as a neuter noun with the article, as an attribute of a person or a noun with the article in the masculine, and as an adverb. In each case the meaning is discussed, the formation and derivation considered, and the occurrence of the word in other authors noticed. In the remaining part of the book certain conclusions are drawn from the material thus assembled.

The results are of interest first for Greek lexicography in general—thus *ἰσότης* occurs first in Plato, and this relatively early use seems never to have found its way into dictionaries, and a number of corrections to Liddell and Scott are gleaned from the survey. Secondly, in the absence of any reliable lexicon to Plato's Greek it should be valuable to have a complete list for at least one type of word. Thirdly, the general conclusions are of importance for the history of the Greek language in general. Adjectives in -ικος are most commonly classifying adjectives. Sometimes they act as qualifying or characterising adjectives, but the verbal sense is usually in the foreground, and there is a tendency to create such adjectives directly from the verb, whether or not there be any *nomen agentis* to serve as intermediary. This leads to a third function of such adjectives, to express disposition or potentiality, and so in effect to a new kind of verbal adjective. Finally, all three functions, classifying, qualifying, and dispositional-dynamic are often combined in the one word, e.g. *Ἀσθενήτικος ἀνὴρ*.

These conclusions are amply supported by the material collected from Plato. In a rather different category is the discussion of the origin of the great development in the use of adjectives ending in -ικος which began around the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth. This movement, Ammann holds, was due to the sophists—first in 'Ionian Sophistic' and then in Athens. The last sentence in the book in fact claims that the perfection of the adjective in -ικος as the scientific instrument of definition was the abiding linguistic and spiritual achievement of the sophists. This has only two pieces of evidence to support it. *Ar. Knights*, 1378 ff. may show that the gilded youth of Athens in 424 B.C. were addicted to adjectives in -ικος, and a number of passages associate new coinages in language (or is it simply strange uses of words?) with certain orators at Athens. But the surviving traces of the writings of the sophists reveal no fondness for adjectives in -ικος, and, what is perhaps more important, there is no sign of any such predilection in passages where Plato seems certainly parodying sophistic style. Neither of these last points is considered by Ammann. But even if we are not justified in attributing the new departure to the sophists, the fact remains that Plato stood at or just after the point at which -ικος began to be the most productive adjectival suffix in prose writing, and the present investigation is most welcome accordingly.

G. B. KERFERD.

Der platonische Dialog Hippias Maior (Zetemata, 6). By M. SORETH. Pp. 64. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1953. DM 6.50.

It may surprise some that the authenticity of this dialogue should still need defending. The *onus probandi* lies with the sceptics, to whose side Wilamowitz lent his authority, if little else. While Soreth's examination, which provides a useful commentary, tends to place the work somewhere between *Euthyphro* and *Phaedo*, he properly limits his main argument to showing the implausibility of the hypotheses of forgery or imitation.

Apart from some insignificant linguistic points, the evidence against Platonic authorship consists in alleged weaknesses of construction, plunderings from genuine dialogues (and from Xenophon), and Aristotelian terminology. With these Soreth deals well. Few words are required to dispose of any trace either of Aristotle or of the theory of Forms: the view that would find here criticisms of the *Phaedo* doctrine receives, as it deserves, no mention; and among many points of less importance, the charge of unintelligent copying, in *Hippias* 295c and 298c, from *Gorgias* 474 ff., is refuted. The reader is left mildly astonished at the frivolity and flimsiness of some of the arguments put forward by scholars, sometimes of eminence. The main argument, however, turns on the relation of the dialogue to *Euthyphro* and *Phaedo*. In a subtle and closely-reasoned passage he compares *Hippias* 289c with *Euthyphro* 8a, where the similarity of wording makes independence unlikely. It is shown that similar conclusions follow here from quite different arguments. In *Hippias* it is admitted that while particular *κατά* may also be *ἀσχερά*, *αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν* cannot: and this involves an *aporia* the solution of which is offered by the Theory of Forms propounded in *Phaedo*; which is not the case in *Euthyphro*. Moreover, *Phaedo* 96d quotes, among the causal explanations discarded by Socrates, one explicitly stated in *Hippias* 294b.

This is good; better still if we could be assured that τὸ ὑπερέχον in *Hippias* bears the same meaning as τὸ ὑπερέχον in *Phaedo*, and if an unequivocal interpretation could be found for the *Euthyphro* passage (especially at 5d 1-5). But the point is well made: if the forger or imitator possessed sufficient philosophical insight to reconstruct a crucial stage in Plato's thought which is not elsewhere indicated, what becomes of the 'Stumpfsinnigkeit', which was the initial reason for postulating him?

Soreth's careful examination focuses attention on several points of difficulty which might easily be, or have been, passed over. Three examples may be noted:

(i) 302c 4. τῇ οὐσίᾳ τῇ ἑπ' ἀμφοτέρω ἐπομένη: not 'the attribute common to both kinds of pleasure' but 'the attribute common to the pair and to its members severally'. This gives better sense.

(ii) 294c 3: S. reads: φαίνοσθαι δὲ καὶ ποτεῖν εἶναι οὐ μόνον καλὰ οὐκ ἂν ποτε δύναται [τὸ] αὐτὸ, ἀλλ' οὐδεῖς ἄλλο ἔπος: 'Neither it nor anything else could cause both the reality and the appearance of beauty.' Though the word order is awkward, this makes better sense in the context than do the Budé and Loeb editors. (What Burnet's text means here I cannot conjecture.)

(iii) 300c 7: τίματα αὐ ἀπακρινόμενα ἰουκας, ὧ Σώκράτης, ἐπὶ μέζω ἢ ἄλλων πρότερον ἀπεκρίνα. What are the 'even greater miracles'? Retaining the MSS. reading in the preceding lines, Soreth rightly refers 'πρότερον' to 300b 6; then the 'greater miracles' refer to Socrates' transition from 'πεισιθῆναι' there to 'εἶναι' in 300c. This involves pressing rather hard, in the following lines, the distinction between πάθος and οὐσία, which is at best only implicit in the text. Now in 300c 5, as Soreth points out, Sydenham proposed a radical alteration of Socrates' last words to read: 'ἔτιμα δ' αὐ, ὧ μὴ ἀμφοτέροι, ταῦτα ἐκάτερον εἶναι ἡμῶν', which avoids the blatant tautology of the text as it stands; and Schleiermacher, following him, found in these words the 'ἐπὶ μέζω τίματα'. When Soreth claims that this will not do, because in *Hippias* next words 'Kein Beispiel ist so formuliert, das es sich gegen die Umkehrung: was wir beide zusammen nicht sind, sind wir als einzelne, richtet' (p. 55), he is mistaken. The 'Umkehrung' is in fact controverted by two of *Hippias*' examples, and is again apparently envisaged at 301c. Sydenham may have been wrong to improve the text here; but it is an improvement.

To draw attention to such difficulties is a service, even if the proposed solutions do not win acceptance. Soreth's work is notable for its sobriety and good sense; and any future challenge to the Platonic authorship of this dialogue will need a better foundation than has been found in the past.

R. MATTHEWSON.

L'Oeuvre de Platon. By P.-M. SCHUHL. Pp. 228. Paris: Hachette, 1954. Fr. 490.

This brief but valuable study appears in a series entitled *A la Recherche de la Vérité*; it is presumably intended for the general student of philosophy, while it also contains much that is useful and suggestive for the Platonist. Introductory chapters state some of the problems involved and give a clear summary of pre-Platonic thought. The main contents and findings of the dialogues are then expounded, in the customary order and for the most part on accepted lines. After tracing the genesis and earlier developments of the Theory of Ideas, Prof. Schuhl emphasises the probability of a 'crisis' in Plato's thought, connecting this with the second Sicilian

visit and with fresh personal contacts or influences at that period—Eudoxus and Aristotle newly arrived in the Academy; Democritus; further association with Pythagoreans; Philistion and the medical studies of Sicily. Revision of the earlier theory, and new trends of thought, in the later dialogues are persuasively attributed to these influences. The exposition of these later works in outline, particularly of the *Timaeus* and the *Laws*, is clear and well proportioned. Reference is finally made to the problem of the 'unwritten doctrines', with special acknowledgement to Ross's *Plato's Theory of Ideas*. An excellent classified bibliography is appended, supplementing the numerous references in footnotes to works of various dates, some quite recent.

Amid much that will stand unquestioned, yet worthy of attention because of the author's freshness of approach and wise comments, his statements at certain points are open to challenge. It may be a mere looseness in expression that makes him describe the *Phaedo* as recording (p. 92) in the plural 'les derniers jours' and 'les ultimes conversations' of Socrates. One may query the description of the Demiurges in the *Timaeus* as 'symbolising' the causal power of the Ideas. Perhaps the section most open to criticism is the treatment of the *Republic*, where the ethical and spiritual message for the individual is too much subordinated to the political and social doctrine. This is especially noticeable in the study of the degenerate states and lives in Books VIII and IX, where the types of individual character are expressly regarded as results of life within the corresponding polities—p. 108, 'l'évolution psychologique que subissent les individus membres de ces différents régimes'. This ignores the essential parallelism between the city without and the city within, under which the individual at each stage develops psychologically from the preceding type, not from the institutions which may surround him. Thus the 'tyrannical man' (571a ff.) is not the political tyrant, already described in relation to the state he rules, but he whose inner polity is at the mercy of one overmastering passion.

These and other possible criticisms in detail must not detract from the praise due to an excellent treatise, which students of Plato should not overlook.

D. TARRANT.

Plato's earlier dialectic. By R. ROBINSON. 2nd edition. Pp. x + 286. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953. 25s.

First published in America in 1941, this book has until now been known to many students of Plato only by report. Thanks are due to the author and the publishers for making available this revised and enlarged edition. The work is based on a most painstaking examination of the dialogues, not excluding the latest group, and its pronouncements upon Plato and, still more, upon his modern commentators deserve thorough consideration.

The purpose is to trace and evaluate the logical theories and practices contained in the early and middle dialogues. The method of collection and division is excluded as late and new, though that is not what Plato says of it in *Phaedrus* 266b. It is claimed that the canons of interpretation applied are 'of unusual severity'; only what Plato explicitly says and does is to be taken as evidence of his logical position. There are few text-books which could stand up to these canons; and these dialogues are not text-books but works of dramatic art, contrived and arranged by Plato for some purpose other than detailed and systematic exposition. This is a further 'canon' for which Mr. Robinson makes little allowance. Moreover, he himself seems at times compelled to go beyond the text. For example, he assumes that both Socrates and Plato believed in the equation of virtue with knowledge; but this is one of the 'propositions' which, to use his own term, are 'destroyed' in certain dialogues by the 'appeal to instances', which he finds to be a device for 'destroying rather than establishing propositions'. 'Destroying' seems a strong word for the explication of concepts, or the exposure of ambiguities. Not all so-called knowledge is (genuine) virtue; but the equation is not abandoned.

According to Mr. Robinson (here departing from Ross's view), Aristotle, in attributing induction and definition to Socrates, did not mean that the former was a means to the latter. They are mentioned simply as two disconnected procedures relevant to the theme of Aristotle's context, viz. dialectic. In the dialogues, though sometimes the speakers 'think' that they arrive at a universal by the 'most useless' kind of induction, complete enumeration, the function of epagoge is usually destructive, and the propositions destroyed are by no means always definitions. There is indeed little sympathy with the Socratic demand for definitions; Mr. Robinson flatly contradicts *Phaedrus* 260: that one must know the meaning of 'horse' or 'justice' before one can say anything useful about horses or justice. Ignoring the positive suggestions found even

in the earliest group, he concentrates on the negative side of the Socratic elenchus. Definition, at best, means for Socrates, he finds, the 'identification' of X through its essential character; but frequently any 'mark' or differentia will satisfy him; and always the assumption is that X can be broken up into 'elements', so that, if X is a primary element, no definition is possible, and if it is a composite, definition is merely a statement of its elements, which, nevertheless, *Theaet.* rejects as unhelpful. Reducing the Socratic arguments to their lowest common denominator, Mr. Robinson pronounces 'What is X?' to be 'a vague question merely inviting some true statement about X'. There are some considerations which might mitigate these conclusions: for example, 'elements' must include the relations of X to other things; and the object is not so much to identify X as to induce an understanding of it.

Mr. Robinson thinks that when Aristotle attributed dialectic to Zeno he did not mean the question-and-answer variety, which was probably Plato's invention based on his inheritance from Socrates, to which he stubbornly clung long after it had become inappropriate. Plato's dialectic can go on in a single mind, but Mr. Robinson curiously insists that it is essentially a social activity, full, presumably, of *argumenta ad hominem*. Thus the 'something adequate' of *Phaedo* is for him merely an *ad hominem* device, some hypothesis to which the objector no longer objects. In the middle dialogues Socrates, we are told, becomes constructive; he genuinely seeks 'essences' by means of the method of hypothesis. We are told at the same time that this method is 'not so much a way of discovering essence as of evading the search for essence' while still 'paying lip-service to the need for grasping it'. No doubt it is because of such tart remarks that Mr. Robinson has been accused of a hostility towards Plato which he disavows. To take another example, it is said that dialectic tends to mean 'the ideal method, whatever that may be' at any given time. And it is surely captious, unless there is a deep misunderstanding here, to say that Plato's strong belief in the value of experts is at variance with his claim that dialectic recognises no authority.

It is not easy to make a connected account of dialectic out of the numerous sections into which the treatment of this subject is broken up. Mr. Robinson sees that what to him are questions of logic are for Plato—and this is 'very strange'—matters of ontology. Yet he treats even the Idea of Good as a 'proposition', denying that it is a genus or a universal. It does not occur to him that it might be some kind of *ens*. Recognising rightly that dialectic is not a set of rules, he seems again to forget about the objective reference in calling it 'a way of thinking'. The only merit which he appears to assign to the hypothetical method, as expounded in the middle dialogues, lies in its keeping 'what you assume' distinct from 'what you deduce'. But elsewhere even this merit is denied by implication. According to Mr. Robinson's interpretation, a hypothesis is to be rejected if its contradictory (or a pair of contradictories) can be deduced from it. Either, then, a hypothesis must be a complex proposition, or else the conflict is due to extra premisses tacitly introduced. How, then, has the method succeeded in making one's assumptions distinct and explicit? Mr. Robinson successfully disposes of Burnet's view that the exposition of the method is a reply to Protagoras' attack on mathematics, and throws some doubt on Maier's notion that it had something to do with Aristotle's doctrine on unproved first principles. But he cannot explain why the method is introduced in its context in *Phaedo*; the passage is, he thinks, irrelevant, 'an excrescence'—for why should the abandonment of the search for the Good involve adopting the hypothetical method? I should reply: because the search is not abandoned but postponed; the 'switch from final to formal causes' (the ideas) is a misleading expression when the formal causes are also final causes. It is wrong to think that there is 'no connexion' between internal and external finality.

Hypotheses are usually premisses, and since they (all of them?) may lead to contradiction, both they and their consequences must be 'provisional'. Why, then, does *Rep.* claim certainty for the conclusions of dialectic? Apparently the answer lies not in devising a new method but in postulating an unprovable presupposition, the Good, which enables one to 'destroy the hypotheses'—an expression which Mr. Robinson takes (disappointingly, for it is not what Plato says) as referring to the destruction of their hypothetical character. He thus thinks it probable that mathematics could be transformed into dialectic in the course of the downward path, which, however, has appeared to others (notably Mr. Murphy) to involve not demonstration but clarification. The discussion of the Line and the Cave also reaches rather conventional conclusions. 'The Line is not parallel to the Cave, and Plato did not think it was.' (Are these really two propositions?) And there are no mathematical. As to the four mental states of the Line, these are 'added as an afterthought' and are of no importance.

One could find a moral in the contrast with Ross, whose tone and methods are so similar to Robinson's, but who found 'the real purpose of the Line' to be 'a division of states of mind'.

In practice, Plato relies little on the hypothetical method and much more on analogy and imagery, both of which, it is thought, he condemns in theory. In finding incoherence here, Mr. Robinson perhaps misconceives the relation of sensation to dialectic; sense-experience reminds us of the ideas (*Phaedo*), and starts off the whole process from which knowledge results (*Rep.*). To the use of imagery he applies without discrimination all that Plato says of imitation (good and bad). One might have expected those severe canons to rule out the treatment of *αἰσῆς* and *εἰδωλα* as synonymous. Plato's methods and methodologies are finally pronounced to contain five 'major incoherences', not one of which appears to me to have been made out.

A long chapter on *Parm.*, a 'bewildering' and 'depressing' work, has been added. Rejecting, with good reason for the most part, the views of several modern commentators, Mr. Robinson finds in *Parm.* no statement, either direct or indirect, of either doctrine or method. Nor will he accept what seems the most hopeful line of interpretation: the hypothesis that Parmenides' 'methods' in the second part are a commentary on his criticisms of the theory of ideas in the first. But on such matters I would refer the reader to A. L. Peck in *CQ.*, N.S. III, 126, IV, 31.

J. TATE.

Kommentar zum ersten Buch von Xenophons Memorabilien. (Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, 5.) By O. GIGON. Pp. 169. Basel: F. Reinhardt, 1953. Sw. Fr. 15.60.

This is the first volume of a complete commentary on the *Memorabilia*. Gigon passes over linguistic, historical, and other incidental matters wherever possible and concentrates his attention upon the philosophical provenance and literary articulation of Xenophon's 'Reminiscences'. The method, here adopted, of continuous, analytical commentary makes for a more coherent and readable book, though it necessarily involves much paraphrasing of the original text and tends to tie down the discussion rather much to the particular passage in hand. After all the detailed argument and comparison this way and that, one wishes for the scales to be brought in at last and some sort of verdict given. Since G. is generally reluctant to commit himself on the ultimate authenticity of any particular conversation or account of Socrates, the reader is often left merely to add a new dimension of complexity to a doubt that remains as profound as it was before. But doubtless G. is reserving an overall consideration of Xenophon's reliability as a witness to the true Socrates and a drawing-together of the many puzzling threads for the end of his commentary. (The remaining volumes are promised soon.)

G. believes that Xenophon was not philosophically incompetent; that he was not, of course, a 'straight' reporter of Socratic anecdotes, conversations, and characteristics, nor yet a complete inventor of them. The difficulty is to decide where to draw the lines between genuine reminiscence, 'doctored' reminiscence, plausible extension of Socratic ideas, and all-but-invention. Towards this task G.'s first volume provides some valuable reconnaissance and some preliminary skirmishing.

Among the many interesting discussions in the book may be mentioned that on the relation between Libanius' *Apology* and Xenophon's Bk. 1, Chap. 2, and the derivation of both from Polycrates' hostile pamphlet, which was largely based on the allegation that the infamous Critias and Alcibiades had been Socrates' pupils (pp. 39 ff., 80 ff.). Xenophon vindicates his master, notes G., in a less subtle way than Plato. For Xenophon virtue is mainly a matter of practice, and consequently may be lost; therefore Socrates was not to blame for others' lapses after they had abandoned him. For Plato, on the other hand, knowledge of the Good, if once attained, could never be lost (p. 48), and his Socrates makes no claim even to possess this knowledge, much less to teach it. Another such contrast is brought out on p. 101. Xenophon sees Socrates' self-appointed poverty as a wise effort after the utmost self-sufficiency; and perhaps implies that it would be unjust to class him with aristocratic parasites, because his needs were in fact so small. But Plato expressly attributes Socrates' poverty to his full-time devotion to the service of God in chastening pretenders to wisdom (*Apol.* 23b-c). On p. 164 there is a comparison, though hardly an evaluation, of the reasons given for Socrates' non-participation in politics. Xenophon's excuse is that Socrates did more good by training many others to be politicians (*Mem.* 1. 6. 15). (But this surely lays him open to the charge which he has been so earnestly rebutting—that some of the 'pupils' had turned out very badly. And would not the

'master' statesman have done better than many indifferent disciples? Plato invokes the Daimonion (which hardly helps) and makes Socrates declare that he would have lost his life long ago if he had been active in politics (*Apol.* 31c). (But this consideration seems to be on a much less heroically moral plane than other parts of the *Apology*.) It is disappointing that G. hardly attempts to apportion the truth between conflicting views such as these.

G. finds anachronisms in the dialogue between Xenophon and Socrates upon Critobulus' love for Alcibiades' son (*Mem.* 1. 3. 8. ff.), similar to some found in Plato's dialogues (pp. 104 ff.). By ingeniously linking this passage with one in *Xen. Symp.* 4. 10-28, where the dramatic date is known to be 422, G. suggests that Xenophon is here representing himself as being already on familiar terms with Socrates at that time—in fact talking intimately with him about the son of his best friend, Critobulus. G. is inclined to favour Apollodorus' date for Xenophon's birth (441/440) rather than the usual c. 428 (p. 106). This is important in that it would allow a longer time in which Xenophon could have got to know Socrates really well.

On the vexed question of the identity of the Antiphon in *Mem.* 1. 6, G. thinks that 'Antiphon' is used here merely as a type-name for an opponent of Socrates, for which he compares Plato's use of 'Gorgias'. This would exclude the passage from giving any clues towards the distinction of the sophist (and seer?) from the orator of Rhamnus (if they were different), but incidentally G. takes *παρ' ἡμῶν* (*Mem.* 1. 6. 13) to refer to the Socratic circle (p. 160), so far agreeing with Morrison (*CR* March 1953) against Dodds (*The Greeks and the Irrational*, p. 133).

G. finds Xenophon's way of stringing together his reminiscences highly inconsequential at times, but despite some undoubted inconsistencies and dislocations (*cf.* pp. 44, 161) he seems to be expecting a standard of precision and logical exposition which would be remarkable in a strongly apologetic memoir of this sort and tends to exaggerate the effect of these faults on the reader (*e.g.* pp. 4, 21). G. is always straining to see the written work of some shadowy *Sokratiker* behind Xenophon's stories (*e.g.* pp. 42, 103). He even believes that Xenophon followed a published list of those who were present at Socrates' death (p. 73—despite discrepancies there noted). Apart from the temerity of calling the contemporary Xenophon's observation on the prevalence of gluttony at Athens 'Unsinn', it is surely unnecessary to trace in it a muddled echo of an (unknown) *Ur-Symposium* (p. 102). Socrates and his friends were, above all, great talkers, and the introduction to Plato's *Phaedo* gives a more likely account of the way stories about Socrates were spread than G.'s picture of the ex-soldier-of-fortune conflating and confusing piles of earlier Socratic literature.

Several of the more striking parallel passages in the *Cyropaedia* are not mentioned by G. (many references in Marchant's Loeb). These raise in acute form the question: Was Xenophon fathering his own ideas on Socrates, or was he improvising along lines Socrates had suggested? On the other hand, in such dialogues as *Mem.* 1. 2. 33 ff. Socrates seems to pursue his question-and-answer method in essentially the same way as in Plato. Much of the argument in 1. 4. 10-18 and 1. 5. 3 would come just as naturally from Plato's Socrates. One wonders about the rest—is it what Xenophon invented or what Plato suppressed? It is to be hoped that G. will not end his commentary without a bold discussion of such questions.

E. R. HILL.

Morals and Law. The growth of Aristotle's legal theory. By M. HAMBURGER. Pp. xxii + 191. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951. (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege.) 24s.

The purpose of Dr. Hamburger's study is to elucidate the growth of Aristotle's legal theory as set forth in the *Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Rhetoric*, and to determine what theories of enduring value may be found in these works. Dr. H. finds that the chronological order of the three treatises with which he is chiefly concerned, as indicated by the development of Aristotle's legal views, is *Magna Moralia*, *Eth. Eud.*, *Eth. Nic.*; both the summarising passages and the expansions found in *Eth. Nic.* show it to be the latest of the three. He thus aligns himself with the reaction against the methods and conclusions of Jaeger. Dr. H. makes three divisions of his study: (1) Voluntary action and choice; (2) Law and Justice; (3) Friendship ('social sympathy'). In each division he gives a close analysis of the arguments of the three treatises, and his main evidence for the chronological development is drawn from the first division. The second division is the longest, dealing with Justice in its various aspects, including Aristotle's notion of 'equity' (*ἐπιείκεια*) as supplementing the laws where they are too general to permit of a fair application in some particular

case. In the third division the relation between 'social sympathy' and justice is examined; and there is a good deal of comparison and contrast of Aristotle's views with Plato's.

The study is written to show that Aristotle's views are based not on an amateurish grasp of legal theory (as seems often to have been supposed, at any rate by lawyers), but upon sound and adequate technical knowledge. They are therefore to be regarded not as mere historical curiosities, but as embodying principles which are of permanent value, which have had a practical influence upon later and present-day systems; and they serve in particular as a corrective against the tendency of modern legal theory to break away increasingly from its connexion with philosophy in general and moral philosophy in particular. It would indeed be gratifying if the study of Aristotle's legal theories could help towards restoring the 'synoptic' view of human society and human endeavour.

A. L. PECK.

The Philosophy of Aristotle (Home University Library).

By D. J. ALLAN. Pp. 220. London: Oxford University Press, 1952. 6s.

There is little that need be said about this admirable book except to commend it. The analysis and presentation of Aristotle's philosophy are sympathetic and penetrating, and so are the statements of Aristotle's weaknesses and shortcomings. In a few isolated places one may feel that a remark needs modification; but taking the work as a whole, it is difficult to imagine how its purpose, which is 'to give an outline of Aristotle's principal doctrines with reference to the circumstances in which they were formed', could in the prescribed compass have been more successfully achieved. Any reader who, having no Aristotle and no Greek, wishes to obtain a fair and balanced account of Aristotle's thought will find one here. It is perhaps not without significance that both this book, and Dr. Hamburger's, which deals intensively with one facet only of Aristotle's doctrine, concur in emphasising the value of Aristotle's thought for the present age. 'The world', says Mr. Allan, 'is not too richly endowed with examples of perseverance and subtlety in analysis, of moderation and sanity in the study of human affairs. It will be a great loss if the thinker who, above all others, displays these qualities, is ever totally forgotten.'

The work includes a useful short bibliography and an index.

A. L. PECK.

La Poétique d'Aristote. By D. DE MONTMOLLIN. Texte primitif et additions ultérieures. Neuchâtel: H. Mescler, 1951. Pp. 375. Price not given.

It would be a pity if the exasperating cleverness of this dissertation were to distract attention from its value. It is clearly the work of a brilliant young scholar who has yet to learn the satisfaction of distinguishing accurately between what can and what cannot be proved, and whose critical method consists of setting up a hypothesis and then straining every nerve to support it. He has nothing but contempt for '*le doute méthodique*' (p. 188); of his own dialectic the following is a sample:

'Cette série d'arguments, plus ou moins forts, mais qui se confirment les uns les autres, a la valeur d'une preuve décisive' (p. 152).

The once familiar academic exercise of pulling oneself off the ground by one's own bootstraps has long been outmoded, and scholars of to-day are likely to be more frustrated than engaged by M. de Montmollin's agile showmanship. All the same, anyone interested in Aristotle's *Poetics* is bound to learn something from a study of this erudite and provocative volume.

The starting-point of de M.'s thesis is a passage in c. 3 (1448a 29 ff.) which in printed editions is rescued from chaos by the use of brackets; without this typographical device the reader could not reasonably be expected to observe that *ποιοῦντος* relates not to the immediately preceding *ἔπος* but to another subject several lines earlier. Having concluded that the parenthetic passage must be a later addition to the text, de M. set out to look for similar insertions, and found them plentiful. The game is, of course, an easy one to play, and there is an obvious danger of carrying it too far. Anyone who has ever written anything knows that even a first draft contains afterthoughts, and how is one to distinguish between a parenthetic observation which occurred to the author while he was in the act of writing and one which he added in the margin many years later? In his examination of the early chapters de M. made it his aim to mark as later additions only those passages which appeared on stylistic grounds to be out of place in their present contexts. As he proceeded to list such passages a pattern became apparent: the intrusions consisted of factual and illustrative matter, what remained was mainly

theoretical. Hence he developed the theory that Ar. originally wrote a strictly theoretical treatise on poetry, perhaps for the instruction of his pupil Alexander; at a later date he worked over this treatise with a view to using it in his courses at the Lyceum, and having by this time conducted his researches at the Metron was able to incorporate facts of literary and dramatic history as well as other matter which had not been relevant to his original purpose. The marginalia were, essentially, Ar.'s own, but their incorporation into a continuous text was the work of a compiler after his death, and was in many places carelessly executed.

So far so good. But complications multiplied as this hypothesis was applied to the central and later sections of the work. To begin with, if any passage referred back to a passage already marked as a later addition, it must itself be a later addition, even though there might be no reason to suspect it on stylistic grounds. Again, in these sections of the work there is a strong element of *τίχνη*—the author seems to have passed from discussion of the nature of poetic drama to the formulation of precepts for effective dramaturgy; the pattern de M. has detected in the early chapters obliges him to mark passages of this nature, however extensive, as later additions. In the end we find that from c. 12 to c. 18 inclusive only 45 lines out of 275 belong to the original treatise. The analysis of cc. 13 and 14 (pp. 150 ff.) is almost a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole method, stirring memories from an early Chaplin film of the trimming of the comedian's moustache. We are left with three lines at the beginning of c. 13, announcing a new topic; two lines at the end of c. 14, declaring that plot-construction has now been adequately discussed; in between, only the first thirteen lines of c. 14 are considered to belong to the original version. Why are these retained? Mainly, it appears, as the result of a notable paralogism: from the principle, already mentioned, that a passage echoing a later addition must itself be a later addition, de M. has proceeded to the irrational corollary that if a passage echoes part of the original version it must itself belong to that version. His reason for retaining the opening lines of c. 14 is that there is nothing in them that does not reflect some part of the original treatise. In other words, Ar. is supposed to have solemnly announced a new and important topic—what to aim at and what to avoid in constructing plots, and how to achieve the tragic effect—and thirteen lines later to have declared the whole topic of plot-construction closed without having added a single new idea. This is a case where de M. would have been more convincing if, like Chaplin's barber, he had carried the trimming process through to its logical conclusion.

But the relegation of whole chapters, or major portions of chapters, to the category of later additions plays havoc with the original hypothesis of marginalia. It is easy to picture Ar. writing a sentence in the margin of a chapter, but how can anyone write a chapter in the margin of a sentence? No attempt is made to explain how such a very small dog came to grow such a very large tail. And a further difficulty is that each passage relegated to the later additions, whatever its length, must be of one piece—we cannot have afterthoughts within afterthoughts. So de M. has to abstain from applying his method of stylistic detection to some of the most perplexed and perplexing parts of the text; he is even reduced to suggesting (p. 152) that in his later years (*i.e.* after writing the *Organon*) Ar. was less concerned with avoiding self-contradiction. But if we are to believe that Ar. in his Lyceum days was capable of writing such apparent nonsense as c. 14, 1453b 34 ff., in the form in which it has come down to us, why should we be at such pains to restore order and logic to other parts of the *Poetics*? Why should he not have composed the whole work, with all its anomalies, during this same surprising phase of intellectual irresponsibility? What it comes to is that the hypothesis of marginalia, when pushed too far, destroys itself; applied with discretion it could, and still may, help to explain many of the minor incongruities which mar the received text.

Perhaps the most interesting part of de M.'s thesis is its third chapter, dealing with the place of the *Poetics* in Ar.'s work. Inspired by Jaeger's 'genetic' approach to the Aristotelian corpus, he makes a careful examination of the scattered external evidence concerning Ar.'s writings on poetry, and concludes that allusions which are not to the early dialogue *πρὸς Πρωταν* are to a later *ἐκδομένος λόγος*, which may be identified with the *πραγματικὴ τέχνη ποιητικῆς*, in two books, which is listed in the Hermippean catalogue (*ap.* Diog. Laert. V. 21), and to which the fragments of criticism in the Reiner papyri at Vienna may possibly belong. This *πραγματικὴ τέχνη*, de M. considers, was the only critical work on poetry which Ar. ever published; the extant work was pieced together after his death and is, as Düntzer conjectured, the *ποιητικὸν* (in one book) of the Hermippean catalogue. The argumentation of this chapter deserves serious attention, but in so far as it rests on the hypothesis of

extensive *secundae curae* incorporated in the extant work it must be treated with reserve, though the assembling of all relevant material for a fresh evaluation of the problem is itself a substantial service.

It is characteristic of the intensity of de M.'s scholarship that in publishing a text, as a mere appendix to illustrate his thesis, he has equipped it with a full and up-to-date *apparatus criticus*. His own text, though founded on Gudeman and Sykouris, shows some independence, and this part of his work has a value quite unrelated to the thesis which it supports. The bibliography, though restricted to matters relevant to the dissertation, will also be found extremely helpful to students of critical problems in the *Poetics*. There is no index, but an ingenious system of reference enables a reader interested in a particular passage to work his way from point to point in the order text, thesis, notes, bibliography.

R. G. C. LEVENS.

Aristoteles latinus. IV, 2. Analytica posteriora. Translatio anonyma, ed. L. MINIO-PALUELLO. XXXIII, De Arte Poetica. GUILLELMO DE MOERBEKE interprete. Eds. E. VALGIMIGLI, A. FRANCESCHINI, L. MINIO-PALUELLO. (Corpus Philosophorum medii aevi.) Pp. xiv + 111, xix + 77. Bruges-Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1953. Prices not stated.

Dr. Minio-Paluello has elsewhere shown that, whereas the translation of the *Prior Analytics* commonly used in the Middle Ages and still preserved was the work of Boethius, his version of the *Posterior Analytics* did not survive. Other Greek-Latin versions took its place, and this necessitates an inquiry into the age and authorship of these versions. Dr. Minio-Paluello has convincingly argued that the common version is to be attributed, along with some early versions of other treatises, to James of Venice. But this is only one part of the story. C. H. Haskins, in a paper published in 1914 and reprinted in *Studies in Mediaeval Science*, announced the discovery in a MS. at Toledo of another Greek-Latin version, accompanied by a preface in which the translator refers to the version of James, alleging that the learned men of France 'by their silence bear witness to its great obscurity'.

The date of this anonymous version is roughly fixed by the fact that John of Salisbury, in the *Metalogicus*, A.D. 1159, cites a phrase from it and terms it 'new'. It is this work which here for the first time (apart from Haskins's extracts) appears in print. It has sometimes been called the Toledo version: Dr. Minio-Paluello points out that this name might be more appropriately assigned to Gerard of Cremona's Arabic-Latin version, which may really have been written at Toledo. The present version may be of Italian origin, and the MS. in which it survives appears to have come from France.

None of the great scholastic thinkers seems to have been familiar with it, but it did not remain entirely unknown. Apart from John of Salisbury's quotation, there are in this country two MSS., one at Balliol College and one in the British Museum, which report its readings in the margin.

The general form of this edition is that approved by the Union Académique Internationale for the *Aristoteles Latinus* as a whole. The editor has carefully studied the readings of the Greek MSS. as reported by Waitz and Ross. He states in the Preface what can be inferred regarding the translator's Greek source, and the relation between version and Greek text is shown in detail in a separate *apparatus criticus*. In another apparatus variants or emendations in the Latin text are given. There follow, first a Latin-Greek Index which records the occurrence of every word, and if necessary distinguishes its various equivalents, and secondly, a Greek-Latin Index. These Indexes not only enable a citation to be readily found, but provide valuable material for anyone studying the vocabulary of medieval translators, a task which is in turn necessary in deciding questions of authorship.

So far as form is concerned, the preceding remarks apply also to the edition of the Latin version of the *Poetics*, by William of Moerbeke.

That the work is by him, and that the date of its composition is 1278, not, as was formerly thought owing to a misreading, 1248, are facts which Dr. Minio-Paluello has elsewhere shown. The translation is preserved in two MSS., one at Eton College and the other at Toledo; in the former it is described as '*primus Aristotilis de arte poetica liber*'. This version has, of course, been previously studied by those interested in the establishment of the Greek text, but the present editors are equipped with much fuller information about William of Moerbeke's vocabulary and his principles of translation. They offer us a stemma which shows the relation between the four main lines of descent of the text previous to the Renaissance, *i.e.* the Greek, the Greek-Latin, the Greek-Semitic, and the Semitic-Latin. Among other points of value in the Preface

there is an interesting note on the phonetic aspect of the transliteration of Greek words (pp. x-xi). After the untimely death of the original editor, Signorina Valgimigli, the work passed into the hands of Professor Franceschini and Dr. Minio-Paluello, who have collated the MSS. afresh and drawn up the Preface.

These volumes are remarkable alike for accuracy, for economy of space, and for good judgement. They are a notable addition to the resources both of Greek scholars and of students of medieval philosophy.

D. J. ALLAN.

Die Schule des Aristoteles. By F. WEHRLI. Vol. I, *Dikaiarchos*. Pp. 80. Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1944. Vol. III, *Klearchos*. Pp. 85, 1948. Vol. VI, *Lykon und Ariston von Keos*. Pp. 67, 1952. Vol. VII, *Herakleides Pontikos*. Pp. 124, 1953.

For a review of Vols. II (*Aristoteles*), IV (*Demetrios von Phaleron*), and V (*Straton von Lampsakos*) in this series, together with some general remarks on its scope and character, see *JHS* LXXIII (1953), pp. 160-1. Vol. VIII is to be devoted to Eudemus of Rhodes.

Little is known of Dikaiarchus' life, but Wehrli makes the most of the evidence available. Among the remains of his works the fragments of the *Περὶ ψυχῆς* (fr. 5-12) are important, and are to be connected with those of Aristoxenus which expound a similar theory; it is interesting to see that Wehrli places immediately after them the fragments of the *Εἰς Προποντιῶν καταβάσεις*, but in this connexion it is curious that he does not refer to Arist. *De Div. per Somn.* (perhaps also Pl. *Lg.* 966D-E and Arist. *De Phil.*, fr. 10 Rose, 12 Walzer). Pp. 44-5 have a good note on the dialogue form in the period after Plato. Fr. 25 ff. are important for the ethics of the early Peripatos, and for the background against which the *Magna Moralia* was written. Fr. 47-66, from the *Βίος Ἑλλάδος*, are specially valuable for the way in which Wehrli arranges the fragments with an eye to a conspectus of the whole, however imperfect; in fr. 47, from Censorinus *De Die Natali* 4, 'Ocellus' would be a safer reading than 'Ocellus' ('Ocellus' codd.). Pp. 64-6 contain good notes on the theory of the mixed constitution, with special reference to Sparta, and pp. 75-80 on the *ἦς περίοδος*. The fragments as a whole give a good conspectus of the sort of activity carried on in the Peripatos in the period after Aristotle's death.

Vol. III is, philosophically at least, of lesser interest. A large proportion of the fragments comes from Athenaeus. Wehrli discusses the evidence relating to Klearchus' life on p. 45 and (despite the *Suda*) holds that he came from Soli in Cyprus. He was born, apparently, between 350 and 340, and lived on well into the third century. Fr. 2a, from the *Πλάτωνος ἐγκώμιου*, follows Speusippus' legend of Plato's virgin birth. Pp. 47-8 (on fr. 6) have a good note on Klearchus' reference to the Jews, which is quoted by Josephus. In fr. 25, read *περίπλοισιν*; (last line of p. 17). In the notes on fr. 33 (p. 57) more could be said on the attitude of philosophers to poetry. Pp. 58-9 have a good note on the character of the *Περὶ βίωσιν*. The note (p. 71) on fr. 71 does not quote the relevant verses on Pittacus as a grinder (Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Graec.*, II, fasc. 6, p. 38 (ed. 2, 1942)). On p. 31, for '84-85' read '84-95'. Pp. 74-6 contain a long note on riddles. At p. 38, l. 14 (fr. 101, from Athen. VIII, 332e) one should surely read *ἀποκαλυψήσθαι* for *ἀποκαλύψθαι*, despite Kaibel and Gulick.

Fr. 1-16 of Lykon give the evidence for his life, 17-30 the remains of his writings. What is known of him derives in large part from Diog. Laert. V. 62 ff., and Cicero (fr. 17, from *Fin.* V. 5, 13) describes him as 'oratione locuples, rebus ipsis ieiunior' (by contrast with Strato). At p. 10, l. 16, read *ἄνοτον*. At p. 14, l. 25, for 'flexa cervix' read 'flexa cervix'.

There is more to be known of Aristo of Ceos, though examination of his work is rendered difficult by confusions between him and the Stoic Aristo of Chios. He is a thinker whose interest for us has been increased by the publication, since Wehrli prepared this volume, of P. Moraux, *Les Listes anciennes des Œuvres d'Aristote* (Louvain, 1951), which claims that two of the three ancient catalogues of Aristotle's works, that in Diogenes Laertius and that of the Anonymus Menagii, go back to him as their original source, and not to Hermippus, as has generally been thought (Diogenes is, incidentally, more useful for Aristo and for Herakleides Ponticus than for any others of the authors before us). In addition, Aristo was a very vivid writer, as can be seen from fr. 14. Fr. 16 is ascribed by von Arnim to Aristo of Chios; the passage (from Plutarch, *De Curiositate*) is a puzzling one. The longest fragments are 13-14, from Philodemus, providing essays in characterology reminiscent of Theophrastus; pp. 52-3 contain a valuable note on this type of literature (cf. also pp. 58 ff.).

The volume devoted to Herakleides is the largest in the series

so far. Fr. 1-21 cover the evidence for his life, and Wehrli argues plausibly (p. 59) that he must have been born not long after 388. Pp. 59-61 give a general discussion of the influences on his philosophy, connecting his historical and literary interests, and those of Aristotle, with Plato, and arguing that the influence of the former on Herakleides was strictly limited, while the Pythagorean trends in his thought would tend to increase the gap between them. The note on fr. 10 (pp. 61-2) is of interest for Aristotle's *Theoetetus*; that on fr. 12 urges that there are insufficient grounds for Bignone's assertion that Herakleides had a flourishing school in Heraclea.

On p. 65 Wehrli argues the defectiveness of the catalogue of Herakleides' works in DL V. 86 ff. The note on fr. 24a (p. 66) discusses *κατὰ πρόβλεπον* in dialogues. On p. 70 he attacks Warburg's attempt to treat Herakleides as a Heraclitean; on p. 72 he has an interesting note on the *Περὶ βίωσιν*. The discussion of the religious import of the calamity which befel Helice and Bura (fr. 46) may call to mind the controversial writing occasioned by the Lisbon earthquake of 1755; in the note on this fragment (p. 73) read 'Arist. *Met.* 366a26'. At p. 85, l. 21, read 'Lebadeia'. The fragments of the *Περὶ ἡθῶν* (55-61) are almost all from Athenaeus. In fr. 75 (from Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*) Wehrli has the admirable conjecture *τὸ δεύταρον* for *τὸ δεύτερον*. In fr. 83 (p. 29, ad fin.) *ὑπερμεγέθους* is misprinted, as is *συνθήματα* in fr. 110 (p. 36, l. 29). There are excellent notes on the philosophical import of the *Περὶ τῆς ἀνσῶν* in relation to current theories of the soul; Herakleides' dependence in his *Περὶ ψυχῆς* (fr. 90-103) on accounts of abnormal psychological states is also of interest.

Of the astronomical fragments (104-17) some of the most important are from Simplicius' commentaries on the *Physics* and *De Caelo*. Wehrli follows Frank (*Plato und die sogenannten Pythagoreer* (1923), pp. 214-15) in treating Herakleides as a populariser of current views rather than as an original astronomer, while at the same time he points out that Chalcidius' words (fr. 109) suggest the earth as the centre of the universe (Frank, p. 213, but see pp. 209-17 generally); the astronomical influences on Herakleides were Academic and Pythagorean. Fr. 118-23 give what is known of Herakleides' theory of physical elements, i.e., of the *ἀσπεραι δυνάμεις*, while the notes show the contrast between his cosmology and that of Democritus (e.g., in fr. 120 Herakleides' atoms are characterised as *πᾶντρά*). Fr. 124-9 are geographical; the notes on fr. 128 might have referred to the spurious line [Verg.] *Aen.* 6, 242. Fr. 130-41 are devoted to Herakleides' views on oracles and divination, in which he was a believer; a good note on p. 104 discusses the ways in which such topics were viewed in the Academy and among ancient philosophers generally. Fr. 143-81 provide what is to be known of Herakleides' writings on politics, history, music, and literature; he seems (fr. 179) to be the source of the canon of the three tragedians. At p. 43, l. 14, read *συνοπώτατος*.

Once again Professor Wehrli deserves our warmest thanks and congratulations on the excellent work he is carrying forward.

D. A. REES.

Epicurus and his Philosophy. By N. W. DE WITT. Pp. 388. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1954 (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). \$6. 48s.

This is a survey of the life and teachings of Epicurus, based on an extensive knowledge of the documents and the literature. De Witt rightly criticises the common practice of putting Epicureanism after Stoicism in the histories of philosophy. He insists that Epicurus developed his doctrines in opposition not to Stoicism but to Platonism and Pyrrhonism, both of which appeared to him unduly sceptical in their treatment of sensation as an instrument of knowledge. The Stoicism of Zeno came later; and its hostility to Epicurus dates from Chrysippus. The false picture of the two systems as contemporary rivals is apparently due to Cicero. De Witt even suggests, on rather meagre evidence, that it was 'the Platonists' who, by stirring up 'the mob', caused the expulsion of Epicurus from Mytilene at about the age of thirty. Epicurus defended himself against their attacks; and one may learn from Plutarch how even in much later times 'the proud Platonists writhed under the shafts of Epicurean ridicule, a weapon to which pride is especially vulnerable'. For 'the real opposition (to Epicureanism) lay largely in snobbishness, which flourishes in all ages'.

The author would like to rescue Epicurus from 'the injustice of centuries', and the above quotations indicate something of his method of restoring the balance. Epicurus is praised or at least defended at almost every point, and his opponents receive rather rough and sometimes unfair treatment. Though a good deal is made of Epicurus' indebtedness to his predecessors, his claim to be self-taught is excused; but at

least he did not deny the existence of Leucippus, or so De Witt interprets DL 10, 13, though perhaps it is open to doubt whether it was really more amiable of him to deny to Leucippus the character of philosopher. Epicurus had shrewd ideas on friendship, based largely on its utility; but it is going rather far, in view of Aristotle, to mention no others, to claim that he 'possessed the moral copyright' for this theme. De Witt's list of hostile critics includes, strangely enough, G. Bailey, who regarded Epicurus as a master-mind, and whose careful attempt to understand Epicurus' system from the inside has seemed all too sympathetic in the view of some readers such as Cornford (*Principium Sapientiae*, pp. 12 ff.). Thus De Witt objects to Bailey's description of Epicurus as an 'egocentric hedonist', pleading rather for the epithet 'altruistic'. But on this point, and also on the charge of social anarchism, Epicurus' condemnation of marriage and the begetting of children might well have received some mention. De Witt also denies Bailey's view that 'the infallibility of sensation' is part of Epicurus' doctrine, contending that 'immediate sensations' alone have 'total value'. Nor will he agree that Epicurus was an 'empiricist'; for, unlike Epicurus, empiricists are not dogmatic, and do not proceed deductively. One can only comment that De Witt has been peculiarly fortunate in the empiricists whom he has met. It is admitted that Epicurus' first criterion, the senses, 'constituted the sole contact' with the sole reality (atoms and void). But it is argued that his second criterion, prolepsis (anticipation), means a kind of judgement which is prior to sense-experience and cannot be reduced to sensation. The third criterion, too, is held to be distinct from sense-perception; this is the feelings, which entitle us to reject as untrue any proposition which tends to make us miserable!

The interpretation of prolepsis makes Epicurus an 'intuitionist' and a believer in 'innate ideas', which Bailey, with some justification, considered inconsistent with the main tenets of Epicureanism. De Witt, of course, rejects the account of prolepsis found in DL 10, 33, which he regards as vitiated by the influence of 'the thievish Stoics', who 'cribbed' this term from Epicurus but gave it a different sense (general concept). He relies partly on the well-known passage of Cicero (*De Nat. Deor.* i 17, 44) and partly on arguments drawn from the supposition that man has a prolepsis of the nature of the gods, and shares with elephants a prolepsis of justice. He seeks to relate this doctrine to the Epicurean view of the development of the human organism, which is thought to be based on Aristotle's account of the veins of the embryo as prefiguring the structure of the adult. Just as speech begins in irrational, infantile noises, so our opinions (or some of them) arise from 'inborn propensities', with which 'Nature', that goddess from the machine, who is poetically (but inexcusably) called 'provident', 'benevolent', and 'creative', kindly endows man for 'life in his prospective environment'. De Witt does not really attempt the hopeless task of making all this thinkable in the context of atoms and void as the sole reality. Whatever atomic propensities may be, they are surely not ideas. Indeed, there is one passage which may suggest to the reader that he bases his interpretation of prolepsis on *a priori* grounds: Epicurus 'cannot have been without a criterion of truth on the abstract level of thought'. One may perhaps be excused for suspecting a certain bias on the author's part in the treatment of the evidence.

The criteria—sensations, intuitions, feelings—turn out to be 'witnesses in court'. Who, then, is the judge? In spite of the derivative character of reason, the judge, according to De Witt's interpretation, is 'the volitional mind'. Lucretius, it seems, has misled us by over-stressing the part played by sensation, though it is on Lucretius that De Witt builds in ascribing to reason the wonderful power of 'dislodging from the soul the excess of those atoms which are the causes of faults of character'. Now Epicurus did really say that reason is wholly dependent upon sensation. For De Witt, however, this dictum means no more than that with the loss of sensation the organism dies and its reasoning powers die with it. But here perhaps we approach one of the points on which De Witt abandons Epicurus to the Platonic wolves: the 'impasse' produced by the use of reason for the purpose of dethroning reason is one from which he admits that he can provide no escape.

Reversing the traditional account of the matter, De Witt holds that Epicurus 'subordinated ethics to physics'. By an indulgent interpretation of Epicurus on the pleasures of learning (which, however, is not the same as 'research') he finds that 'Epicurus knew the true joy of the researcher', though it would seem that he denied such joys to his disciples by discouraging 'further inquiry', and by rejecting the notion of disinterested knowledge. Admittedly Epicurus urged his pupil to 'avoid paidéia'; but it is pleaded that he must have meant, not

culture, but the 'Platonic curriculum' of geometry, rhetoric, and dialectic, or, in other words, 'the established education'. On any view of the matter it is fairly clear that the pupil is left with nothing to study save the Epicurean text-books. It is not very relevant to point out that Epicurus was himself a man of culture, who must have read Homer—so De Witt's argument appears to run—because certain scholiasts and others accused him of having lifted his hedonism from *Od.* 9, 5-11. His objections to the study of geometry are cheerfully acknowledged; and it is pleaded that modern anxieties arising from 'the fission of the atom' make it easier to understand his hostility to this kind of study!

De Witt does not deny Epicurus' hedonism; but he seems desirous of mitigating it by drawing a distinction between the 'telos', which is pleasure, and 'the greatest good', which is said to be 'life itself'. The distinction, however, is neither substantiated nor clearly explained. It entails dismissing as 'truly oracular' the dictum of Epicurus that pleasure is 'the beginning and end of the happy life' (DL 10, 128); apparently, among so many possible meanings, the obvious one cannot be the right one. With reference to Cicero's jibe about the pleasure of the wise man imprisoned in the bull of Phalaris, there is some insistence on the difference between pleasure and happiness. But since Epicurean happiness is simply the excess of present pleasure over present pain, it is not surprising to find De Witt himself failing to keep the two separate, saying sometimes that happiness is the 'telos', and sometimes that pleasure is the 'telos' and even that it is 'the good'. Nature has no 'telos', no purpose, either conscious or unconscious. How, then, can man have one? The answer is unexpected: because he has reason (p. 223). The important implication that moral freedom is not possible to irrational beings, and cannot be reduced to the irrational swerve of atomic bodies, would have been well worth discussion, if only for the purpose of showing how much more there is to be said for the Platonic account of freedom as autonomy.

Epicureanism appears to be one of those philosophies which may be classed as parasitic in the sense that they lean heavily, though unconsciously, upon other systems of thought to make up for the inadequacy of their own principles. Thought, virtue, purpose, choice and avoidance, true and false opinion, such terms, as used by Epicurus, receive their sanction not from the notion of a closed system of atoms moving at random and unpredictably, but from the more comprehensive world-views which he sought to repudiate. A commentator, in trying to show that Epicurus is not so narrow as his principles imply, may inadvertently aggravate the confusion. To emphasise body-mind 'dualism' in Epicurus, to stress the 'control of environment' as an ethical ideal, to assert the activity of mind in projecting itself upon external reality by selective attention, to speak in the same breath of Nature as non-purposive and yet ordaining ends, to explain isonomia as 'a sort of cosmic justice', and to make much of Epicurus' obedience to public law and order and even to current religious customs (things which his tenets can scarcely allow to exist)—all this entails the risk of making Epicurus' doctrines appear even more incoherent than they really are. The position may be illustrated by one of the modern examples offered by De Witt. Those Epicurean gods who consist of 'forms' composed of ever-changing atoms are compared to the image of Abraham Lincoln seen upon the screen of a cinema. This image is, of course, composed of successive, separate 'frames'. The comparison not only fails to clarify but, if taken seriously, is really fatal to the doctrine of the unity and permanence of any god of this class. In many such ways the effect of this book has been for at least one reader the exact opposite of its intention.

J. TATE.

A Guide to the Cyprus Museum, 2nd edition. By P. DIKAIOS. Pp. xx + 207, 36 pll. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1953. 5s.

In the preface to the first (1947) edition of the *Guide* (for which see *JHS* LXIX, 120), D. said, '... it is intended to publish fully revised and up-to-date editions of the *Guide* from time to time'. D. is greatly to be congratulated not only on the promptitude with which he has fulfilled this undertaking, but also on the many substantial improvements and additions he has incorporated. The new *Guide* is a work of which both the Department of Antiquities and the Cyprus Government Printer have every right to be proud. The text of the *Guide* has been increased by more than a third, a map of the island showing the position of sites referred to has been introduced, and there are eight extra plates. Staple binding has been replaced by stitching, and the *Guide* is far easier to handle in consequence. The improvement in the reproduction of the illustration is most impressive (*cf.*, e.g., *Guide*, 1947, Pl. I. 4

with 1953, Pl. II, 2; Pl. V, 3 with Pl. VII, 1; Pl. X, 3 with Pl. XIII, 1; Pl. XVI, 1 with Pl. XIX, 1; Pl. XXVII, 6 with Pl. XXXIII, 6). Over fifty additional illustrations are embodied in the thirty-six plates; all but two of those used in 1947 appear again, but in many cases fresh photographs have been made. Pl. XV, Nos. 1 and 2 seem unnecessarily repetitive; if more illustrations are allowed to the third edition, a plea should be made for a more representative selection of Mycenaean vases.

The general arrangement of the *Guide* remains the same, but new exhibits in the Museum have introduced a valuable section on Cypriot coinage (pp. 144 ff. and Pl. XXIX) and a very welcome one dealing with inscriptions (pp. 182 ff. and Pl. XXXIV). D. has greatly expanded his introductory Notes to the Iron Age, and to the section dealing with sculpture, and has given a more detailed treatment of Attic b.f. and r.f. vases. The most important and perhaps controversial alteration is his revised chronology for the Neolithic, Copper Age, and Early Bronze Age cultures. 3700-2800 B.C. is advanced for Neolithic, in place of 4000-3000 B.C., and the old date of 2700-2100 B.C. for the Early Bronze Age has been lowered to 2400-2100 B.C. These alterations, D. tells us, are necessary in the light of new evidence (p. 1, fin.). This evidence is in fact discussed by D. in *Khirokitia*, pp. 326 ff., where the revision is seen to depend quite considerably on the date of the Anatolian parallels for the pottery of the Philia stage. We are warned that the new dating is provisional, and may need further revision. It is certainly difficult to believe that the three stages of the Early Bronze Age can be telescoped into a period of 300 years.

Many may regret that the arrangement of the Cyprus Museum, and hence of the *Guide*, in many cases involves the wide separation of contemporary material, so that it is difficult, especially for the general public, to gain a comprehensive picture of the material culture of any given period. This is in part no doubt due to the limitations imposed by the Museum building itself, but it is, for example, quite unnecessary to have separated the splendid tripod in Room III (No. 139D) from the three smaller members of the same important class of Late Cypriot bronzes which are at present in Room VI, Case 42b, Nos. 1-3.

A few very minor suggestions: p. 25, for the period 1400-1200, it may be misleading to speak of 'the influx of Mycenaean peoples from the Greek mainland'; p. 28, the distribution of Wheel Made Bichrome pottery is wider than D. allows—your reviewer has collected it from sites in central and southern Cyprus; pp. 30 ff., the generally accepted terminology for the description of Mycenaean vase shapes might be an improvement; p. 61, Cyprus was hardly 'flooded with Attic pottery' in the fifth and fourth centuries; p. 113, 'ca. 3200-2000 B.C.' should presumably read 'ca. 3200-3000 B.C.'; p. 122, Nos. 13, 13A, and 14, one of these bull figurines is in fact Late Bronze Age in date.

Other editions of the *Guide* will succeed the present one and will give us, it is to be hoped, descriptions and illustrations of classes of material that cannot at present be exhibited in the Museum. It will, however, be easier to expand the *Guide* than improve its present very high standard.

H. W. GATLING.

Collection Hélène Stathatos. Les Bijoux antiques.

By P. AMANDRY. Pp. 149, with 54 plates and 80 text figures. Strasbourg: University Institute of Archaeology, 1953. Fr. 7000.

Private collections are not always universally approved: while they often preserve treasures which would perhaps have perished, they do provide a market which may stimulate forgers and illicit diggers to undesirable activities. However, once a fine collection has been made, its publication is wholly to be commended. No collection of jewellery has ever been better illustrated, and the reviewer looks with some envy at the lavish and excellent arrangement which adds so much to ease of study: never a number out of place, and all groups kept together. The book is, however, difficult to handle, impossible to transport, and too expensive to buy.

In the first seventeen pages Mr. Amandry treats some objects other than jewellery in summary fashion, a tantalising procedure. Why does A. omit a horseman from the tomb group on p. 7? Surely room could have been made for him? A. includes the Hermes Kriophoros, pl. II. It is curious that Arcadia should have produced the most beautiful archaic bronze statuettes, for this bronze goes closely with two in Boston (see E. Kunze, *Winckelmanns programm* 109, 1953). All are large, all are in exceptionally good condition, all have departed from the archaic rule of frontality: they are more interesting from their left sides than from in front; for good

measure, our statuette, in figure and in stylisation of the lamb's wool the most archaic of the three, has a melting eyelid. Contrast the face of a statue from Andritseni, *BCH* 1903; pl. 7, which may be the model for all this trio.

The catalogue proper starts with some Mycenaean gold. A. doubts that Crete is a likely provenience for the ear-ring no. 3, but Sir John Forsdyke found several like it in tombs at Mavro-Spelio (*BSA* XXVIII, pl. XVIII); they are earlier than the Cypriot examples mentioned by A.

The style of the ring no. 7 (pl. VI) is disjointed for Mycenaean work, and is more like that of Eastern cylinder seals; but then anything might happen to style in Andritseni. The style of the gem no. 36 (pl. IX) is more fluid and normal, but what of the artist's seamanship? Let us add the scene on a vase from Enkomi (*Swedish Cyprus Expedition* I, p. 484; T3, 262, pl. 121; see also Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Bronze Age*, fig. 20), to the list of Mycenaean naval pictures quoted in our text. The men below are clearly hauling sail-ropes; they cannot be rowing in different directions. This picture shows how the admirals on the half deck (wearing swords, not sweeps), and the seamen in the hold are stationed: there is no sign of port-holes or oars. To return to the Stathatos gem, two women with sweeps amidstships are not a good counterpart for five oars to port. If there are also five oars to starboard, let us hope they were shipped (and shipping looks difficult on this vessel), before the sweeps came into action: otherwise the crew is about to catch an outside crab, and the fine ladies will be in the drink. Seamanship unsatisfactory.

The Daedalic group on pl. X is probably the most pleasing group in the collection. It must give its owner great satisfaction.

We now come to the Chalcidice group. A.'s careful analysis has shown that most of the bronze and silver is well paralleled from scientific excavations, and he has carefully noted the exceptions. The gold on pl. XVIII and the gold bands on pls. XI, XII are equally reliable, but what are the filigree gold bands (pls. XIII-XVII)? A. suggests armlets, but they do not look as if they would stay on, they are asymmetrical, they are of different lengths, all except two are of the same pattern, and those two variations seem to be intrusive, and they all have loops at one end. Gold foil was certainly sewn on the dress (see Amandry *BCH* LXIII, 98) of statues and of the dead. It would be too fragile for the living; this gold wire is more durable, it looks like a set, and it seems possible that this is the remains of some real garment. Only flaps of jerkins suggest themselves in archaic Greece, but Meidias' ladies have dark ribbons hanging from the waist, and on one pyxis in the Ashmolean some of these have jewels on the end (*CVA Oxford* I, pl. 46, 1-7 (551). 211 looks like the head of a neolithic figurine.

The gorgon on the ring 214, pl. XXX, is of much better style and earlier than those on the scrubby rings found in Eretria, and quoted by A. On this evidence the type may have come from North to South with the gold.

Next we come to the Thessalian group I, said to be from a tomb. A. says that the lovely gold diadem 217 (pl. XXXI) has no exact parallels, but many approach it nearly. Perhaps it was worn in life with a cloth background. An example from the Dardanelles, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XVIII, pl. I, differs in having animals and gold-leaf background, but the style is similar. This crown is durable and suitable for the living. For 223 (pl. XXXII), cf. a knot in a Sotheby sale catalogue of Ancient Gold Jewelry from the Hermitage (1931), pl. VII, 90, there said to be part of a bracelet.

There follows the controversial group II from Thessaly, the contents of the legendary crock of gold. This reviewer hopes that the 'naikos' 232 will remain unique. No use can be assigned to it, and it is not a thing of beauty.

A good deal of ink is likely to flow round the medallion-cum-hairnets 233-5. There is no evidence in Greece for gold-topped glass bottles, and even if there were, the nets could not belong to them. The rings at the ends must have had some purpose: no doubt they were meant to hold a chain or a ribbon. The net 235 (pl. XL) is the best finished, and there seems to be a chance that it was entangled in its medallion by accident. In fig. 61, p. 89, it can be seen that the top link is secured by thin wire alone. H. Maryon, *Soldering and Welding*, 1936, tells us that a process for doing this kind of work was patented by Littledale in 1934. All the other links have had their ends hammered flat, either to weld them into position or to give a wide enough surface to mask some adhesive material. It may be that the top link alone is original, and that the three Stathatos medallions were hung on chains round the neck, and that 235 was worn with a hair-net to match. It is the only net made quite regularly with good rosettes over every joint. It must be a hair-net: it has one end smaller than the other and both ends could be secured by a ribbon: cf. the

hair-net with two rows of meshes worn by a head on the neck of an amphora of the Asteas group (A. D. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, fig. 32). The nets 233, 234 (pls. XXXVI, XXXVIII) are irregular, and they may be modern; 233 is particularly slip-shod.

Curiously enough 235 has been chosen for attack by D. Robinson (*AJA* 1953, p. 8). The rosettes on his net (his pl. I, fig. 1) are dabbed on anyhow and the ornaments on his figs. 3 and 4 look like unevenly spaced warts. The patterns on 235 are particularly well accredited; see D. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, 210, note 1, on the linking of bucrania with garlands and rosettes on Hellenistic buildings. Robinson objected to the position of Aphrodite's hand on 235 (pl. XL); the reviewer finds it comfortable.

It is interesting to note the date of the appearance of the various parts of this Thessalian find, Stathatos 233-5, in 1929, before the discovery of the Littledale soldering technique. The craftsman who repaired the back of the *naïskos* (pl. XXXV) and the medallion 233, p. 98, certainly did not know it. The patterns of those medallions are all good Hellenistic patterns. Maryon published the technique in 1936; it might have been used for the Princeton medallions in 1938, but their patterns are canonical and the busts at least tolerable. By 1952 the technique had had plenty of time to penetrate, and it should not be forgotten that our young men had been tramping the hills carrying belts full of gold sovereigns, so that in 1944 stockings were fuller than ever before. There followed the slow extraction of the gold by packmen: in 1947 the reviewer was offered twenty-five sovereigns. So there was new gold and a new technique and the Robinson, Morley, and Los Angeles medallions appeared (see Robinson *op. cit.*), with patterns that cannot be paralleled, terrible busts, and ugly, skimpy nets. It must have been annoying for Mrs. Stathatos to have her publication anticipated, but nothing could have set off the beauty of her animal bracelet 253 (pl. XLIV) better than putting it beside the animals of the Robinson collection. A's comments are more than justified.

Robinson thinks the medallions are pyxis lids, but lids are made to fit: see two lids of clay pyxides published by Robinson; and also the lid of a silver pyxis, P. Willeumier, *Trésor de Taranto*, pl. 1. It might be thought a pity to kill high relief by laying it flat: a recumbent bust looks like half a corpse (see pl. XXXIX), but this has been done to the figures on the Taranto lid.

The medallions 234, 5 are good work, but the bust of 233 is less convincing: it is secured by three naked staples, and they at least cannot be ancient. The breasts are covered (pl. XXXVI), but set up no folds, and no woman ever had such a chin (pl. XXXVII), not even our English admirals could match it. She looks grim, but D. Robinson finds her 'noble'.

To the many parallels quoted by A. add a medallion in a Sotheby Catalogue of 1931, pl. V, no. 99, from the Nelidon collection, like our 235. Another medallion, numbered 90 in the same catalogue (pl. VII, centre), is simpler than our medallions, and it may be an earlier version. It shows a head of Athena in low relief, and it uses some of our patterns.

A 'Gordian knot' from Ithaca, drawn by Stackelberg *Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. LXXIII, 1, and quoted by A. (p. 120) was also badly drawn by Lee, probably from memory (*Archaeologia* XXXIII, p. 50); a medallion turned up in Seltman's exhibition in London in 1946 (Seltman and Chittenden, *Greek Art*, no. 288); see also a photograph in Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, June 1939, pl. I, lot 189. The medallion recently obtained by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, cannot be the one described by Lee: it does not bear the inscription which he scratched on it.

There is a ring like Stathatos 240 (pl. XLI) but more elaborate, which was found in Ithaca (*AD* I, pl. 12, 3; Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 50, no. XV), and one like it from Ithaca now lurks in the Egyptian collection of the Metropolitan Museum, New York (C. R. Williams, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities*, pl. XVIII).

Part of a gold ear-ring like 279 (pl. LII) was found in my excavation at Actos, Ithaca (*BSA* XLVIII, pl. 28, G. 5).

Archaeologists should be grateful to Mrs. Stathatos for this magnificent publication and to Mr. Amandry for his careful and scholarly presentation of the splendid material.

SYLVIA BENTON.

Mallia: exploration des Maisons et Quartiers d'habitation (1921-48), fasc. 1 (Études Crétoises, IX).

By P. DEMARGNE and H. GALLET DE SANTERRE. Pp. xi + 111, with 67 plates and 7 text figures. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1953. Fr. 4400.

Mallia would seem to present a unique opportunity for the systematic exploration of a great Minoan city. The site has

not been disturbed by later occupation, and the relatively flat nature of the ground has confined the effects of erosion. It may therefore be hoped that this excellent and thorough publication of the work done from 1921 to 1948 in six different areas of the ancient city is only a beginning. The buildings described fall into two periods which correspond with the First and Second Palaces. Notable is the account of a fine house (Za) of the latest period cleared by the authors in 1948 just east of the Palace. The Megaron or main living-room of this house is curiously reminiscent of the great Megara in the Palaces of the Mainland. In this connexion should be noted the two fixed circular hearths in houses of the First Palace period, already described by Demargne (*BCH* 1936, 76 ff.). The contrast between the house architecture of the first and second periods is well described (pp. 101 ff.). There seems to have been a Minoan sanctuary on the summit of H. Elias, which overlooks the city on the south. The warning (p. 2, n. 2) against jumping to conclusions about the apparent lack of Minoan fortifications is perhaps wise.

The authors have no doubt had to rely for the earlier reports on notes made at the time. The account of 'House B', for instance, dug in 1928, is not quite as clear and satisfactory as the rest. It is hard to see why on the evidence given this building should be regarded as a funerary complex like Chrysolakkos rather than a house. The lack of an entrance from the street at ground level, and of doors between basement rooms, is easy to parallel in the simpler types of Minoan houses. The 'numerous' bones recovered are not distinctly said to be human; and it is suggested that some at least were animal (p. 21). There were apparently no grave goods: the only find illustrated is a 'Potter's Disc'.

It is at present axiomatic that M.M. II and L.M. II are 'Palace Styles' peculiar to Knossos which cannot be recognised elsewhere. But some of what is here classified as M.M. I does in fact look comparable with M.M. II at Knossos, e.g. pls. viii-ix (House A); pl. xiv, esp. 7871; cf. pl. xli d, h; li c; lii b (Area F). In the same way some painted sherds from House Za might almost pass as L.M. II (pl. lv, 1-3). P. 9, pl. xlvii (top), which are called M.M. I, resemble Gourmia E.M. III. P. 16, pl. xlviii (top L) are a regular type of Middle Minoan 'Fruit Stand' as found, for instance, at Knossos.

Of unusual interest is a fine spouted jug decorated in the Marine Style of L.M. IB from Magazine 28 in House Za. This is the first true example of the classic L.M. IB Marine Style from Mallia. There seems no good reason to doubt the claim made by the authors that the jug was found in a contemporary association with other vases from this and the neighbouring Magazines. These include, besides many vases of plain domestic ware, several with simple plant decoration of the type usually classified as L.M. IA.

But this scarcely provides an adequate basis for the very extreme theories developed by the authors. They in effect claim that the Styles of L.M. IA, L.M. IB, and L.M. II were all in use together and cannot be distinguished in time. This claim they support by assuming a single great catastrophe which overwhelmed Crete, destroying the last Palace at Knossos and the other main sites of the island, and apparently responsible for all or most of the early L.M. deposits hitherto labelled as L.M. IA, L.M. IB or L.M. II.

Much work clearly remains to be done on the early Late Minoan pottery of Crete. Moreover, some modifications of the accepted system of classification, and some scrutiny of former comparisons, are almost certainly desirable. The judicious survey by Furumark (*Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*, 1951, 78 ff.) may be mentioned in this connexion. But the sweeping thesis proposed by the authors can hardly be reconciled with the evidence.

It is, of course, clear that vases of plain domestic ware, and some vases with simple decoration, cannot safely be assigned to any particular phase of L.M. It may further be admitted that the L.M. IA Plant Style continued to flourish alongside the Marine Style of L.M. IB. But it is difficult to believe that most at any rate of the numerous deposits of L.M. IA pottery at Knossos, which appear to have contained nothing assignable to L.M. IB, did not in fact precede the appearance of the L.M. IB style there. The L.M. IB Marine Style may, as Furumark suggests, overlap the beginning of L.M. II; but the marine version of ripe L.M. II is obviously developed from, and must surely be later in time than, classic L.M. IB. Lastly, the Palace at Knossos itself was not destroyed before a new style, Furumark's IIIA 1, had begun to supersede L.M. II. The stretch of development in decorative style—and also in vase shapes!—between the 'earliest' L.M. IA and the 'latest' IIIA 1, seems far too great to justify classification in a single period without admitting divisions. The associated vases from tombs recently discovered in the Knossos area, on the Hospital

site (*BSA* XLVII, 243 ff.) and at Katsamba (Alexiou in *Kρητικά Χρονικά* 1952, 9 ff.) serve to confirm the general chronological validity of the traditional system.

M. S. F. HOOD.

Persepolis. I. Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions. (University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications, lxxvii.) By E. F. SCHMIDT. Pp. xxix + 297, with 205 plates and 123 text figures. Chicago: University Press, 1953. \$65.

Since the preliminary report on the excavations of the Oriental Institute of Chicago in Persepolis (Oriental Institute Communications No. 21, Chicago 1939), scholars have impatiently been waiting for Schmidt's final report. The present volume, which has been prepared with the utmost care by S. and the staff of the Oriental Institute, fully rewards the long waiting-period of scholars interested in the remains of the Achaemenid Kings on the Terrace of Persepolis. Only three or four sites in the Near East (Baalbek, Gerasa, Palmyra, and Petra) rival Persepolis as regards the preservation and beauty of the monuments. Persepolis is the earliest of the above-named sites; most buildings on the Terrace are in fact dated in the two centuries between the reign of Darius I and Alexander the Great's Eastern campaigns. Modern visitors to Persepolis are fascinated by the ornamentation and by the ingenious architectural setting of the buildings on the Terrace itself, which dominates the plain of Marv Dasht (*cf.* fig. 13, p. 47) and thus reminds us almost of a Greek acropolis. (The comparison has recently been drawn by A. W. Lawrence in *JHS* LXXVII, 1951, 111 ff.) Besides the Royal Palaces, the Apadana, the Throne Hall, the Harem of Xerxes, and various minor buildings on the Terrace, houses built with sun-dried bricks must have existed in the plain. Only some scattered remains are preserved. This is perhaps evidence enough to state that Persepolis never developed on the lines of a town, such as the winter capital Susa, and probably the northern Ecbatana. Large groups of servants and soldiers, accompanying the Achaemenid Kings, may have camped on the plain, whereas building in stone was wholly concentrated on the Terrace.

The excavations conducted from 1935 to 1939 by S. were preceded by those (1931-34) of the late Professor Herzfeld. S.'s great contribution is to have fully excavated the so-called Treasury, covering a considerable area in the south-eastern corner of the Terrace (for a view of its partial excavation see pl. 1). But his activity extended far beyond the Treasury. Buildings, only partly cleared by Herzfeld, were further excavated; 'spot-tests' were made 'to solve a number of architectural problems in various buildings'. S. has given much attention to the preservation of the monuments, a duty too often neglected by archaeologists and certainly irremissible on a site such as Persepolis. The work done after 1939 by the Iranian Service of Antiquities is now published by A. Godard, 'Les travaux de Persepolis,' in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam E. Herzfeld*, pp. 119 ff.

In an introductory chapter titled 'the Royal Architects' (pp. 7-43) the author gives a useful summary of the building activities of the Persian Kings in their home-country outside Persepolis, mainly in Pasargadae under Cyrus II, at Susa, furthermore at Babylon, and in Egypt; the general notes about Susa may now be supplemented by R. Ghirshman, *Cinq campagnes de fouilles à Susa* (1946-51), *passim*. It seems as if Pasargadae was the training-field for the architects and masons who very soon after Cyrus I's death started to work on the Persepolis Terrace. Some of the typical features of the architecture of Persepolis are already present in the structures in Pasargadae, namely the porticoes with two rows of columns, the type of hypostyle hall, thirdly, the extremely well-built platform, commonly called the 'Throne of the Mother of Solomon', with its wonderful ashlar façade, a precursor of the Terrace wall at Persepolis. The reliefs in Pasargadae are definitely cruder, more Assyrianising than those in Persepolis. The refinement of the latter, as is said in some recent studies, is due to the influence of Greek sculptors. (To the bibliography on Achaemenid Art on p. IX add: H. Seyrig, 'Cachets Achéménides', in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam E. Herzfeld*, pp. 195 ff.; G. M. A. Richter, 'Greek Subjects on "Graeco-Persian" Seal Stones', *ibid.*, 189 ff., and 'Late Achaemenian or Graeco-Persian Gems' in *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1940, 291 ff.)

As concerns the temple of Amon erected by Darius I at Hibis (Oasis of Kharga), now fully described in B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egypt*, VII, 277 ff., I see with S. the resemblance of the earliest part of that building (510-490 B.C.) with the palace of Darius I at Persepolis (*cf.* p. 26, fig. 12). But I cannot see anything Egyptian in that plan as such. There is to my knowledge no Egyptian temple building which could be compared to the

portion built by Darius at Hibis, and the originality of the plan would therefore rest with Darius' architects. One has naturally to reject the statement in *Bericht über den VI. internationalen Kongress für Archäologie* (Berlin, 1940), p. 281, that the temple 'ist völlig nach dem Muster der gewöhnlichen ägyptischen Tempel gebaut worden'. For the much disputed hill-type *cf.* *Iraq* 14, 1952, 120 ff.

The two main chapters of *Persepolis I* carefully describe the public and residential structures (pp. 59-282). The Terrace is approached from the West by a monumental stairway leading to the so-called Gate of Xerxes, a square hall with four interior columns and with three doorways, two of which are guarded by bulls and winged man-bulls respectively, whereas the third or southern doorway lies almost in the axis of the famous Apadana, and therefore gives access to what might be called the public part of the Royal buildings.

The Apadana is not of the basilica-type as S. rightly states (p. 80), because the height of the columns in the hypostyle hall as well as in the three porticoes, is practically the same. The reconstructed plan of the Apadana (fig. 30, p. 69) reveals many interesting architectural details. Fortune was less rewarding to the excavators of the Apadana at Susa, where only a few remains of the walls between hypostyle hall and porticoes could be uncovered (*cf.* R. Ghirshman, *op. cit.*, p. 2). As long as Ecbatana cannot be excavated, the plan of the Apadana at Persepolis is the only one to give us details concerning the architectural features of the four towers flanking the porticoes as well as a series of storerooms on the south. In these southern storerooms, which through a courtyard connect the Apadana with the Palace of Darius I on the one hand, the 'Council Hall' on the other hand, 'were kept', according to S., 'the accessories of royal pomp and circumstance displayed during great functions of state, such as the event immortalised by the reliefs on the grand stairway' (p. 75).

The strict separation between public and private structures in Persepolis is well attested by the secluded passageway leading from the southern storerooms (*cf.* fig. 21) past Palace G to the south portico of the royal dwelling (I). The access from the Apadana to the Palace of Xerxes (F) is even more complicated. In an overall consideration of the structures on the Terrace it can be noticed at once that the private structures in the south-eastern portion of the Terrace (G, H, F, D, fig. 21) are less well defined (partly perhaps because unexcavated), than the public structures (J, M, B, C, E), which form clearly defined separate units within the limited space of the Terrace. The great achievement of Darius I's and Xerxes' architects, as compared to earlier town-planning under Cyrus I (Pasargadae), lies in the dense architectural setting of the latter-mentioned building units, as compared to the loose dispersion of monumental buildings over a considerable area in Pasargadae (*cf.* fig. 3, p. 9, with Persepolis, pl. 5).

The northern and eastern stairways of the Apadana are lavishly decorated with reliefs, representing groups of guards, groups of animals, and tribute delegations. In panels between these reliefs, which are bordered by decorative motives, we find the great building inscriptions. S. gives a full and interesting account of the tribute delegations, whose identification, cautiously attempted by the author, reveals many essential characteristics as regards the inhabitants of the various satrapies of the Empire. The identification of the delegations is difficult in these reliefs as well as in others, as the variety of dress and tribute is somewhat disproportionate to the number of delegations represented.

The Apadana and the 'Council Hall' (pp. 107-22) were begun under Darius I, and the latter certainly was finished by the King himself. The third great public building is the so-called Throne Hall (pp. 124-37), begun by Xerxes and completed by Artaxerxes I. S. thinks that 'the Throne Hall is actually the last extension of the royal storehouse, namely a treasure hall of palatial proportions' (p. 129). A. Godard (*op. cit.*, 126 ff.), however, proposes that 'la salle aux cent colonnes ait appartenu à l'Armée, en était la salle d'honneur ou de réunion'. The hall is certainly more sumptuous than the Treasury itself, in which stone is scarcely used, except for column bases, capitals, door-sills, etc. The oblong chambers on three sides of the Throne Hall (*cf.* fig. 59, p. 125) can hardly have served any other purpose than that of storerooms (for arms?). The official or public character of the whole complex seems well attested by its access (*cf.* fig. 21). Having passed the Gate of Xerxes, the visitor proceeds to the East, then turns south and enters the unfinished Gate M, and eventually finds himself in front of the Throne Hall, preceded by a portico with a double row of columns. The excavations of the Iranian Service of Antiquities since 1939 have brought to light the structures to the north-east of the Throne Hall. One could well imagine that the open court between these newly excavated structures, Gate M, and the porticoes of the Throne

Hall served for formal receptions of military delegations, whereas the Hall itself seems less suitable for such gatherings. After all S.'s 'last extension of the Royal storehouse' might be some sort of arsenal.

The long and detailed description of the Treasury (pp. 138-200), though interesting, suffers from the fact that the objects found in the building will be published in Vol. II, and are not available at present. It will no doubt be more useful to read this chapter in connexion with the finds, which will help the reader to visualise the great importance of that building.

After a brief description of the Eastern Fortifications, the Garrison Quarters, and the Cistern (pp. 206-13), S. gives an account of the residential structures (pp. 215 ff.). The Palace of Darius I is particularly attractive to most visitors to Persepolis for its graceful dimensions as compared to the enormity of most of the public structures. (For an important correction of the original plan, cf. A. Godard, in *Syria* 28, 1951, 62 ff., fig. 3, restoring perfect symmetry to the palace.) S. thinks this palace was completed only by Xerxes, and as testimony for his theory adduces some inscriptions from the *hadish* itself (pp. 223-4). But I do not think the author interprets them rightly; on the contrary, Xerxes said: 'This *hadish* Darius the King made who [was] my father.' Further, it is unlikely that this small building, the construction of which could be completed in a year or so, should have remained unfinished, when at the same time Darius was able to begin the erection of the Apadana and the Treasury, overwhelming enterprises for the short lifetime of one king. The article by A. Godard, *Syria*, loc. cit., also supports this interpretation.

The Palace of Xerxes (F, fig. 21) is built on a larger scale, but repeats like the Harem (C) the essential features of the royal architecture of his predecessor, namely, a portico with two rows of columns preceded by a court, a hypostyle hall with adjoining oblong or square chambers, on two or three sides. The roof of the square chambers is generally supported by four columns, a type of construction referred to first in the description of the monumental Gate of Xerxes, and which occurs often in the Harem (C, C', fig. 21).

The care with which the publication of the architecture, sculptures, and inscriptions of Persepolis has been prepared by S. deserves our highest appreciation. The book contains a mass of information about architectural details and many other problems. It is beautifully printed (I have noted one misprint: p. 111, right, read fig. 56 D instead of fig. 56 E); the plans and drawings are excellent, and the plates unrivalled. In fig. 63 (Plan of Final Treasury as excavated) one would wish that the Room nos. were slightly bigger than the elev. nos., or marked in different colour, so that one might more easily find one's way in a highly labyrinthine structure (cf. figs. 66 f., where the problem is solved as there are no elev. nos.).

I frankly admit that I do not understand the Persian *kandys*, nor many details of clothing as represented in the Reliefs (f.i. p. 136 f., pl. 144 A; p. 111 as regards the Persian dignitaries, or p. 116). I would think that in some cases the foreign tribute-bearers wear skins or furs, f.i. E 13 on pl. 111, and pl. 48 A and B. The use of the word *κνδύς* by the Greeks points to an overcoat rather than to a garment as worn by the King and the dignitaries in the Persepolis reliefs (cf. *RE* III, Sp. 2206 ff.). The topcoat of the Medes on pl. 57 and elsewhere is probably some sort of 'pushtin' (= *κνδύς*). The 'oblong rings' which the Delegation of the Medes carry (pl. 27) look like bracelets (cf. the finds from Ziwiye, A. Godard, *Le trésor de Ziwiye*, *passim*, and R. Ghirshman, 'Notes Iraniques', in *Artibus Asiae* XIII, 3, 181 ff.). I doubt whether the covers overlapping the chalices (p. 121, pls. 85-6) should be called 'lids'. If so, their form is strange. In modern Persia hot food is often kept warm by large pieces of bread which cover the dishes. After having repeatedly studied the problem in Persepolis, I do not think the 'tall rectangular' objects of 'wickerwork' (p. 132, pls. 94 f., and p. 225) are really shields. The form at least seems highly unsuitable for this interpretation (cf. a shield of wickerwork on pl. 45). And why has the second guard no such shield? I tend to think they are doors. On p. 164 the Mede is described as wearing trousers 'tucked into low shoes'; this combination of trousers and shoes, worn by modern ballet dancers, is represented on pl. 37 (p. 88, No. 11, and pl. 35, No. 9). The horses on the various reliefs, whether brought as tribute by Medes, Armenians, Cappadocians (?), and Saka Tigraxauda look very much the same breed; the author goes perhaps too far in trying to identify those on pl. 52 and elsewhere as 'Nisaeans' (p. 83). I think, furthermore, that one cannot speak of 'monotonous formalism' in reference to the Susian guards on pl. 50 f., p. 84. On the contrary: Is not the contrast of the stiff and sturdy attitude of the guards to the 'unconventional postures of the dignitaries' what the sculptor deliberately sought to emphasise?

In the description of the sword of the Mede (pl. 120, p. 166) S. was led astray by too minute an interpretation. I can see the canine head (cf. pl. 65 B); but looking at the scabbard tip in all possible directions I cannot detect the lion. A comparison of pl. 65 B with pl. 120 convincingly shows that the decorative scheme of the former sword is simply more complicated (and less precise in design) than on the latter, namely consisting of 'roughly concentric arcs', of something that looks like a 'tail' and of 'parallel tassels'. But even these highly abstract ornaments do not make a lion.

A final point which ought to be more adequately discussed is the following: S. states on p. 133 that the position of the Mede's sword on pl. 123 is 'abnormal', and in the author's mind is corrected on pl. 96 A and pl. 99. But why 'abnormal'? What matters, first of all, is the way the sword is attached to the belt. On pls. 96 A and 99 the grip of the sword naturally points backward, as the metal device by means of which the sword is attached to the belt allows no other position. Pl. 120 shows the consequent reversal of that position. What S. calls 'abnormal' seems to me the normal position, as the grips of swords or scabbards, whether worn on the left or the right side of the body, should always point forward, and the scabbard tip backward. This is the only way the weapon can successfully be handled in case of danger. Numerous Greek representations already in black-figured vase-painting prove this assertion in case of figures moving to the left or to the right. The position of the weapon on pl. 120 (cf. pl. 123) is in perfect accordance also with the reverent attitude of the Mede, namely bowing before the King. In pl. 99 the tip of the scabbard points not very amiably towards the King. Pl. 37 and pl. 43 show again the wrong position, due to the metal device mentioned above, whereas the normal position occurs to my mind on pl. 51, middle register, sixth figure from the right, or on pl. 52 in various instances. These figures, it must be noted, move to the left; the sculptor does allegiance to his primitive conception in figures moving to the right; but he remains unconscious of the normal position of the weapons. It goes without saying that the principle of position is the same with swords and daggers: in removing the weapon from its sheath, the grip of the dagger points forward, its tip backward. The important passage on swords on pp. 164 ff. should have been referred to in an otherwise extremely useful Index; one also misses references to *kandys* and *bashlyk*.

These minor points of criticism are inconsequential considering the tremendous achievement presented by S. in his *Persepolis I*. It has been a pleasure to review this most literate and scholarly volume; and we are impatiently looking forward to the publication of *Persepolis II* and *III*.

CHRISTOPH CLAIRMONT.

Handbuch der Archäologie, III (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft) By W. OTTO and R. HERBIG. **Die Griechische Plastik.** By GEORG LIPPOLD. Pp. xxviii + 441, with 136 plates. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlag, 1950. DM 62.

No one could have been better equipped than Prof. Lippold to write the section on Greek sculpture for W. Otto's *Handbuch*. In 1923 he published *Kopien und Umbildungen griechischer Statuen*, still the only systematic treatment of the subject. Later, he wrote important articles on individual Greek sculptors for *Pauzy-Wissowa*, and innumerable book-reviews which cover a much wider field. For many years, as the successor of Brunn, Amelung, and Arndt, he edited the two great Corpora, now completed, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur* and *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen*; and this, above all, trained him for his present task.

The first attempt to produce a Handbook of Classical Archaeology was made in 1913 but soon came to a standstill. It is amazing that in an age like ours, more inclined to analyse and to subdivide than to view phenomena as a coherent whole, the *Handbuch* has been steadily appearing since 1937. But this does not justify an unqualified optimism; for had any other than L. undertaken to write the Sculpture Section of the *Handbuch* it might very probably never have been published. The original MS. for the book here under review was ready in 1935; for several reasons publication had to be postponed till 1950. With patience and perseverance L. worked over his MS. again and again over a period of fifteen years. Obviously the first draft of the text has been much amplified to bring it up to date and to incorporate recent literature (up to 1949).

The conciseness of the book is achieved by many cross-references in the text. No previous statement is repeated when the same piece of sculpture is commented on later in another context. Only by consulting all relevant pages, therefore, can the writer's opinion be ascertained. On p. 181, with n. 11, for instance, L. discusses the assumed original of the *Athena mit der Kreuzbandaegis*; on p. 359, with n. 9, the Pergamene

version. The Niobid pediment is fully discussed on pp. 176-7; but we are not told before p. 201, n. 6, that W. B. Dinsmoor tried to ascribe this pediment to the Temple of Apollo at Bassae. (L. rejects this view.) On p. 122, n. 2, H. Bulle's hypothesis that an older Alcámenes, of Lemnos (in contrast to the younger, of Athens) designed the pediments of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia is not mentioned; the combination of pp. 184 and 205 gives L.'s own explanation of Pausanias' account and of the passage in Suidas where Alcámenes is called *Ἀλκιμένης*; namely, that Alcámenes, the contemporary and collaborator of Pheidias, was an Attic cleruch from Lemnos.

It is not always easy to find all references to a particular statue, as never more than one reference is given in the index. Misprints, too, are to be found, though not many (e.g. p. 85, n. 16: read '28, 309' for '26, 312'; p. 250, l. 8: read '255' for '235'; p. 373, n. 6: read '453' for '483'). 'Agias', on p. 280, should have a reference to p. 287. A portrait head in the British Museum is mentioned on p. 386, n. 1, but not in the index. P. 46, n. 5, should include N. Kondoleon's article *AE* 1939-41, 1 ff.; p. 50, n. 2, J. D. Beazley's *JHS* LX 22 ff.; p. 162, n. 3, S. Papaspyridi-Karousou's *BCH* LXX 441 ff. In the index the term 'Oxford, University Galleries', on p. 422, is misleading. (The Niobe, p. 309, n. 5, now believed to be modern, is in the cellar of the Ashmolean Museum.)

However, such isolated inaccuracies, hardly avoidable in so comprehensive a work, are unimportant in comparison with many hundreds of accurate references. Further, we are often grateful to be reminded of interpretations neglected in the specialised and sometimes too narrow researches of the last decades; as, for instance, when L. states (p. 60) that among the column reliefs of the Older Artemisium at Ephesus some were very probably carved after the death of Croesus.

In arranging his material L. does not cling to the common practice of subdividing every period into three. He divides the archaic period into two parts only, *ältere Zeit* (bis um 550) and *jüngere Zeit* (550-480). It is a relief that he does not use classifications such as *idiisch*, *Dedalic*, or *Ripe Archaic*, which tend to cause misunderstanding. The *Klassische Periode*, the fifth and fourth centuries, have each three subdivisions. The Hellenistic period is divided into six groups: 320-280, 280-230, 230-200, 200-150, 150-80, and 90-30 B.C. This arrangement, in itself a comment on his subject matter, foreshadows L.'s whole method of approach. Though his general standpoint is conservative, he deals with his whole theme and with each individual question on his own conscious responsibility. 'Auseinandersetzung mit abweichenden Ansichten verbot sich meist durch die Rücksicht auf den Raum' (p. 5, n. 1). In fact, no one would expect to find the opinions of other writers discussed at length in a handbook; nor, on the other hand, that the opinions to which L. gives preference should always coincide with the reader's own. A few examples will suffice to show that one cannot always accept L.'s premises without question. For instance, when on p. 87 the torso from Miletus, in the Louvre, is described as being probably a copy. This particular case, however, is a question of interpretation. In another instance L.'s conclusion seems practically untenable: in his proposed arrangement of the East pediment at Olympia he follows F. Studniczka, whereas the only arrangement warranted by the actual remains is that worked out by H. Bulle (*JdI* LIV 137 ff.) and generally accepted (most recently by L. Laurenzi, *Archologia Classica* II 7 ff.). The view that the so-called *Dreifigurenreliefs*, the best known of which is the Orpheus relief, are Peloponnesian and connected with the cult of the dead (p. 202), is new and not easy to accept. L.'s doubt whether the Telephos fresco from Herculaneum is derived from Pergamene painting (p. 357, n. 1) seems unjustified. L.'s historical and stylistic judgement therefore is not unerring. His facts, however, are always sound, and he has the great virtue of beginning each chapter whenever possible with an enumeration of the available Greek and Latin literary sources. It has been maintained, and that with some truth, that L.'s text often reads like a passage from Pausanias; but is this altogether a fault? Brilliant attributions, psychological interpretations, deep insight into the nature of Art are certainly not to be found in L.'s book, but neither is one vague or irrelevant thought, or one unnecessary word.

The book is a handbook in the narrower sense of the word, a kind of lexicon arranged in chronological instead of alphabetical order. It can only be compared with Ch. Picard's *Manuel d'archéologie grecque: La sculpture*, which so far does not include Hellenistic art. The six volumes of the *Manuel* are more complete in bibliography and indices; L.'s text is dry compared with such works as not only the *Manuel* but also, for instance, Winckelmann's *History of Art* or Furtwängler's *Masterpieces*. On the other hand, there is much to be said for so concise a treatment as L.'s. This is true both of the text and the numerous small but good illustrations, the arrange-

ment of which gives ample possibility for comparative studies. The book is not intended to be read consecutively—who but a reviewer would read a lexicon through from beginning to end? But for all who study classical archaeology it is as indispensable as Picard's *Manuel*. It deals scientifically and thoroughly with a vast mass of material, and will remain a fitting monument to its author's modesty and integrity. Lippold died in July 1954, in his seventieth year, in consequence of a street accident.

E. HOMANN-WEDEKING.

The Athenian Agora. Results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Vol. I, Portrait Sculpture. By E. B. HARRISON. Pp. xiv + 114, with 49 plates. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1953. Price not stated.

This is the first of what will presumably be a long series of volumes giving the results of the American excavations in the Agora of Athens in final form. The convenient format, the excellent type and illustrations, and above all the competency of the text augur well for the future.

The volume contains the sculptured, marble portraits derived from statues, statuettes, herms, and busts that came to light in the course of the excavations. All sixty-four examples are of Roman date, and they represent—with one exception, a possible Herodotos—people living at the time that the portraits were made, from the first century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. They give us the physiognomies, therefore, of Greeks and Romans living in Greece during the Roman empire, and they are sculptures made in Greece, and so can be conveniently compared with similar products from other parts of the empire. As a group, therefore, they have a special interest.

But also singly these portraits have much to offer. Almost every period is represented by good or fair work, and several examples rank high. The Republican head of the melancholy old priest (no. 3), the Flavian-Trajanic head of some stolid functionary (no. 18), the Trajanic bust of a serious, intelligent, surprisingly modern-looking man (no. 19), the Hadrianic herm of the prosperous Moiragenes (no. 25), the characteristically Antonine head (no. 28), the third-century head with thoughtful expression (no. 59), and the battered head of a priest perhaps of the time of Gallienus (no. 49) are all excellent specimens of their kind. A headless *loricatus* (no. 56), identified as Hadrian from the reliefs on the cuirass—Athena standing on the Roman wolf and being crowned by Victories—is an impressive piece which looks well where placed on the excavation site.

Miss Harrison has admirably acquitted herself of her task. The descriptions of the single pieces are accurate and detailed, the discussions show wide knowledge, and the dates assigned are carefully substantiated. Very helpful also is the short introduction in which the finding places and other relevant subjects are discussed. The fact that some of the portraits were found in Herulian debris (datable before A.D. 267) and in the filling of the 'Valerian wall' (built A.D. 280) has supplied here and there a *terminus ante quem*; but most of the pieces were used as building material in medieval and modern constructions, and so few chronological data could be secured. All this evidence is judiciously used.

But Miss Harrison has not confined herself to cataloguing and discussing the actual examples in her catalogue. She has realised their importance as a group—relatively small in number, of course, but of assured provenience. She has therefore added a chapter entitled *Observations on Athenian Portrait Style in the Roman Period*, with three subdivisions: *The Romanisation of Greek Portraits*, *Athenian Portraits in the Style of the Roman Empire*, and *Athenian Portraits of the Third Century and After*. In this chapter she endeavours to show the difference between portraits of the Roman age made in Greece and those made in Italy. Not only does she see a difference and argue eloquently for it, but she sees a lag in time for the portraits made in Greece. She thinks that the sculptors in Greece were the followers, not the leaders, in this art, at least until the time of Augustus; after that the two became merged in one style and 'approximate unity' is attained.

These are large questions, and different opinions have been expressed, especially of late. So the detailed treatment here given is timely. As, however, I find myself in disagreement with some of Miss Harrison's conclusions, I must try to point out what seem to me weaknesses in her arguments, and offer another solution.

Miss Harrison evidently accepts the inescapable fact that the portraits of the Roman age found in Greece must have been made by Greeks not Romans. (It would indeed be strange to suppose that in the first century B.C. Roman artists with little

or no experience in carving marble had come to Greece to take over the task of portrait sculpture from the Greeks, who had had an age-long tradition in this craft.) And Miss Harrison also believes that Roman sculptors in Italy were taught this art by immigrant Greeks: 'The Romans were not a marble-working people, and it was from the Greeks that they first learned the habit and the techniques of carving sculpture in marble. Since Roman portraiture really began to exist as an art only at the time when these lessons were being learned, it was inevitable that some of the contemporary, late Hellenistic sculptural tradition should go into the make-up of the first Roman portraits, whatever may have been the nationality of the actual sculptors who carved them.' Presently, however, according to her, the artists in Rome became leaders. She admits that the exact dating of Republican portraits found in Greece is difficult, has not yet been established, and awaits further evidence, but it can be done, she thinks, in individual cases. Thus the head of the priest, no. 3, since it resembles somewhat one from Corinth (pl. 43, c) that can be dated on external evidence to after 45 B.C., should be dated likewise. As many Republican portraits found in Rome show the same realistic style considerably earlier, Miss Harrison thinks a lag in Greek products is indicated. Furthermore, the Republican portrait from the Agora, no. 4, is thought to resemble portraits in the 'Sorex Group', which Schweitzer dates in the second third of the first century B.C., chiefly on the supposition that the portrait of C. Norbanus Sorex from Pompeii represents the actor friend of Sulla, Σορεῖς ὁ ἀκτῆρις, mentioned by Plutarch (*Sulla*, XXXVI, 2). But, as has been pointed out, and as Miss Harrison herself mentions in a footnote, this identification is far from certain. The portrait from Pompeii may not represent Sulla's 'master comedian' at all, for, according to the inscription on the base, this Sorex played only secondary roles. Moreover, stylistically the head had been placed by some in the Augustan period. (The question has recently been discussed again by de Franciscis in his *Il Ritratto romano a Pompeii* (1951), pp. 27-34). This would place some of the Roman 'prototypes' a generation later, and so more or less contemporary with the Greek 'lagers'. At all events, since in any case only a short time is involved, is it not misleading to judge this important question from a few examples when a style admittedly lives longer than two or three decades?

The old idea that Roman portraits were realistic, the Greek idealistic, had to be abandoned some time ago. There were too many realistic portraits of Hellenistic date that witnessed against the theory. Now recourse is taken to Michalowski's definition that 'a Roman portrait is a document, whereas a Greek portrait is an analysis'. For the Greek the inner organic structure, intellectually understood, is always the necessary framework on which any portrait must be built; to the Roman this inner structure is of minor importance as compared with the surface marks that give the impression he wishes to convey. But surely the underlying structure is as characteristic of Roman portraits as it was of the Greek; it distinguishes Graeco-Roman portraits throughout their long career; though in the Roman period in addition more attention is given to surface details. In the head of the priest, no. 3, for instance, in which the author sees an 'independence of the underlying bony structure of the face', the artist's understanding of the substructure is evidenced, in my opinion, by the splendid modelling of the skull, and though the face has sagging flesh, this flesh adheres to a firm bony foundation.

The author points out that in judging Roman portraits three factors must be considered: (1) the place where a portrait is made, (2) the nationality of the artist, and (3) the nationality of the subject. That is obviously true, and so is Vessberg's thesis that the Greek artists were gradually influenced by their new environment and by the new types of faces they had to represent. But these truths do not, I think, support the author's view of a basic difference between portraits found in Greece and in Rome. If some Greek artists went to Rome—not once but continuously, as our literary and epigraphical evidence tells us—surely there was a supply of good artists left in Greece. And this is testified also by the many excellent copies produced in Greece. So why should Greece wait for inspiration from abroad when she was still a fountain that fed the streams? Naturally there were more commissions to be had in Italy than in Greece, but if the artists in both places were Greeks, carrying on Hellenistic traditions within the same restricted requirements—and their products show this—there can hardly be a basic difference between their products.

Is it not more logical to imagine that when Roman portraiture as such began in the first century B.C. it was made by Greek sculptors who carried on their Hellenistic traditions, adapting them to suit the needs of the time, and that they did this not only in Italy but in Greece and throughout the Roman empire? (We may recall the fine products from Cos

with splendidly understood bony structure, cf. *Clara Rhodes*, IX, figs. 37-40.) Differences in quality there naturally would be, for there were outstanding and mediocre artists everywhere, physiognomies varied, and the material used affected the general appearance, the Greek marbles being more luminous than Carrara. But how could one explain the fundamental resemblances between the portraits of the Roman age all over the empire if they were not the products of the same kind of people, with the same traditions, working for the needs of their time?

Miss Harrison has done us all a valuable service in publishing with such care the Agora portraits and discussing the problems involved. We may hope that the many fine Roman portraits in the National Museum in Athens will soon be published and add to our understanding and enjoyment of that age.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER.

Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs, 1. By J. MARCADÉ. Pp. 124, with 23 plates and numerous text figures. Paris: De Boccard, 1953. Price not stated.

This book is the first instalment of an eagerly awaited 'new edition' of Emanuel Löwy's *Inchriften Griechischer Bildhauer*. Löwy's work appeared in 1885, and has been indispensable to every student of Greek epigraphy and sculpture ever since. In the present work, sponsored by the French Archaeological School at Athens, the inscriptions are classified by their proveniences. This first volume deals only with inscriptions from Delphi; but each entry is on a separate, loose sheet, so that ultimately the sheets can be assembled alphabetically according to the artists' names and complementary pages added when necessary. It seems an admirable arrangement from many points of view.

How much new the present volume brings is shown by the fact that it includes sixty-two names of sculptors (exclusive of fragmentary ones), whereas in Löwy's *Inchriften* only three artists' signatures from Delphi were listed. In competency Mr. Marcadé's work is worthy of its great predecessor. It supplies us not only with the illustrations, transcriptions, dimensions, probable dates, and bibliographie of the inscriptions but gives a brief account of what is known of the sculptor from other epigraphical and literary evidence. It, therefore, becomes a valuable source book. Furthermore, in many instances a commentary is added with references to present-day writings on the subject. And these comments are brief and to the point. They deal with facts, not surmises. We thus obtain a succinct account of what is actually known of the Greek sculptors, unencumbered by extraneous material. The volume indeed bears testimony to the sobriety and high standing of French scholarship.

As one peruses Mr. Marcadé's pages and finds name after name of sculptors known to us only by their signatures or from a mention by Pausanias, one realises afresh how fragmentary is our knowledge of Greek sculptors. If there were so many artists, distinguished enough to have been commissioned with statues in one of Greece's chief sanctuaries, but who are known now only from signatures on bases, how precarious is it to attribute extant works to the relatively few artists whose style has been—often only tentatively—identified.

Another significant fact stands out. There was no narrow nationalism in the commissioning of sculptures. A patron might employ a sculptor from his own city—as did the Selinuntian Phil (. . .) Akron of Selinus (not of Lindos, as formerly read); or he might give the commission to an artist from another city—as did the Lacedaemonians to the Athenian Kalamis, at a time, moreover, when Lacedaemonian sculptors ranked high. Hence the extensive travelling by Greek artists. Thus, Kalamis is known to have worked for Athens, Boeotia, Sikyon, Mantinea, Apollonia, and for Hieron of Sicily. This circumstance would seem to make attributions to local schools difficult.

The most important signature found at Delphi within recent years is the one by Lysippos that came to light in 1939 under the Sacred Way. It is on a fragmentary limestone base that once supported a statue of Pelopidas of Thebes and which was dedicated by Thessalians. The event that occasioned the erection of the statue has been connected (by Bousquet) with the battle of Kynoskephalai in 364 B.C. in which Pelopidas was killed, and (by Wilhelm) with a Thessalian expedition in 369 B.C. The activity of Lysippos is thereby attested for as early as the sixties of the fourth century. When he made the portrait of Seleukos toward the end of the century and the statue dedicated by Theramenes, also dated in the late fourth century, he must have been an old man. We may recall that he is called γῆρων in the Anthology.

On the various sculptural problems on which inscriptions from Delphi throw light Marcadé generally takes a conservative view. We may cite a few of his opinions. He considers

possible but not certain Raubitschek's connexion of another stone with what had been thought to be the base of Kresilas' statue of Perikles. Kresilas' Dientrophes—to judge by the forms of the letters in the inscription—he considers too early to have been the person of that name mentioned by Thucydides. The existence of a Kalamis II is thought doubtful. The Agias of Delphi might well be a copy of the Agias by Lysippos at Pharsalos. There is no obvious reason for suspecting the authenticity of the inscription *Αἰγίου ἐργον* on the statue of Herakles in the Pitti Gallery.

The attribution to Kresilas of the New York-Copenhagen-Berlin type of Amazon is provisionally accepted, and in apparent support of it a reference to the relief from Ephesos with an Amazon of this type is given. But surely this relief raises a question. Would one not expect that at Ephesos, the city for which the Amazons were made, the prize-winning statue by Polykleitos would be represented? And this would be an argument for the attribution of this type to Polykleitos rather than to Kresilas—unless we suppose, as some have done, that the Ephesos relief originally had on it all the Amazons. Perhaps the attribution to Polykleitos has been reinforced by the recent discovery of an Amazon of this type in Hadrian's villa near Tivoli, where it stood as a pendant to an Amazon of the Pheidias type. Hadrian might well have chosen the Amazons by the two foremost Greek sculptors to decorate his Canopus.

These moot questions, however, Marcadé presents without polemics, generally giving the opinions on both sides with great fairness.

We look forward to further instalments of this valuable work in the near future.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER.

Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques. La statuaire archaïque et classique (Bibl. de la Faculté de Phil. et Lettres de l'Univ. de Liège, CXVI). By L. LACROIX. Pp. xxii + 372, with 28 plates. Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1949. 200 fr.

This is a work of considerable importance, of real value to numismatists, and even more to students of classical archaeology who are particularly concerned with Greek sculpture. It does not, of course, supersede the valuable work produced in 1885-87 by Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer in collaboration with Professor Percy Gardner, entitled *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*. The volume by Dr. Lacroix has a different aim, and inevitably illustrates a greater number of coins minted in Asia Minor than elsewhere. An introduction, which runs to twenty-eight pages, has much to say on the general problems of identifying and interpreting representations of famous statues which appear on Greek coins, and it is here that an important point is made; for the author shows that one particular view held by a number of numismatists in the last century must be abandoned. Formerly it was thought that only late Greek coins were of use for the study of Greek sculpture; but it is now clear that, while there is an abundant output of coins with pictures of statues in Hellenistic and Roman times, precise copies of cult statues do occur, not only in the fourth, but even in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C.—though they occur rarely.

After this introduction the book falls into two parts, the first of which deals with archaic statues and the numismatic evidence; the second with the history of Greek sculpture down to Lysippos, and the numismatic evidence. In the first part the writer begins with herms and terminal figures in general, whence he passes on to statues of Apollo, Zeus, and other male deities, following this up with an account of archaic statues of Athena, Artemis, Aphrodite, and the 'Asiatic' images of Anatolia. The second part of the work has chapters on archaic sculpture, on the masters of the fifth century, and those of the fourth century. A final chapter, rather like an epilogue, summarises the conclusions of Dr. Lacroix, with emphasis especially upon the point that there are fifth-century Greek coins showing reliable pictures of cult statues, and that in the Hellenistic age the greater number of copies of statues on coins was due to the social and religious outlook of the period. Men turned to the past, which was represented for them by these ancient figures, for reasons more profound than simple dilettantism.

Ample and well-documented footnotes add greatly to the value of this book, and it is a pleasure to observe such a work equipped with five carefully-planned and useful indexes. The photographs, most of them enlarged, on the twenty-eight plates are well chosen and clear.

A few points may now be made. Dr. Lacroix expresses uncertainty (p. 46) as to whether or no the celebrated terminal figure of Hermes on a throne which appears on coins of Aenus

is phallic. Since the publication of the work of J. M. F. May, *Ainos, its History and Coinage*, and the enlarged photograph shown in my own *Masterpieces of Greek Coinage*, it is certain that there was no phallus attached to this primitive figure. Dr. Lacroix believes (p. 188) that the variations in the presentation of Artemis Ephesia are due to the ignorance or the fantasy of die-engravers. This, of course, is not the case. The varieties of costume merely represent the elaborate and complicated wardrobe which was kept in the Artemision. P. 201, n. 5: to the list of books about Daedalus should be added the little volume by R. J. H. Jenkins, *Dedalia* (1935). It is perhaps a pity that the earliest coins of Caulonia and Poseidonia were not included, since there can surely be no doubt that those of the former city represent a sixth-century statue of Apollo on a sixth-century coinage; and although Poseidon on almost contemporary coins of the latter city is shown sometimes bearded and sometimes beardless, we are entitled to look upon the coin-picture as a memory-picture in the mind of the die-engraver, and to conclude that it nevertheless faithfully represents the appearance of a cult statue at Poseidonia.

CHARLES SELTMAN.

Excavations at Olynthos. Part XIV, Terracottas, lamps and coins found in 1934 and 1938. By D. M. ROBINSON. Pp. xx + 533, with 174 plates. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1952 (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). 200s.

Well-illustrated reports of excavations yielding terracottas are rare and, to the student of such things, invaluable. *Olynthos* IV and VII have already given us much to be thankful for, containing as they do a wealth of material with a definite provenience and a definite lower chronological limit. And now in Vol. XIV we have many more terracottas: those found in 1934 and 1938, and the lamps and coins from the same campaigns. Such prompt publication of this important site is a matter for congratulation.

This is not only a catalogue of the terracottas of 1934 and 1938; it also sets out to sum up the results of previous excavations, as reported in Vols. IV and VII, and to present a conspectus of the Olynthian terracotta-industry as a whole.

The first chapter is a summary of comparable material from other sites in Macedonia and Thrace, and might well have been omitted. Even if the proveniences were all well authenticated, it would not have added much to our knowledge of Olynthian terracottas. But they are not, as can be seen from one entry, which reads: 'while the provenience of this figure is given as Thessalonica, it probably was not found there, but had its origin in Boeotia'.

Chapter II, *Summary and Statistics*, is valuable for our understanding of a neglected subject. R. gives much material on which future students can work. It is interesting to note that on a site where Town and Cemetery are excavated together more terracottas come from the former than from the latter; consequently, it is clear that these things were not only funerary or votive in character. Why they were kept in private houses we still do not know, but now at least we know that they were. Another point of interest is that the proportion of graves containing terracottas to the total number of graves uncovered, roughly 1:6, is almost exactly paralleled in the Camirus tomb-groups in the British Museum.

The statistics are followed by a history of Olynthian terracottas and a note on technique. There is only one criticism here. The piece which R. regards as seventh century (*Olynthos* IV, no. 252) cannot be as early as that; it is surely a Corinthian import of the first half of the sixth century (cf. *Perachora* I, pl. 93 *passim*). The chapter closes with a discussion of the various uses to which terracottas were put: domestic, votive, and funerary.

Chapter III comprises a Catalogue of the terracottas of 1934 and 1938. As in the previous volumes, for each entry the essential facts are first given, in what is a model form: inventory number, provenience, dimensions, description of clay, decoration, state of preservation, technique, description of piece. These facts are followed by a discussion, frequently lengthy and nearly always informative, of the terracotta in question. Finally, the date is given. It would have been helpful had the technical and factual section been separated from the discussion at least by being put into a separate paragraph, or, better still, by being also printed in smaller type. Each piece is illustrated, some in several views, but the quality of the illustrations (in half-tone) leaves much to be desired. They are far too thin in texture (is this the photographer's or the blockmaker's fault?), and many have the tell-tale outline which betrays the use of scissors and paste.

The types are mostly those encountered in the previous volumes, but with the added advantage of grave-groups and houses by which they can frequently be dated. R.'s dating

is, however, somewhat arbitrary. In few instances are we given any reasons; in some he goes against both the appearance of the piece and the date of the tomb-group (as given in Vol. XI). For example, a seated kouroutrophos, no. 134, comes from a grave dated by the author to the second half of the fifth century or the early fourth. Its appearance suggests a date in the third quarter of the fifth century (see V. H. Poulsen, *Der Strenge Stil, passim*), but R. dates it in the late sixth or early fifth century. Similarly, no. 137, which has a fourth-century look and comes from a fourth-century grave, is described as belonging to the late fifth century.

Among types new to Olynthus, for which a provenience and a dating is very welcome, mention must be made of nos. 246-7, a group of two standing women, the kissing faces nos. 271-2, and the relief no. 290. But the finest Olynthian terracottas, whether they are Attic imports, or local copies, are the actors, of which a further batch is to be found here, on pl. 113 ff. It is clear that although Olynthus (in common with most Greek communities) had its own terracotta-industry, the types were mostly borrowed from elsewhere, chiefly from Boeotia and Attica, the moulds being taken from imported pieces.

A few isolated comments on various entries. No. 253 is not an astragal-player, but part of a group of Eros and Aphrodite as figured by Winter in *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, II, 198: 1. A dating for this type is welcome. Nor is no. 281 an astragal-player; it is a small boy in one of the positions naturally taken up by very young children. No. 291: 'This relief belongs to the so-called "Melian reliefs", since so many have been found on Melos.' But Jacobsthal (*Die Melischen Reliefs*, 189) expressly states that these gorgons are not Melian reliefs: nor in fact do they appear to come from Melos. No. 335 is not a 'Melian' cock; Melian reliefs are always solid. No. 383 is very close to a type published by Winter (*op. cit.*) on p. 464, no. 3.

There follows a catalogue of the lamps from these two campaigns. It is interesting to see where this series agrees with, and where it differs from, the Corinth lamps. As with terracottas, it seems that the Olynthians imported lamps to a certain extent, but supplied most of their needs by making their own in imitation of the imports. Here again, a lower chronological limit is very useful.

Finally, the concordances. These will be invaluable, since they deal with almost all objects from all the campaigns. But will students interested in objects other than terracottas, lamps, or coins ever think to look for such concordances in this place? It might have been better to publish material of general interest, and of such importance, in a separate volume.

R. A. HIGGINS.

Antike Kunstwerke. By C. BLÜMEL. Pp. 46, with 26 plates and 19 text figures. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953. DM 16.50.

Photographs of twenty-six little-known objects in German collections, public and private, which have passed through Dr. Blümel's hands in recent years, with short descriptive text. They range in time from a bronze lion, convincingly identified as the central boss of a Cretan shield, to a youthful bust of the third century A.D., perhaps of Philip II. Not all are great works of art, but all are worthy of the excellent photographs and careful description.

Some notes, mainly on the earlier objects: 2, helmeted head vase; B. says, 'could be carried by a woman on a string from her belt'; why not by a man? 3, lion vase; ascribed to seventh century, but the comparison with the Hellenistic animal and bird vases from Pontos may indicate a later date. 4, Etruscan olpe of the group put together by Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, 206 ff.; cf. Benson, *Geschichte der korinthischen Vasen*, 30, no. 36 (Bearded Sphinx Painter); probably same hand. 8, a somewhat similar cup found in the great grave at Vix, *Mon. Piot XLVIII*, pl. 25, 2; is 8 not Attic too? date later than B. allows.

It is good to have such fine photographs of the lion from Kythera (7), which after some curious vicissitudes during and after the war has come into the temporary custody of the Berlin Museums. Another piece has had an interesting history; the silver statuette of a drunken satyr (19), formerly in a Florentine collection, in which B. recognises the model for Jacopo Sansovino's Bacchus in the Bargello and for a figure in a drawing of Mantegna.

T. J. DUNBABIN.

Aphrodite in den Gärten. By E. LANGLOTZ. Pp. 52, with 10 plates. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1954. DM 18.

In this monograph L. completes a study some of whose foundations he has himself already laid (*Festschrift A. Rumpf*, 1950), and which is, logically at least, dependent on Broneer's

work on the Acropolis N. slope. Broneer's solution of the problems connected with the Acropolis shrine of Aphrodite *ἐν κήποις* leads one to seek more knowledge about her Ilissos shrine and its cult statue. The shrine can only become known through excavation; of Alkamenēs' statue L. here offers an account. In his earlier paper, on the Olympias-Aphrodite type, L. dealt only negatively with the problem of identification, but noted that it was frequently reproduced by painters of the Meidias period, in representations of Aphrodite with Eros. Now Broneer had already related some of these vase paintings to the cult of Aphrodite *ἐν κήποις*; and it is on the basis of such a connexion of ideas that L. has built his present thesis.

After a brief introduction he proceeds to the evidence of these vases. Interest at Athens in this cult of Aphrodite appears to have increased strongly from c. 430. The representation of the goddess on vases falls into two type-groups, in fairly clear chronological sequence: (a) *Der ältere Bildtypus* (a well-known example is the Aphrodite in Meidias' Rape of the Leukippidai, in Brit. Mus.). Aphrodite is seated on a rock; she leans back on to the support of an arm stretched straight behind her on to the rock, and turns her head to look over this 'working' shoulder. (b) *Der jüngere Typus* first appears c. 430-420. The goddess is seated, leaning back in a chair. Her legs stretch slackly before her, crossed above the ankle. One arm is bent, the elbow thrust over the chair back, on which the arm's weight is supported at wrist and armpit. L. concludes that the appearance of this new type could have been inspired by the completion of some important sculpture. The date would suit Alkamenēs' Aphrodite, and be consistent with the tradition that Pheidias put the last touches to the work.

For sculptured copies of Alkamenēs' statue L. looks not to the Fréjus or Leaning Aphrodite, as did Furtwängler and Schrader, but to the Olympias-type (seated as she is in the posture of his *jüngeren Typus*). To his earlier discussion of this group he adds the important suggestion that the Ashmolean head (*JHS* 1918, pl. 3) may even be an original head by Alkamenēs; and not a variant of the 'Sappho'-head group, connected with our statue by Ed. Schmidt, but wrongly, in the opinion of L., who would attribute it to Arkesilaos' Venus Genetrix.

He adds to his discussion of the statue a résumé of our knowledge of the cult of this essentially oriental Aphrodite. The gist of L.'s thesis is convincing, even if some subsidiary arguments may suffer from a dependence, inevitable in our present state of knowledge, on arguments from probability; and L. is modestly reluctant to insist on conclusions which provide so attractive a way of filling an important gap.

H. H. O. CHALK.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Deutschland, Band

9. München, Museum antiker Kleinkunst, Band

3. By R. LULLIES. Pp. 55, with 50 plates and 11 text figures. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1952. DM 45.

This fascicule contains (i) the Geometric, Orientalising, and earlyish B.F. of Attic manufacture, (ii) the Cycladic Geometric, Corinthian, archaic Boeotian and plastic vases not in Sieveking-Hackl. The photographs of the vases (though not the plastics) are good and supplemented by drawings of Reichhold's in the text. The description is full and accurate; the commentary is well informed and to the point, and will be a valuable work of reference. On the Geometric, which is the largest section, Lullies acknowledges the benefit of a preview of Kübler's forthcoming *Kerameikos V*.

Pl. 103: Desborough, *Proto-geometric Pottery* 93f., now places this piece early. Pl. 109: for the vase cf. Fölzer, *Die Hydria*, pl. 2, 19. Pl. 118, 1-2: now Desborough 99. Pl. 122, 6: 'kotyle-pyxis', imitating a Corinthian form that goes back to the later eighth century; cf. also Young *AJA* 1942, 48 (with republication of the Phaleron ones). Pl. 122, 7: Attic? Pl. 124, 1-2: the apportionment to this painter seems only partially satisfactory; Pfuhl, *Muz.*, fig. 14 is as near to Pl. 125, 1-2; with pl. 125, 3-4 cf. also the Anavysos cup *PAE* 1911, 121, no. 18. Pl. 136, 1-3: Comast Group, cf. Beazley, *Hesperia* XIII 48, 'Manner of KY Painter' no. 1 (Boardman). Pl. 136, 5: the two middle figures could be women (note the girdle). Pl. 139, 3-5: the decoration is closer to the Piraeus amphora and the commencement of the late seventh-century B.F. style. Pl. 141, 1-2: also a similar, rather slighter piece from Naxos, *AE* 1945-47, 1 ff. Pl. 141, 4: cf. now Ohly, *Griech. Goldbleche* 117 f. and notes; further fragments of this series have recently been illustrated (*JHS* LXVI 116, *AE* 1939-41, 26 ff., and Kondoleon's reports in *PAE* 1949-); perhaps rather seventh-century. Pl. 142, 3-5: cf. R. M. Cook, *BSA* XLVII 126. Pl. 142, 9: see now Benson, *Geschichte der Vasen* 14. Pl. 146, 3, 5-7: Eretrian (Boardman). *Plastics* (Nicholls): Pl. 144, 5-6: the heads seem Late Corinthian. Pl. 150, 9-10, 11-12: these belong to the less common class of helm-vases attributable

to Maximova's 'Pomegranate Group'. Pl. 151. 1-3: the down-dating of the Ionic bust-vases is questionable.

J. M. Cook.

Delos. Exploration archéologique de Délos faite par l'école française d'Athènes. Fasc. xxi: Les Vases attiques à figures rouges. Par CH. DUGAS, avec la collaboration de J. D. BEAZLEY. Pp. viii + 74, with 57 plates. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1952. Price not stated.

This admirable fascicule is primarily devoted to the Attic red-figured and black-glazed pottery from the rectangular pit which Stavropoulos discovered and excavated on Rheneia in 1893; a separate section at the end contains twenty-nine figured fragments from Delos, including the remarkable piece showing Perseus with the Graiai. There can be no doubt that Stavropoulos' discovery was in fact the pit to which the Athenians transferred the contents of all the graves they found on Delos when they purified the island in the winter of 426/5 B.C.; the date is reliable, and the later pieces from the pit are therefore vital for the chronology of Attic pottery in the second half of the fifth century. Unfortunately it is by no means certain that this collection of vases and fragments does not now contain a few later elements, whether from ancient disturbance, a lapse by the excavator, or the irresponsibility of the kind of visitor who picks up a sherd from one pile and puts it back in another. For an account of the excavation Dugas refers the reader to Rhomaïos' article in *ADelt* XII, 181; it seems clear that ancient disturbance can be discounted, but Rhomaïos' devastating though restrained observations show that extraneous pieces may easily have got in during the excavation and while the finds were in the workroom. As for the third possibility, one need only remember that the pottery has been accessible in Mykonos Museum for half a century. One must therefore agree with the conclusion drawn by Dugas that though the more or less complete vases can be regarded as definitely from the Katharsis Pit, the smaller fragments by themselves must be used with caution, and this conclusion harmonises with the evidence of the figured pottery; the whole vases range from before 500 B.C. to a date well before the end of the fifth century; the fragments cover the same span, except for the four small pieces to which Dugas draws attention (p. 3). The one real difficulty is caused by 42; in the text (p. 16) Dugas says, 'il doit dater, lui aussi, des dernières années qui ont précédé la purification'; in the catalogue we read, 'Beazley se demande si ce fragment provient bien de la Fosse de la Purification'. Apparently there was not complete agreement about this fragment, and the reader might fairly ask for the arguments in support of the two statements.

The majority of the figured vases are not outstanding either for style or for subject; the text is lucid and to the point, giving essential information and explanation, while refraining from labouring the obvious or wasting space on matters of doubtful relevance; it is also enriched by Sir John Beazley's attributions and comments. In the black-glazed pottery the range of shapes is in the main restricted to drinking-vessels of various forms; fortunately the evidence is more than sufficient to provide an absolute date for one stage in the relative chronology which has been worked out from numerous group finds from other sites. Indeed, as a result of the generosity with which the Rheneia material has been made available long before publication, this evidence has already been widely used, and one of the most helpful and valuable elements in the section on the plain black vases is the extensive series of references to other studies. Perhaps the two most important shapes represented are the ubiquitous bolsal (167-72) and the pleasing stemless cups with a simple ring foot, offset rim, and loop handles (150-65); the second variety badly needs a name, and in view of the number found in the Katharsis Pit they might well be called Rheneia cups. Only one vase seems out of place in this context, the heavy cup-kotyle 183, whose shape and handles seem more appropriate to the fourth century than the fifth, though its peculiarities may possibly be due to the fact that it is a miniature.

A few additional comments suggest themselves for certain individual pieces. 2: the creature on A is certainly a centaur, yet he wears an ivy wreath and beside the break on the left is part of the head of a thyrsos with unmistakable ivy leaves. He is thus closely linked with the satyr on the reverse; see also Beazley, *EVP* 100. 16: may not the object held by the youth be a hydria, as on British Museum E 159? 52: the fragment with the legs and tail of the satyr is not quite correctly placed. 69: 'Mais le tableau peut aussi recevoir une interprétation symbolique, la femme de gauche écoutant le travail ménager figuré par le calathos et le jeune homme les distractions amoureuses'. If so, the seated woman seems remarkably intent on her chores—*siccupae de lana cogitat ipsa sua*. The alternative interpretation is surely correct; a woman gives orders to her maid, while her

husband looks on with approval. 147-9: these three vases may indeed all be described as stemless cups without offset rim, but they are quite distinct types, and would be better kept separate. 147, with its heavy, moulded foot and solid handles, is a variant of the heavy cup with offset rim which is current from the second quarter of the fifth century till about 430 B.C.; 148 is a fine and unusual piece, whose impressed decoration is also uncommon; 149, with its thin wall, fragile, moulded foot and incised tongues in the interior, is a typical example of a shape in vogue in the last thirty years of the century. Moreover, 149 might be the stemless cup with incised tongues which Rhomaïos (*loc. cit.* 193) mentions as found in Sarcophagus 25, for the cup shown in his fig. 5 is in fact the same as the one in his fig. 24 (p. 217), which is stated to come from a grave elsewhere in Rheneia, while 149 is apparently the only cup with incised tongues found in the Katharsis Pit. If this identification is correct, then 149, like the little hydria 135, is not necessarily earlier than 426/5 B.C. 157: for the unusual ring of palmettes set head to tail, cf. *Hesperia* XVIII, pl. 88, 67.

The illustrations are good; the figured vases are shown on a scale which enables one to see the details with ease and certainty; for the black-glazed pottery, in addition to side views there are plentiful pictures of the undersides, which are not trimmed but permit one to see the handles, and of impressed decoration. Here again the illustrations are of generous size. The one criticism to be made is that in many of the side views of the black cups the view-point is above the level of the rim, so that the foot is partly obscured. The peculiar graffito on 205 has not come out well on either of the plates; a drawing would have been welcome. Photo-fénilé have done an excellent job, all the more laudable in view of the lack of technical facilities on Mykonos.

P. E. CORBETT.

Megarische Becher im römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseum zu Mainz. (Römisch-germanisches Zentralmuseum zu Mainz, Katalog 14.) By T. KRAUS. Pp. 20, with 5 plates and 9 text figures. Mainz: Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 1951. Price not given.

This is a thorough and praiseworthy example of a museum catalogue of albeit a small group of vases, and a study of its inter-relations. It is provided with an excellent series of illustrations, both drawings and photographs. The Catalogue consists of:

1. A brief general introduction, mentioning the source of the Collection, and dealing with origins and chronology; a useful bibliography both to the old and some of the latest literature is appended.
2. The Catalogue proper, with a full description and discussion of each piece.
3. Appendices: I. A bowl not at present forthcoming. II. A silver bowl, a prototype of Megarian bowls, found in the region of the Graeco-Bulgarian frontier, is illustrated, described, and discussed.
4. Drawings, scattered among the text, giving a section of the bowls and an outline drawing of part of the decoration 'unrolled', in many cases both frieze and base.
5. Plates (half-tones), giving a view of the complete bowl, in some cases (e.g. the silver bowl) several from different view-points.

Herr Kraus agrees with the view that the fabric probably had its origin on the mainland, and rejects an attribution to Alexandria. He argues for a fourth-century origin from the 'fourth-century rhythm' which he sees in the early examples. As, however, the collection in Mainz consists largely of pieces bought from dealers or otherwise acquired from secondary sources, it can naturally yield no new evidence for the origin of any particular vessel. Tentative attributions therefore to local workshops can only be based on stylistic arguments. Nevertheless, Herr Kraus is to be congratulated on a most careful and useful contribution to the study of Megarian bowls, which, in his own words, will lay one foundation-stone towards a comprehensive work on the subject. Perhaps he will himself provide it?

J. H. ILIFFE.

Opfernde Götter. By E. SMON. Pp. 139, with 4 plates. Berlin: Gebr. Mann (for Deutsches Archäologisches Institut), 1953. Price not stated.

The many red-figure vase scenes, most of the first half of the fifth century, which depict a deity pouring a libation from a phiale and ministered to by another with oenochoe, have usually been explained in terms of the Greek 'humanising' of their gods rather than referred to any mythical events. On the

face of it this is not sound, as most do not reflect clearly any familiar lay libation scenes, for instance in the departure or home-coming of a warrior; nor indeed is this 'humanising' tendency so apparent in representational Greek art, where the human is more often elevated than the divine lowered: witness the heroic setting of secular marriage scenes in the sixth century. Miss Simon discusses the appearance of the major deities of Athens in such libation scenes and relates them to known or reasonably inferred occasions on which divine libations might be expected. Such occasions are not easy to find, some are rather obscure, others lacking completely; but the approach to these scenes seems correct, even though the explanations are not all equally convincing. Eckstein-Wolf's scepticism about such interpretations is understandable but unduly pessimistic (her work on the same lines in *MdI* V 39 ff. crossed Simon's publication). The explanations are briefly as follows. Athena with Heracles is welcoming the new god, as it were toasting the graduation of her protégé. Apollo assisted by Artemis and sometimes Leto appears often: the libation group derives from an earlier Leto-Apollo-Artemis triad referred to a monumental group, in which the god is citharode simply, and the scene itself changes its form after the middle of the fifth century when Apollo more often sits, while other details disappear or figures are added. The Pythian character of the scene is emphasised by the attributes carried and this suggests the occasion—the ritual purification of the god after his killing of the Pytho, and the libation to Zeus involved. This should take place at Tempe whither Apollo fled, where the Styx-waters of the Peneios cleansed him and where he found his laurel branch, the attribute of a seer, which is always carried by him or is otherwise present in most of these scenes. However, the omphalos in some indicates Delphi, which in turn suggests the Stepteron festival there in which the killing of the Pytho, flight, and cleansing were re-enacted. It is the later fifth-century representations which reflect the rite more than the original. Dionysos is served by a maenad or maenads who are the nymphs to whom the infant god was entrusted, in scenes either like those figuring Apollo his Delphic partner, or wilder, with dancing and the tearing of flesh, in which his Zagreus-hunter character is dominant. His vessel is the kantharos, whose capacity and widow's-curse quality often enable him to dispense with the services of a ministering oenochoe. Such scenes are more a demonstration than an occasion, though the Anthesteria festival is reflected in some. Zeus and Hera, seated and served by Iris celebrate their *hērōs yámos* and pledge the *Ἡρῆς Τελέαις καὶ Διὸς πιστώματα*. From Eleusinian myth Triptolemos' departure is attended by libation, as are the secular departure scenes; and Persephone's descent to Hades is again a departure, but with the modifications which the marriage and death elements in the story also involve. Finally, the figures on a vase in Ferrara of soon after 400 B.C. are identified with Kybele and her new *σὺμβωρος* in Athens, Sabazios, in a mystery setting with *liknophoros*, tympana, and dancing (see now Kerényi, *Symbolae Osloenses* XXX 82 ff., where the vase's inscriptions are trusted). Special treatment of libation scenes involving the divine messengers or ministrants Iris, Nike, or Hermes is expressly avoided. Lists in some chapters record examples of the main types of scene discussed. Appendices deal with the libation greeting of a god entering Olympus (Apollo in the Homeric Hymn, Heracles on vases), and of a divine birth (Athena by Zeus, Erichthonios by Athena). Indices are full, illustrations few but good and include a new column crater (pl. 4, 2) now attributed by Beazley to the Syriskos Painter in his latest phase, not the Kephalos Painter. The book is a tidy, new, and therefore welcome attempt to interpret an important series of scenes: more remains to be said, but it is refreshing to find an iconographic subject on which too much has not already been said treated in this way.

JOHN BOARDMAN.

Herakles. Die zwölf Taten des Helden in antiker Kunst und Literatur. By F. BROMMER. Pp. 103, with 32 plates and 10 text figures. Münster/Köln: Böhlau-Verlag, 1953. DM 12.80.

Dr. Brommer is well known for his humane handling of iconographic lists and commentaries, and his study of such a favourite as Herakles is therefore most welcome. Welcome, but perhaps a little disappointing: for he limits himself to the canonical Twelve Labours, discusses and illustrates them, and then proceeds to demonstrate the artificiality and late conception of the Dodekathlos and its non-existence as a known cycle in just that period of Greek art which his lists and discussion cover most fully. The origins of the cycle have hitherto been variously dated between Mycenaean times and the fifth century. Many cite the metope sculptures on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia as the source, illustrating as they do the

accepted Twelve; but if this is true it is strange that the Twelve are not again represented as such for nearly five hundred years, although other series of different content and number are found in art and literature. The word itself, Dodekathlos, refers to the victor not the cycle, and only in the third century A.C. do we have Theocritus and Apollonius Rhodius writing of it as a consistent story-cycle. Then too the order seems to have some significance, and the six Peloponnesian adventures precede the others, taking him in turn to the South, North, East, West, Underworld, and Hesperides. Even after this date the same content and number are not always observed. How, then, are the Olympia metopes to be explained? Brommer says that the number was a matter of architectural necessity and the choice of scenes accidentally the same as that later acknowledged: they are treated in a different order—the Augeas stables episode, not before represented in Greek art, included for its topical interest; the arrangement and choice is in fact as arbitrary as it is on the Kypselos chest, the Hephaisteion, in Sophocles and Euripides. The metopes then neither reflected nor inspired any fifth-century cycle, though they surely considerably influenced the choice of one later.

In support and illustration of this, and in fact forming a major part of the book, Brommer reviews each Labour and its representation in archaic and classical Greek art. Here we most regret the limitations of the Twelve, which include few only of the many Herakles stories richly illustrated in vase painting, particularly on Attic black-figure. Emphasis is laid on the first appearance of each in art and literature; in almost all cases the former is earlier, sometimes by more than a century, and for some the standard representation is at variance with the literary account. The earliest Labours are represented in the eighth century, and to them Brommer adds a hitherto unpublished geometric oenochoe with the representation of a man grasping one of a flock of birds by the neck: it is referred to the Stymphalian Birds episode, with perhaps less conviction than lies in the interpretation of the other geometric scenes. The vase is now in Copenhagen and published by Poulsen in *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* XI, 32 ff., figs. 4-6. Of the other geometric scenes the fibulae are more likely of the early seventh than the eighth century, and on the Kerameikos stand figuring a man fighting a lion another leg of the vase represents the same rampant lion and before it again a man, this time carrying *kriophoros*-wise over his shoulders what seems to be a goat (the relevant part now illustrated by Kübler in *Kerameikos* V, 1, pl. 69). If this is again Herakles at Nemea he is in the role of saviour of the countryside, which is logical but unexpected, although in the iconography of this period the unexpected seems almost the rule. The Tiryns shield is declared the earliest combat with Amazons. The popularity of the episodes varies widely. The Augeas story is not mentioned or figured before the fifth century, the Horses of Diomed seldom, while the Nemea Lion and Amazons are commonplace. This, with the range in date of their first appearances, effectively dispels any idea of the existence of a cycle before the fifth century. Indeed, as is pointed out, such a conception was foreign to archaic art, though in the late sixth century at Delphi the Athenian Treasury's Theseus and Herakles metopes and subsequent handling of the Theseus episodes by Attic artists popularised the idea. In this respect, the treatment of the episodes, Peloponnesian Herakles follows Attic Theseus where once, in the suggestion of labours and motifs, he led.

Visual aids in the text include a map signposting the Labours, and a graph of earliest mentions and representations, the latter a rather unhappy conception which would have been more valuable if it had stated what they were without the need to refer back to the text, and had not taken a form better suited to a temperature chart. However, as it stands it illustrates emphatically the lack of coherence in the Twelve. In an appendix are quoted in the original the more important relevant literary passages. Also relegated to an appendix are the lists. They include only vases, and in some cases earlier published lists are referred to and simply supplemented. Brommer declines to list groups involving over fifty vases, and emphasises rather sources, earliest representations, and (in the text) variants, a forbearance much to be applauded and, one hopes, emulated. With the completeness of the lists there can be little serious argument, and with the accuracy of the interpretations there can be none. One or two more hydrias are mentioned in *BSA* XLVII 37, n. 248, and since have appeared *ibid.* pl. 14, 12 (Geryon), *Art Digest* 1951, 12 (Kerberos) *Kratkie Soobshcheniya* (Moscow) LI, 114 fig. 46, 1 (Hydra). On Geryon see also Croon, *The Herdsman of the Dead* 93 ff., and for detailed additions to the lists, von Bothmer, *AJA* LVIII 63 f. A museum register is appended, and an index would have been superfluous. The plates are good, some very good, though

pl. 3 would have looked better in a drawing. In reading the text, reference is required to the notes, Greek texts, lists, and plates, all at the end, and place-marking fingers thus well occupied: in such circumstances the notes might better have appeared in the old manner at the bottom of the page, and perhaps the Greek in the text. The writing is lucid and the format (stiff covers) easy to handle. The whole book whets the appetite for the iconographical study of Herakles which we hope Dr. Brommer will give us one day.

JOHN BOARDMAN.

Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum. Vol. I, Greek: 730-330 B.C. Text and Plates. By R. A. HIGGINS. Pp. viii + 432, with 208 plates. London: British Museum, 1954. £15 15s.

Scholarship in terracottas has advanced far since H. B. Walters' catalogue of 1903, and many well-dated sites have been excavated. In the new catalogue of 1553 pieces datable between 730 and 330 B.C. Mr. Higgins has used this new knowledge to the full and quoted it liberally. The British Museum has a rich collection of terracottas which come from and can be attributed to sites all over the Greek world. This catalogue is therefore an essential handbook for all who would know about terracottas of this period and the many different sides of Greek life represented by terracottas. It should therefore be possessed by many amateurs as well as by all classical archaeologists. The price, however, has been set so high that it will be out of the reach even of many libraries. It is difficult to see what excuse there can be for such a short-sighted policy.

In his introduction Mr. Higgins discusses most usefully fashioning, firing, decoration, purpose, regional and chronological classification, and history of terracottas; he adds a note on Greek dress. The catalogue is arranged chronologically under the different centres of fabrication. Each section is preceded by a history of the fabric. For each piece he gives height, source, technique, kind of clay, and decoration before proceeding to general description, parallels, and references. This is wholly admirable, and the reader can form an impression of the stylistic affinities and of the popularity of each individual piece as well as of the fabric as a whole. Each piece is photographed and the scale of the reproduction is indicated; photography and reproduction are generally adequate, but it is irritating not to have the pictures in strict numerical sequence.

Mr. Higgins has done his work so excellently that a reviewer can only add notes on a few minor points. Rhodes: for the first time information from the diaries of the Camirus excavators is published; in particular, accurate dating of the Attic vases in the Fikellura tombs makes possible the dating of the fifth-century terracottas, but as Mr. Higgins wisely points out terracottas in a tomb may be bought for the burial or may be cherished possessions of some age when buried with their owner; he has not therefore attempted smaller chronological divisions than thirty-three-year periods. 59: to bust-vases between the Gorgoneion class and this add a good example in Manchester, *Antiquaries Journal* 16 (1936), pl. 24/1. 88 f.: these figures have curious proportions (like some Corinthian padded dancers), but why should they be dwarfs? 118: woman with tambourine, devotee of Kybele? Cf. the Kybele, 132, excavated in the same campaign at Camirus; cf. also 228. 204: it is at first sight disconcerting that 'mid-fifth century' should begin 'about 470', but on the tripartite division this is only just over three years too early. The borderlines are difficult: thus no. 138 is 'early' and no. 214 is 'mid'; they come from the same tomb, and I suspect that 'early' is right. 287, cf. Eretria painter's epinetron. Samos, 523, late sixth century, 'probably a faithful copy of a mask worn in a satyr play'. Too early if Pratinas did not introduce the canonical satyrmask before 500 in Athens (cf. *RB*, 36 (1954), 586); and if the mask copied (or was the mould for) a worn mask, the wearer did not speak or sing as the mouth is nearly shut. Crete, 575 f.: add a reference to H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, 178, note 4. These appear to be eighth-century hoplite shields. 582: note that an example of Forster no. 8 was presented by him to the Manchester Museum. Attica, 724: perhaps the earliest of the very fine collection of comic actors. He wears tights rather than 'trousers'; they are the character's skin to which he can be stripped (e.g. Bieber, *HT*, fig. 132). 725: comic actor as Priam? cf. Bieber, *HT*, fig. 361. 736: Papposilenus and infant Dionysus; not, I think, technically an actor because the mouth is shut; in the similar marble group in Athens (Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, fig. 29) the infant Dionysus holds the mask of the fully grown Dionysus (as described E. Bacch. 466 f.). 737: add a reference to A. Rumpf in *Mimas und Logos*, 163, who explains as a male character masquerading as a woman; he is rather a male

character frightened, cf. S. *Aj.* 245. 741, add *Larisa am Hermos*, III, no. 112. 744: add from Vari, *AJA* 1903, 333, no. 61. Boeotia: Rhitsona and Halae provide sound dates. 761, 767, 768, 769: H. accepts Grace's dating, which apparently makes these contemporary. This seems to me impossible if stylistic dating means anything. I do not doubt that bird-headed pappades 'were still made in the sixth century' (e.g. 775 f.) although they copied an eighth-century original, but 767 at least is a careful piece with patterns recalling seventh-century Proto-attic vases and her hair is daedalic; she at least must be late seventh and not early sixth. 787: said by Forster in *JHS* 1907, 73, to have been found 'in a tomb near Retimo' with the charioteer which he gave to the Manchester Museum in 1935 (*Manchester Memoirs*, 80, pl. 1, 1); presumably this was a dealer's provenance, and probably both are in fact Boeotian. 892: 'Satyric actor standing: Papposilenus'. I should prefer 'Papposilenus in stage costume'. I should prefer to keep 'actor' for representations which show the open mouth of the mask; this seems to me the only safe criterion that the artist was thinking of the actor rather than of the character as seen in a play (but then possibly transferred to another context like the Papposilenus of the marble group quoted on no. 736). Corinth, 932 f.: I am not convinced that satyrs whose heads 'have a mask-like look' are 'an echo of satyric drama'. Satyr masks go right back as shield-charges, etc. The artist has added a body. 963, comic actor: I think we can distinguish between imitations of Attic and local originals like this; a parallel for the flared chiton in the flute-player on a Boeotian vase with dancers and satyrs (Berlin 3366, *Festschrift F. Zucker*, pl. 5-6). 1530 can now be added to Corinth (see p. 401, note 4) and is an imitation of an Attic type. Laconia: for the Orthia masks Dickinson's unsatisfactory classification is preserved; no clear distinction seems to me possible between 'old women', 'portraits' (1), and 'caricatures'; these, however, were either worn themselves or the moulds for worn masks. The youths and warriors have apparently neither nostrils pierced nor mouths open; they are merely votive. Sicily, 1195, negro: again a worn mask or a mould for one, cf. a similar but probably later example in the Leipzig, Kunstgewerbe Museum, which I know from Dr. E. Bielefeld. Cyrenaica, 1532: cf. also *Larisa am Hermos*, II, no. 108.

Mr. Higgins has shown himself so expert in finding his way through this earlier period that his next volume on the Hellenistic terracottas will be awaited with confidence and eagerness.

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan (Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, xiv). By R. CURIEL and D. SCHLUMBERGER. Pp. 31, with 116 plates and 4 text figures. Paris: Klincksieck, 1953. Fr. 2200.

Afghanistan has only in comparatively recent times become *terra cognita* to European archaeologists, and it is to be hoped that the work now going on there will eventually throw fresh light on the Hellenistic Greek kingdoms in Bactria and India: it will surely be a great day if and when Greek inscriptions are found (as they eventually were at Susa, for instance). Meanwhile, there have been important finds of coins to interest hellenists (to which incidentally we should now add the treasure of Qunduz, of which a preliminary notice has appeared in Spink's *Numismatic Circular* for May 1954): the work here reviewed is a publication, by two French archaeologists, Messieurs Schlumberger and Curiel, of no less than three important coin-finds, two of which are certainly of great relevance for Greek studies. The third find, consisting of Kushano-Sassanian coins from Tepe Marajan (by R. Curiel) belongs to a later period and is rather outside the scope of this journal.

The first hoard, however, which is fully described and illustrated by D. Schlumberger, is taken fittingly as the starting-point for a discussion on 'L'Argent grec dans l'empire achéménide'. The find itself consisted very largely of Greek coins, and comes from Tchaman-i-Hazouri (near Kabul): it is the first time that a number of Greek coins from the Mediterranean area have been found beyond the Hindu Kush. These coins are: (a) about thirty pieces of Aegina, Melos, Corcyra, Akanthos, Thasos, Lampasakos, Erythrai, Chios, Samos, Knidos, Lycia, Aspendos, Side, Kelenderis, Soloi, Tarsos, Mallos, Paphos, Kition, and Cypriote Salamis; and (b) of Athens (over thirty more). There were a mere handful of Achaemenid coins, and some further primitive stamped currency bars of Indian type, together with some peculiar pieces with rudimentary designs, also Indian in complexion. The hoard is datable (buried c. 380 B.C.), and is thus important also for the chronology of Indian coins: the typical 'punch-

marked ' coins—to which an immemorial antiquity used to be ascribed—are absent and had evidently not yet started (they are regarded by Schlumberger as indirectly a by-product of Alexander's conquests: the details are debatable, but the dating probably broadly correct). But the hoard is of even greater interest for the light it throws on the circulation of Greek coins and on the relations between Greeks and the Persian empire; for the remarkable predominance of Greek coins in this hoard is, as Schlumberger is able to show from comparative evidence, actually far from being an exceptional or isolated phenomenon: indeed, on the evidence of coin-finds from the area of the Achaemenid empire, Greek coins appear to have played a far larger part in the economy of that empire than did the Persian currency. This is clearly a fact of great importance, and fully deserves the emphasis which M. Schlumberger has given it.

The second hoard is of later date: it is from Mir Zakah, near Gardez, and is interpreted by the excavators as an accumulation from a sacred well, into which money-offerings were thrown over a period of several centuries. The bulk of it—apart from Indian ' punch-marked ' pieces, and coins of the Saka invaders who superseded the Greeks in the first century B.C.—consists of coins of the Greek kings who were an offshoot of the Bactrian kingdom and who ruled a large area to the south of the Hindu Kush in the second and first centuries B.C.; very few of the kings already known are unrepresented (and they are minor ones—Theophilus, Dionysios, Apollonophanes, Nikias, Telephos, Peukolaos). The number of coins originally present in the deposit—which was first discovered by the local population—is quite beyond computation, but well over 10,000 were secured for the Kabul Museum by the energy of its Curator, M. Kohzad. It is valuable indeed to have this publication (which is the joint work of Messieurs Schlumberger and Curiel), though we may hope eventually to have fuller details and illustrations of many of the coins; from such large numbers there should be many valuable conclusions to be drawn. It is, at all events, the first hoard of Indo-Greek coins of such a size ever discovered; and it is perhaps significant that it should have been discovered in that area between the Hindu Kush and the Indus where the Greek power in India must have had its main strongholds, and lasted longest.

G. K. JENKINS.

Fouilles de Delphes. Tome II, Topographie et Architecture: Le Gymnase. By J. JANNORAY and H. DUCOUX. Pp. 93, with 30 plates. Paris: De Boccard, 1953. Price not stated.

This volume gives an accurate description of one of the most interesting of gymnasia, illustrated by excellent drawings and photos. It will provide most important material for the study of the Greek gymnasium, of which a new general account is badly needed.

The position of the gymnasium at Delphi was determined by the proximity of the spring Castalia and the cult of chthonian heroes. Slight and obscure remains of an earlier date than the main constructions throw little light on the previous history of the site. The small shrine at the south end of the *xystos*, encroached on by Roman restorations of the colonnade of the latter, was very probably the Damatiron, which should not be located in the palaestra. Jannoray shows that the gymnasium was well within the built-up area of the city, and so should be included in the list of ' gymnases urbains '. Access by stairways was conveniently provided, both between the different terraces and to the region below. Though the gymnasium was constructed and maintained by the Amphictyons, the Delphians no doubt profited by its existence.

In form the Delphian gymnasium was ' simple mais complet '. It had all the essential elements, though it hardly conforms with Vitruvius' prescriptions. In this as in other matters Vitruvius, reducing everything to a stereotyped scheme, hardly reflects the true character of earlier Greek architecture. At Delphi we find an ingenious adaptation of buildings to the necessities of the site, and interesting departures from normality, e.g., in the size and independence of the *loutron*, which is something more than a mere part or annexe of the palaestra. On the higher level were *xystos* and *paradromis*, with an ' esplanade ' in front; on the lower was the palaestra, with the *loutron* in a separate pentagonal enclosure beside it. Jannoray's identification of certain rooms with particular elements of the palaestra must remain open to much doubt, especially his identification of the shrine-like room on the north side as the *ephebeum*; this is in the right place, but it is hardly of the right size and form. Only if one includes the porch does it even approach in area the *ephebeum* at Priene, with which Jannoray compares it in point of smallness. Jannoray does not account for the large and important room in the N.W. corner.

Criteria of architectural style, supported by a little epi-

graphical evidence, indicate that the gymnasium was mainly constructed in the latter half of the fourth century, perhaps 334-326 B.C., when work on the temple was nearing completion. The Roman reconstruction, with the erection of the baths (a necessary addition in Roman times), possibly belongs to the embellishment of Delphi in the time of Hadrian.

A few further details may be mentioned. Jannoray establishes that the number of columns on each side of the court of the palaestra was eight, not six or ten. In his account of the starting lines of the *paradromis* he shows that these give the original ' stade delphique ', a short one of 172.996 m., whereas in the stadium itself, as rebuilt by Herodes Atticus, we have the Roman measure. He gives a convincing reconstruction of the ingenious system by which the water of Castalia supplied a series of basins set against the east wall of the *loutron*—the prototype, he suggests, of a similar scheme at Priene and elsewhere—and then was probably taken on to the round plunge bath.

The book is beautifully and accurately printed, but there is a crop of wrong breathings and other slips in the Greek on p. 87.

R. E. WYCHERLEY.

Inscrizioni Agonistiche Greche. By L. MORETTI. Pp. xvi + 286. Rome: A. Signorelli, 1953. L. 1500.

Moretti here collects a representative selection of agonistic inscriptions of all periods, with explanatory comments. No such previous collection, or selection, exists, and he has rendered a valuable service to historians and epigraphists by making the texts easily available. He takes as his model the volumes of *Greek Historical Inscriptions* by M. N. Tod, and it is as a compilation, rather than as an original contribution to scholarship, that the work must be judged. It is perhaps difficult to understand the precise circle of readers for whom such a general work is intended, and it may be regretted that the author did not undertake a work of research; but, within the limits he set himself, M. seems to have succeeded in his task. His obligations to such writers as N. Gardiner, J. Jüthner, and, above all, L. Robert, traces of whose vast and scattered work in this field appear on almost every page, he willingly acknowledges in his preface and elsewhere.

I note a few points, in a field in which the author is far more at home than I am. The first section contains ten archaic inscriptions. In No. 2 (*Syll.*³ 1071) I find no reference to the reading proposed for the end of the line by S. Accame, *Riv. Fil.* 66, 1938, pp. 167 ff. Accame's reading seems to me untenable, but it should be recorded. In No. 5 (*IG* i², 472) M. proposes a new supplement for the iambic dedication over which Wilamowitz and Maas scratched their heads. His own suggestion (line 4) violates the law of the caesura, and ignores the fact that *δαυν'* must be regarded in such verse as augmented. Of No. 6 there is a good photograph in Jüthner, *JÖAI*, 29, 1935, p. 37. No. 10 (*SEG* xi, 328): it seems to be accepted dogma that in line 1 [—] *φαιδρον* is dative dual, but it is not clear to me why it is not dependent on [*βῆδων*], if it be accepted, or [*βάσι*]ν τε. Nos. 11-30 are texts of the Classic period. M. gives some interesting figures here by way of comparison between ancient and modern athletic achievements. No. 26 (*Ath. Mitt.* 66, 1941, pp. 70 ff., no. 17): M. restores *Αισχυλε δλυμπιονικα, π[άλην παιδων] σπικωναιθις* for Peek's *Αισχυλε δλυμπιονικα γ[ουηά τι θις] σπικωναιθις*. As Peek noted (*cf.* his pl. 40, 1), γ and π are equally possible, and M.'s restoration seems satisfactory. The Hellenistic group, nos. 31-50, contain some long lists of victories won by individuals. No. 40, on p. 106: there is some confusion regarding the Ptolemies involved. Nos. 51-65 contain the inscriptions attesting 'La romanizzazione degli Agoni'. P. 138: the most complete list of *Πρωτα* is that by Magie, *Roman Rule*, p. 1613. No. 58 (*Inscr. Perg.* 535): M. offers an alternative restoration of lines 3-5, substituting *πάλην* for *πύγμην* in two places, as being more suitable for a pancratiast. In no. 62 (*Inscr. Magn.* 149) M. corrects the date, which must be after A.D. 17, and not, as Kern maintained on grounds of lettering, Augustan. Pp. 166 ff. contain useful references to victories won on behalf of women in athletic contests. No. 65 is an important *ineditum* of ca. A.D. 60 found on the Via Latina, S.E. of Rome, referring to the victories of Tib. Cl. Patrobius (*cf.* also Moretti, *Riv. Fil.* 82, 1954, pp. 276 ff.). It does not contain the names of any new games, but sheds some light on old ones. The text of no. 69 was collated by G. E. Bean and myself in Sinoe in 1950; Bean publishes a corrected text in *Türk Tarih Belleten*, 17, 1953, p. 175, no. 12. In no. 70 (*Inscr. Olymp.* 237) M. suggests in line 4 [*Κοιῶν 'Αοίας*]. For no. 71 (*Inscr. Magn.* 180-1) he offers a new chronology based on the various revisions of the Attic archon-lists of the second century A.D. In no. 75 (*Forsch. Eph.* ii, 72) he makes some new suggestions: line 4, for π[αίδων] he prefers γ[αμωδων], and

in line 7 for Ἡραία, τὴν δὲ Ἀργεῖος ἀσπίδα he prefers Ἡραῖς τὴν δὲ Ἀργεῖος ἀσπίδα. For 76 (*SEG* vi, 609) he has two new proposals: one notable one, in lines 5/6 he reads πρῶτον καὶ [μ]έσσην Ἀδελφῶν for [μ]έσσην Ἀδελφῶν τῶν, which has no palaeographical justification, and in line 15 for Latte's [Εὐρύκλεια] he prefers, with reason, [Οὐράνεια].

It will then be seen that M., while relying mainly on the work of others, has made some contributions of his own. The commentaries contain a good deal of irrelevant material, which might well have been omitted.

P. M. FRASER.

The Ancient City of Athens, its Topography and Monuments. By I. T. HILL. Pp. xi + 258, with 2 plates and 34 text figures. London: Methuen, 1953. 25s.

In our plebeian society and against the competition of innumerable other cultures, can the Classical Athenians continue to assert their unique pre-eminence? It is through popular archaeology that most people these days approach the Ancient World; and no task, perhaps, is more important than that of presenting Athens in this new medium with something of an Attic clarity and elegance. The book under review is by a member of the famous American School, which has done more than most to try to meet the current need; and with its attractive dust jacket and handy format it has already enjoyed an extensive sale. Will it instruct and inspire the well-disposed members of the modern 'reading public'?

For what readers is it really intended? That they are philistines and would have found the simplified scenery of the Greek Theatre somewhat disturbing (p. 115) is perhaps not quite fatal. But they have a most distorted general knowledge. It is assumed that they know all about the Heruli and the 'Valerian Wall', suddenly introduced on p. 63 without an explanation, and not included in the index. They also know, probably from Judeich, the general history of Athens between the Geometric period and the American excavation of the Agora: for the first chapter of H., misleadingly called the 'Expansion of Athens', devotes one page to the whole Classical period, omits such events as the conquests by Lysander and Sulla, and makes sense only as a supplement to the standard historical summary in Judeich. It is a pity that H. should nowhere tell us this clearly. Then again, her readers are expected to find no difficulty in the phrase (p. 218) 'Stelae of the naiskos type', but need to be told (*ibidem*), though on no stated authority, that the Greek for a table-shaped monument is 'trapeza'. Are they, or are they not, expected to know the *locus classicus* in the *Lives of the Ten Orators*? Plutarch's conjectures are perhaps beneath their notice, for nowhere in her account (pp. 110-11) of the Monument of Nikias does H. think it worth her while even to guard them against Plutarch, *Nikias* III, 3. But they must be told certain attractive stories that they apparently never learnt at school; how, for instance, Alcibiades parodied the Mysteries (p. 36), how the charred olive on the Acropolis sprouted a new shoot in 480 B.C. (p. 177), or how 'legends of the rude Pelasgians from neighbouring Hymettos swooping down on the maidens at the fountain are many' (p. 62—how many, in fact?). Most surprisingly of all, they need to learn (pp. 28-9) that the Greek climate preserves wood less well than does the Egyptian. This lapse apart, one gathers that they are specialists, who have been 'scientifically' rather than humanely educated. It is therefore unfortunate that this book was published in England and not in the U.S.A.

H., indeed, is valuable chiefly as an industrious and uncritical epitomist of the American School, to whose publications her subservience is complete. She sees what they see, in their order of viewing it; and of literature, even American, outside their purview she knows little. For instance, she seems to believe with Dinsmoor (*AJA* 1947) that the Old Temple south of the Erechtheum is entirely Pisistratean. At any rate, she nowhere tells us that Dinsmoor was led to this date for its cella largely by the marks of the claw-chisel, and that this is inconclusive evidence, if we are to believe *AJA* 1937, p. 107. She also holds with Dinsmoor that the north-east half of the Propylaea was to serve virtually as a tool-shed (p. 163). The Odeum of Pericles, she says (p. 111), 'was rectangular in plan. The tent-shaped roof consisted therefore of four triangles converging to a point.' Why? Because Pericles wore it on his head? The royal tents of the period were very different (see Frickenhaus in *RE*, s.v. σκηνή). 'None of the dimensions of the Parthenon is 100 feet' (p. 138). No; but only if one accepts Dinsmoor's 'Doric Foot', and ignores the evidence of the Stadium. The small propylon beside the Tholos was tetrastyle prostyle (p. 61), as restored by Thompson. This is decidedly unusual, as H. should have noticed. But what are we to make of the sixth-century temple, an 'Hekatompedon',

postulated by Dinsmoor for the site of the later Parthenon? In his view, duly retailed by H. (p. 139), it was Doric, but with a main façade, 16-24 metres wide, tristyle in antis. What other temple of this date does it begin to resemble? H. might, one thinks, have mentioned this difficulty. The present reviewer has not the detailed knowledge of the poros fragments and the Acropolis rock to attempt to resolve it. However, he has gathered from H. that the predecessor of the present Propylaea was probably tetrastyle in antis and had a width of either ca. 17-30 metres (H. p. 143) or 13-50 metres (H. fig. 25). It was also an extraordinary mixture of poros, timber, and marble (like Dinsmoor's 'Hekatompedon'), and in the opinion of Weller (*AJA* 1904, p. 67) was possibly Pisistratean, but restored after 480. Could one possibly coax into it some parts of Dinsmoor's temple? Or are carved metopes unsuitable for propyla, the use of marble in the south wall of this propylon too advanced for the days of Pisistratus?

H. seldom stands on her own feet, partly because she knows too little architecture. To take a specimen (p. 153, paragraph 4) of her architectural descriptions, 'Round the whole building' (*sc.* the Parthenon) 'at the top of the outside of the cella wall ran the famous frieze representing the Panathenaic procession. Although a continuous Ionic frieze with painted mouldings above and below it is set above the guttae of a Doric architrave on the east and west ends'. But (1) if it kept to the cella wall, it could not run round the whole building; (2) painted mouldings are perhaps more characteristic of Doric than of Ionic; (3) one talks of the 'taenia and regula', not the 'guttae' of a Doric architrave; (4) this taenia and regula ran, of course, beneath the frieze for the whole of its length, not merely on the east and west ends.

H. is also weak in sustained argument. On p. 138 she decides that we do not know what the Opisthodomos was. On p. 141 she tells us that the first marble Parthenon had 'one squarish room to the west entered from the opisthodomos', thus picturing its opisthodomos (and presumably that of its Periclean successor) as the prostyle porch of its western room. What known opisthodomos resembles this in shape or position? Then on p. 143 we are told once more that we do not know where the Opisthodomos was. In her preface, H. says she is concerned chiefly with topography and architecture, and strays into the 'enticing byways' of other subjects 'only to illustrate and supplement the main line of pursuit'. But on pp. 18-19, and again on pp. 25 ff. she completely loses herself in these byways. Worse still, the main structure of the book, which comprises a fairly long section on prehistoric Athens and then a perambulation of the Classical remains of the existing city, is obscured by the titles of the chapters and impaired in its first part by disjointed anticipations of the second. It suffers also from the hesitancy with which H. half adopts and half discards the route of Pausanias. She begins with him in north-west Athens—although she nowhere asks, even when describing the ΟΡΟΣ ΚΕΡΑΜΕΙΚΟΥ, why he chose to call the Agora 'Kerameikos'. But she takes the Acropolis, for instance, in her own order, and only after her own description is complete does she honour Pausanias with a summary.

It would have increased the value of this book and kept its arguments more often on the rails, had H. printed in their entirety, preferably with Vanderpool's conjectural map of his route, the few pages that Pausanias devotes to Athenian topography. Among other fundamental passages that similarly deserve a full quotation in any clear and serious work on Athens, are the Hekatompedon Inscription and the famous passages in Thucydides. It is most irritating not to have them set out, when so much of the argument concerns them. Many American works, though disorderly and unreadable, are very useful for reference; for at least they contain all the known facts and an efficient index. This, alas! cannot be said of H.

Should a second edition be deemed necessary, the following passages should be reconsidered. On p. 41, paragraph 1, we cannot tell whether H. agrees with Dörpfeld or not on the course of the Panathenaic Road. From p. 64, paragraph 2, one might gather that the late Roman water-mill was built at the same time as the 'Valerian Wall'. On p. 157 H. has not, in fact, committed herself on the column of the Athena Parthenos, and has neglected various considerations.

The following statements hardly make sense as they stand. P. 33, lines 3-4: 'A gate with two openings, each ca. 5 m. wide and separated by solid masonry'. P. 35, lines 3-5: 'The Roman Pompeion . . . is divided into a nave and two aisles separated by rows of square pillars, eleven free standing and one serving as an anta at each end of the rows'. P. 161, paragraph 2, line 6: 'Penrose's remark that the colours were much brighter in 1846 than in 1888 is still more true now'. On p. 57, paragraph 3, we are told that: 'Six interior columns . . . supported the roof. They were not arranged in concentric

circles.' How could they be? According to p. 67, paragraph 4, 'The cornice has dentils with astragal above, the soffit has scrolls and flowers and the sima has lotus leaves'. The soffit of what?

Actual misprints, such as 'miniature' for 'miniature' on p. 31, line 12, or ἐποίνων for ἐποίνων on p. 37, line 4, are all too common. I select some of the more serious. P. 68, paragraph 2, line 2: the form 'Acharnaean' is neither English nor Greek. P. 79, paragraph 2, line 3, *et alibi*: for 'Kritias and Nesiotes' read 'Kritios and Nesiotes'. P. 92, paragraph 2, line 1: correct 'Ptolemy Philadelphus (227-247 B.C.)'. P. 93, line 3: for 'Lykippos' read 'Leukippos'. P. 130, last paragraph, line 8: for 'Hygeia' read 'Hygieia' (spelt correctly on p. 186). P. 166, line 7: for 'cyma' read 'sima' (spelt correctly on p. 175). P. 176, second line from foot: for 'Masistios' read 'Masistios'. P. 177, paragraph 2, line 3: for 'πύργος' read 'πύργος'. P. 179, fourth line from foot: for 'the Tauric Crimea' read either 'the Crimea' or 'the Tauric Chersonese'. P. 207, third line from foot: for 'fascia' and 'medillion' read 'fasciae' and 'modillion'. P. 208, line 2: for 'cippolino' read 'cipollino'. P. 220, paragraph 2: for 'Dionysos Eleutherios' read 'Dionysos Eleuthereus'. And why, on p. 125, does the temple hitherto called 'Athena Nike' suddenly change its name to 'Nike Apteros'?

The notes are rather trackless. They are all printed together at the back. But there one is given only the number, not the title, of each chapter: so that one has to turn back to the text again to try to find the number of the chapter one is reading.

HUGH PLOMMER.

The Farwell Collection (Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts, 6). By F. P. JOHNSON. Pp. viii + 76, with 90 figures. Cambridge, Mass.: Archaeological Institute of America, 1953. Price not stated.

This monograph, partly financed by the University of Chicago and printed by J. J. Augustin at Glückstadt in Germany, describes a series of South Italian grave-groups dug out at Ortona in Apulia. In 1944-45, Capt. Farwell, the battalion adjutant of an American army unit stationed at Cerignola, found that his duties left him some leisure, and took the opportunity to open about twenty graves containing Daunian pottery. He sent to America 209 pieces of pottery, of which 104 belong to fifteen grave groups. Seventeen pieces were given to the National Museum at Washington, and it is expected that the remainder will be kept in Mr. Farwell's house in Detroit. 'A silver fibula and some beads' and 'a sword' were lost in shipping. He also opened some graves at Cannae. Other pieces were added to his collection by gift and purchase, and more pottery resembling his was seen in a shop at Capri; he could only learn that it came from the vicinity of Foggia. Other vessels were bought from a man known to him as 'the Neapolitan'.

If the arrangement proposed by F. N. Pryce in the text to the seventh British Museum fascicle of the *Corpus Vasorum* were followed, the author would be willing to place some of the Ortona graves as early as 600-550 B.C., with the series continuing until late in the fourth century. For the absolute chronology much depends on the Italiote pieces; he considers that 'none of them is materially earlier than 400, and probably they are all somewhat later than that date'.

It has long been known that a wide neighbourhood round Ortona contained graves. In 1872 and 1875 Angelucci dug out about thirty, and in 1902 Quagliati excavated two more. The latter deplored that this great cemetery had been left 'alla più ignorante e devastatrice speculazione antiquaria'. This has continued since his day. Much pottery in Bari Museum is listed as coming from this site. Mayer (*Apulien*, 1914) tried to straighten out the confused situation, since re-examined by others.

The author of this present work is to be congratulated on his systematic publication and elucidation of Capt. Farwell's finds. No proper records had been made at the time, though the pottery from some graves was individually labelled. The graves themselves were rock-cut and covered with a large flat slab, ca. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ feet at the top, wider at the bottom, and about 3 feet deep below the slab.

The author's conclusions are 'that some labels are lacking, that one label has been misplaced, and that some pottery may have been lost. However, it appears that none of these mishaps has been extensive, and that the integrity of the grave groups can generally be relied on.' What care could do has since been done. The pottery falls into three clear groups: 91 hand-made pieces decorated with matt paint; 106 pieces, wheel-made and with lustrous paint, showing 'considerable Greek influence'; and 11 pieces of 'Italiote' ware, 'with strong Attic influence'. These are carefully catalogued and

illustrated; both form and fabric receive discussion, the former in detail.

Arguments for dating and style are brought out with elaboration, but the juggling is sometimes a little hard to follow. The plain fact is that there is not enough properly excavated pottery in the locality to go upon, and one receives the impression that several different explanations could be made out of the existing material. But the report was well worth preparing, for any gleam of light is welcome on the tribal peoples north of the R. Ofanto (*Avfidus*) and on the great plain round Foggia, particularly shadowy in this period. Dated pottery from this phase will also provide a helpful fixed point, ceramically, in the British programme of field-work and test-excavation that has been going forward in this area, which teems with sites of all periods. It is far from being the 'No Man's Land' that it once appeared.

But it is the settlements at *Arpi* near Foggia, and *Teanum* overlooking the R. Fortore, that hold the key to the problems of Daunian pottery at this time. At both sites surface finds show what can be expected from systematic excavation. There is good reason to think that there was, in fact, an active and prosperous past immediately behind the Roman republican land-settlement, whose extensive traces have lately been revealed throughout this trans-Aufidus region of north Apulia.

JOHN BRADFORD.

Cyrène sous la Monarchie des Battiades. By F. CHAMOUX. Pp. 420, with 27 plates. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1953. Price not stated.

This important work, as the author indicates, has for its object the comparison of the results of recent excavations and researches with the literary sources so as to reveal as accurately as possible the history of Cyrene under the Battiad dynasty and to disengage the characteristic essentials of its civilisation. That M. Chamoux has generally been successful in his undertaking must be admitted. The work contains a great deal of useful information which has hitherto been scattered through many publications, not all of which are accessible as a whole in many libraries. The publication is divided into three main sections, the first dealing with the geography of Cyrenaica, the history of researches and excavations there, and ending with a useful bibliography.¹ The next section, after describing what little is known of Libya and the Libyans before the foundation of Cyrene in the seventh century B.C., goes on to describe the legendary colonisation and the events at Thera; this is followed by an account of the history of the Battiad dynasty until the fall of the monarchy. On p. 210 the author gives his own chronology of the dynasty, which differs somewhat from those of E. S. G. Robinson² and others. His dates are: Battus I (639-599), Arcesilaus I (599-583), Battus II (583-after 570), Arcesilaus II (after 570-?), Battus III (2-?), Arcesilaus III (before 525-after 522), Battus IV (towards 515-before 462), and Arcesilaus IV (before 462-towards 440), after whom the republic came into existence. The third and last section, which describes the civilisation of Cyrene under the Battiadae, deals chiefly with the organisation and customs of the local inhabitants, their economy, 'Cyrenaic' ware, growing of silphium, temples, deities, and sculpture. An appendix refers to the Treasury of Cyrene at Olympia. Some concluding remarks, addenda, and indices complete the text of the volume. I now offer a few comments.

On p. 51 the author briefly refers to the line of anti-Libyan forts built by Ramesses II (1298-1232 B.C.) along the coastal region of the Western Desert, forts identified by myself some years ago during the time I was the Egyptian Government official in charge of the antiquities in Alexandria and the Western Desert and also liaison official between the Egyptian and British authorities in respect of the ancient remains in the so-called 'Prohibited Military Area' in the desert. Details of these forts and of another line of anti-Libyan forts on the western side of the Nile delta, which I identified about the same time, are given by me elsewhere;³ but I may add that the

¹ Cf. also my *Contribution to the Archaeology of the Western Desert*, in *Bulletin of The John Rylands Library*, XXXVI, Part I, September 1953, Part II, March 1954. M. Chamoux (p. 24, note 2) has referred to my *History of Ancient Cyrenaica*, 1948, and I would here like to add that as remarked in my *Western Desert* article, II, p. 500, note 2, the *History* is mainly intended to give a summary of the history of the country as well as an account of the Egyptian monuments at Tolmeita; the publications of the Italian authorities must be consulted for details of their archaeological finds as a whole.

² *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica*, 1927, pp. xiii ff.

³ *Contribution to the Archaeology of the Western Desert*, I, II.

coastal line, commencing at Rhacotis¹ and ending at Zawyet Um el-Rakham, 'The Hospice of the Mother of the Vultures', the classical Apis,² was 341 kilometres in length. The intermediate forts, running roughly from east to west, were Mareia and el-Gharbaniyat, 'The Westerly' (both south of Lake Marcotis); el-Bordan, the pharaonic *Hamu* and the *Chimo* of Ptolemy the Geographer (west of the lake); a site of unknown name on the sea-coast itself; and el-Alamein, 'The Two Way-Marks', the local deity of which was Imy-mit, 'He who is in the Highway'. This name was an allusion to the ancient coastal road running by the forts.

As to the 'Tomb of Battus', which, according to Pindar,³ was situated 'at the further end of the agora' in Cyrene, and which also is mentioned in a certain local inscription of the time of Alexander the Great as having an oracle,⁴ this, of course, is usually identified with the larger of two round structures now existing at the north-west side of the agora. Chamoux (p. 286) briefly describes this structure, according to its restoration by the Italian archaeologists, as a 'tholos open to the sky', and he suggests that it might possibly date from an early epoch. Actually, however, it consists of a rather tall cylindrical superstructure (chapel) of courses of horizontal masonry built over an underground circular stairway, the lower part of which is now blocked up with debris. According to investigations I have made on the spot,⁵ the tomb, in this form, cannot have been contemporary with the round tombs of the early Greek period in Cyrene, which are merely rather low circles of stone enclosing a conical mound of earth covering burial cists of stone at ground level. It would appear perhaps to be a Hadrianic reconstruction of an earlier tomb probably destroyed during the Jewish insurrection under Trajan. Parallels to the circular structure exist at Rome, as for instance those surrounding the burials of Caecilia Metella, M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, and others.⁶ These particular tombs were roofed, and it seems not unlikely that the 'Battus' tomb also had a conical roof, in this case of wood. An analogy to the circular underground stairway with chapel above is seen in the *Hadrianic* catacombs of Kom el-Shukafa at Alexandria.⁷ There is, of course, nothing against the theory that the so-called 'Tomb of Battus', and its probably slightly earlier predecessor, were actually built over the site of the original sepulchre, archaic in form, of the founder of Cyrene.

The nymphaeum at Cyrene dedicated to Artemis and another example at Budras, 3 kilometres west of Cyrene, dedicated to Artemis and to the Nymphs (pp. 318 f.) are of great interest. We see elsewhere, as for instance in a Greek inscription at Hermopolis published by P. Perdrizet,⁸ that water nymphs sometimes constructed tomb chambers: 'Réallement, ce sont les Nymphes, ô Isidôra, les Nymphes Filles des eaux, qui t'ont construit cette chambre. Nîlô, l'aînée des filles du Nil, a commencé l'ouvrage en façonnant une conque comme il en possède dans ses profondeurs . . .'

ALAN ROWE.

Recherches sur XPH, XPHEGAI. Étude sémantique.

By G. REDARD. Pp. 122. Paris: Champion (for École des Hautes Études), 1953. Price not stated.

Professor Redard's study of *xph*, *xphēthai* and their derivatives was conceived, he tells us, as part of a work on Greek mantic vocabulary, and grew to a size and complexity which

necessitated its separate publication. His aim is to find a unity in the diversity of meanings shown by *xphēthai*, and to relate to it the meanings of *xph* and of the normal derivatives. He rejects the aid of etymology on the good grounds that it is often misleading when the derivation is clear and quite useless when it is doubtful; his own brief mention of proposed etymologies of *xph* is evidently intended only to show their uncertainty. After setting out the uses of the verb as classified in LSJ s.v. *xphō*, and illustrating them with quotations drawn largely from his own collection of material, he shows that they are varieties of four main meanings, 'to consult/answer' (of oracles), 'to borrow/lend', 'to need/desire', 'to use'. At this point a question of principle becomes crucial, the principle that a word must have one fundamental meaning peculiar to itself and precise enough to account for all its uses. He applies this principle to *xphēthai*, and after a discussion which it would be unfair to summarise reaches the definition: '*xphēthai* signifie "rechercher l'utilisation de quelque chose"; c'est un verbe essentiellement humain. Le procès exprimé est restreint à la sphère du sujet qui fait un recours occasionnel à l'objet.' Two points of particular interest may be remarked in this part of the argument. The first is that the active uses of *xphō* as 'to lend' and 'to answer' (of an oracle) are secondary developments from the respective uses of the middle. The second is the attempt to define the meaning 'to use' more precisely as—at least originally—'to have recourse to, to make use of something for a particular purpose'. It seems to be this definition which admits the use of conative expressions ('rechercher l'utilisation . . .', 'tentative d'accommodement'); these in their turn mediate the connexion between the meanings 'to use' of the present, 'to need' of the perfect, defined as 'se trouvant dans l'état de qui recherche l'utilisation de quelque chose'. This part of the argument is in need of clarification, since it posits a very different semantic relation of perfect to present from that which obtains in the case of, e.g., *πείνωμαι* and *πέθομαι*. It is surprising, too, that no use is made of the similar case of German *brauchen*, both 'to use' and 'to need'. In general, apart from a reference to the distinction of *müssen* and *sollen*, parallels in other languages are neglected, though a study of *utor*, *usus est* (= *opus est*), *usum dare* might have enriched the discussion. Proceeding to consider *xph* in the light of its derivative, Redard seeks to establish as its original sense 'fait de *xphēthai*'; . . . *xph* connotera une tentative d'accommodement, d'appropriation occasionnels; it expresses that an action is to be undertaken to meet circumstances in which the agent's decision is free from external compulsion (as in *Il. XVI*, 631), in contrast to *ēst*, which denotes a necessity imposed by circumstances without regard to the agent's will (as in *Hdt. I*, 11 . . . ἡ αὐτὸν σε αὐτίκα οὐτως ἀποσθῆναι *ēst*). Naturally, two so closely adjacent semantic fields cannot remain entirely distinct, as Redard recognises; but he limits too narrowly the area of their original overlapping to the use of either with the meaning 'it is fated', and does not make it clear how *xph* could, on his view of its original sense, have acquired such a meaning. The rest of the book, apart from the conclusion in which questions of principle are raised, is devoted to pursuing the fundamental meaning of *xph*, *xphēthai* through their derivatives, partly by inferring the meaning to be expected for each form from the combination of radical and suffix, partly by establishing it from a wealth of examples. The former procedure is admissible within limits, but entails some risk. For example, in his account of *xphēis* Redard gives the place of honour to Benveniste's highly abstract formula of the function of the suffix *-ti*, and makes no reference to the often purely syntactical rôle of nouns formed with this suffix.

Before considering the semantic principle on which Redard's study is based, it is convenient to dispose of a few minor points of criticism. Of comparative linguistics there is, quite properly, little in this book, and that little provides hardly an occasion for dissent. However, the doctrine that *decimus*, OInd. *dajamā*, contain a suffix *-mo* should not have been asserted without question. A few of the quotations are incorrect or incomplete, e.g., p. 30: Xen. *Anab. I*, 3, 18 *τι* omitted before *βοῦλονται*; p. 51: *Il. XVI*, 721 ἀποπαύεται (leg. ἀποπαύειν); p. 52: *Hdt. IX*, 98 *πῶται* (leg. *πῶτρου*); p. 85: Aesch. *Pers.* 167 *μήτ'* omitted before *ἀγρηγόροισι* and the line given as 166. Such lapses are not relevant to the argument, and occur in too small a proportion of quotations to be of serious consequence for the book as a whole. Even fewer are those passages which seem unsuitable or wrongly handled. There is no point in distracting the reader with the probably corrupt Aristoph. *Birds* 725 (p. 15) or with the obscure syntax and 'post-homeric ring' (Leaf) of *Il. XIX*, 262 (p. 18). Bérard's version of *Od. I*, 124 is surely preferable to that offered by Redard, and in either case the idea that 'Télémaque a reconnu Athéna, il la sait chargée d'une mission' is not happy (p. 61). Is his translation of

¹ The citadel-site of Rhacotis dates at least from 1500 B.C. Cf. *op. cit.*, II, p. 485, note 3. When Alexander established the city bearing his name all that he actually did was to add a series of suburbs to the east of the ancient area of Rhacotis. I hope shortly to publish the history of this area and of its pharaonic monuments, together with proposed new identifications for the positions of the tombs of the great Macedonian.

² Cf. J. Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, 1942, references to Zawyet Um el-Rakham on p. 203.

³ *Pyth. V*.

⁴ G. Oliverio, *Documenti Antichi dell'Africa Italiana*, II, Fasc. I, 1933, p. 24.

⁵ Both in 1943, when I reported on the antiquities of Cyrenaica for the Civil Affairs Branch, British Military Administration, Cairo, and in 1952, when I was leader of the Manchester University Archaeological Expedition to Cyrenaica. An account of the activities of the expedition has been prepared for publication; this will include plans and sections of the 'Tomb of Battus' and other sepulchres.

⁶ Cf. G. T. Rivoira, *Roman Architecture*, 1925, pp. 5-14.

⁷ See my article in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, No. 35.

⁸ See in Sami Gabra and others, *Rapport sur les fouilles d'Hermopolis Ouest*, Cairo, 1941, p. 69.

Aesch. *Pers.* 777 'avec l'aide d'amis auxquels il avait eu recours' intended to imply an unusual view of οἷς τὸδ' ἦν χρεός (p. 76)?

The general principle, and therefore the method, of this book raise an important question: what is the status of the fundamental meaning, the 'signification nodale' as Redard calls it? Is it considered to be historically or logically prior to the various attested meanings of χρεῖσθαι? Is it applicable to the synchronic or to the diachronic method of linguistic study? Redard himself puts a similar question, but his answer is not entirely clear: the definition of a word must be at once general enough and precise enough to account for every detail of its usage; 'alors seulement elle acquerra une validité réelle et permettra de mieux saisir le développement historique d'une signification.' But the interrelations of the various usages of a word and its derivatives are often intricate and controlled in their development less by a fundamental meaning than by the 'sentiment linguistique du sujet parlant', the value of which for linguistic studies he does not rate highly. His closing pages show that he is well versed in these matters, and his view has therefore the authority of a carefully considered judgement; yet it may be doubted whether the single inclusive formula of the fundamental meaning can be more than a partial contribution to the study of the tension between the formal unity of a word on the one hand and the tendency to its semantic diversification on the other. It is a method which may be adequate to the object of Redard's book, but which would be less successful in application to the study of other words or in less prudent hands than this.

Debatable issues notwithstanding, Redard has made valuable contributions to the understanding of χρεῖ and its family, among which stand out his elucidation of the semantic relation of χρεῖ to its derivative χρεῖσθαι, his demonstration of the secondary origin of the active uses of the verb, and his account of χρεός 'debt'. We have good reason to look forward with eagerness to his promised work on mantic terminology.

D. M. JONES.

Les anciens Macédoniens. Étude linguistique et historique. Tome I. By J. N. KALLÉRIS. Pp. xxvi + 328, with 1 map. Athens: Institut français d'Athènes, 1954. Price not stated.

This book is an important contribution to the 'Macedonian question' in antiquity. Dr. Kallérís has planned a systematic approach to his subject. The first volume opens with a résumé of the general problem and then deals with the glossary of Macedonian words and with the onomastikon of personal and geographical names. The second volume will complete the study of the Macedonian language and discuss the religion, customs, and historical evidence for the nationality of the Macedonian people. The work is thorough, detailed, and scholarly; it contains a large bibliography and an abundance of footnotes, which are especially full on matters of linguistic interest, and a sketch-map of Macedonia at the time of Philip II which is clear and useful. The book was printed in Athens. The Greek lettering is good and accurate, but there are numerous mistakes in the text such as 'Mckenzie' (xi), 'nomblesse' (28), 'Gasson' (32), 'howerer' (34), 'Gränzegeburge' (35), 'exactement' (37), etc., and one hopes that the second volume will benefit from more careful proof-reading.

Dr. Kallérís claims to write *sine ira et studio*. He regards many of his predecessors as the victims of a prejudice in favour of an Illyrian or Thracian origin for the Macedonian people, and there will no doubt be some successors in this field who will regard him as being inclined to favour a Greek origin. But all scholars will be grateful for the objective manner in which he has collected and stated the evidence and for the practical considerations which he has advanced in forming his judgement on controversial issues. These qualities characterise the chapters which deal with the glossary of Macedonian words. He admits only those words which are expressly stated to be Macedonian, and he discusses the value of the sources, with special attention to Hesychius. He does not begin with any preconceptions about the features of a supposed Macedonian dialect, such as that it always substituted *delta* for *phi* and *theta*, and he does not make an arbitrary selection of words which suit a particular theory.

The introductory chapter of fifty-two pages is less impressive. Dr. Kallérís here argues in general support of the view to which the detailed studies of later chapters may lead the reader, namely, that the Macedonians proper were Dorian Greeks and that many of the peoples they expelled or subjugated were pre-Dorian Greeks. The Macedonians proper, he holds, were an offshoot of those Dorians who occupied Pindus before the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese; from Pindus they moved into the plateaux between Mt. Boion and Mt. Bermion, and

then ca. 700 B.C. advanced to occupy the lowlands around the Thermaic Gulf. These wanderings are held to explain why the Macedonian name does not appear in Homer but does appear in Hesiod. As they are expressed, these statements are too simple. A more critical approach is needed in assessing the value of the traditions about the Dorian invasion, in deciding to which date the Homeric catalogues refer, and in accepting the native traditions of the Macedonians. To support his thesis Dr. Kallérís might make use of the similar traditions about the movement of the Molossians into Epirus and of the geographical features of the Pindus area. Perhaps he will give us more on these lines in the second volume when he comes to discuss the historical evidence.

For the next phase of Macedonian history, he sets out to show that the Hellenic character of Macedonia in the time of Philip and Alexander was due not to an earlier Hellenisation of Macedonia but to the innate Greekness of the Macedonians. He under-estimates the influence of Greek colonisation when he states that the Macedonians never received Greek colonies on their national territory (p. 12). In fact, there can be no doubt that from the late eighth century onwards Greek influence spread from the colonies in Chalcidice and later from Methone into the hinterland of Macedonia. That this process occurred in the Bronze Age and again in the fourth century is clear from the archaeological evidence alone. Here, too, one would like to see a clearer definition of what Dr. Kallérís means by Hellenisation. When he comes to the fourth-century history of Macedonia, his chief arguments are that Demosthenes' description of Philip as a barbarian is a demagogic term which might have been applied to any king of a Greek state (p. 15) and that with the formation of the League of Corinth Macedonia became 'a province of Greece' (p. 39). It should, however, be noted that Macedonia was not a member of the League of Corinth and that the Greek states never regarded Macedonia as one of themselves. The explanations may turn on political rather than ethnical considerations, but Dr. Kallérís should discuss the problem.

With the remainder of the volume we stand on firmer ground. There are a number of Macedonian words which can hardly be explained away on the hypothesis that they were adopted from Greek neighbours. The military terms are particularly striking, since the Macedonian art of war differed in many respects from the Greek art of war. Words such as ὄχημα, ἄρμασπον, δρόμιον, ὄρτης, ἀργυρόσπις, βραχιστήρ, γάρμα, δειπνός, διαχάλα, διαμολής, ἱπποί, πεζοί, and many others have idiomatic meanings in Macedonian for which, if the native language was not Greek, one would have expected native non-Greek words. In other conservative fields, such as family relationships and agricultural instruments, one meets such Macedonian words as πῆλος and πῆλυν for an old man or ἑσπῆλις for a sickle, which are Greek in form and are hardly explicable as loan-words adopted by a non-Greek people. For each word Dr. Kallérís provides a full commentary and a full discussion of rival views (e.g., to βῆν he devotes twelve pages), and he gives us every opportunity to form an independent opinion on the subject. His conclusion is, I think, acceptable that a large body of Macedonian words are best explained on the hypothesis that the native language of the Macedonians was Greek from early times and that the Macedonians were therefore of Greek stock.

The last section on language (pp. 289-325) is concerned with the personal names and the place-names of Macedonia. The evidence is interesting but less conclusive. Personal names are mostly known for the fourth century onwards, when the spread of Greek customs might well have led to the adoption or modification of names in the Greek manner. Place-names may well derive from the Bronze Age and give no better indication of race in classical Macedonia than they do in classical Peloponnese. The linguistic affinities of place-names are often doubtful, as the interesting discussions of Ἐσσορα and Βούνορος show. Dr. Kallérís has given us a most stimulating and valuable volume, and we look forward to the elucidation of his thesis in the second volume of this important work.

N. G. L. HAMMOND.

Syntaxe grecque. 2nd edition. By J. HUMBERT. Pp. 464. Paris: Klincksieck, 1954. Fr. 1800.

The first edition of this book, which appeared nine years earlier, is already familiar and widely used, and this second edition is sure of at least as general a welcome. This will be so if for no other reason than that the appearance of the book is so much improved. The paper is of better quality, and the type (especially the Greek) and setting are easier to read; the consequence is that it is much more agreeable to use.

The book has been augmented in a large number of details,

the case to the end of the discussion. This makes for profitable reading rather than for easy reference. So far as content is concerned, C., as might be expected, is able to give a more enlightening account of the tenses than Monro (here as elsewhere he owes much to Wackernagel), and he has much more to say about the development of usage within the epic period: see in particular his long account of the evolution of prepositions, and the discussion of the subjunctive with $\alpha\lambda$ (pp. 279-83).

Among recent books, C. often refers to Leumann's *Homerische Wörter*. He is, however, cautious about the type of theory there exploited, according to which many usages can be traced back to misunderstandings by later composers of traditional formulae. Thus (p. 46) he accepts the substantive $\alphaγγελος$ 'messenger' as derived from a misunderstanding of Γ 205, but (p. 85) hesitates about deriving $\muεταγγελλος$ similarly from Θ 144 and $\alphaνταγγελος$ from Λ 154 or the like, and refuses (rightly, it would seem) to allow that $\epsilonπιπροπον δουλοση$ derives from $\epsilonπι δ' \sigmaπον δουλοση$: Leumann has not succeeded in explaining the 'essential difference of meaning'.

The scale of the book naturally pretty well excludes discussion of controversy, but there are interesting remarks on some disputed points: e.g. (pp. 28-9), on the dual $\tauινοςθεν$ in Γ 278, on the duals addressed to Hector's four horses (Θ 185), and on Wackernagel's theory that $\alphaλας$ originally meant 'Ajax and Teucer'. C. is as a rule very scrupulous to give the evidence on both sides, and to avoid stating his own view too dogmatically. He is fully aware that many classifications are necessarily provisional or arbitrary, and his method of exposition by examples enables the reader to get the 'feel' of a usage much better than a more theoretical discussion. The chapters on case-usages afford many instances of questions wisely left unanswered. (But the brevity occasionally leads to obscure remarks. A small example: $\piροπομ-$ in $\piροπομωλυδωμωσ$ is said (p. 144) to be 'exceptional and archaic'. Why archaic? A reference to Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen* II 278, where Vedic parallels are spoken of, would have given what is presumably the ground for the statement.) On the whole, C.'s admirably concise manner and avoidance of abstract theory enable him, despite severe limitations of space, to carry his exposition through clearly, to make penetrating comments on the general 'pattern', and to avoid the danger of misleadingly sharp conclusions.

The printer has not served him too well. There are a good many minor misprints, mostly in the Greek. More important, the lay-out does not make it easy to pick out relevant examples quickly. Special type for headings would have helped greatly. The index, necessarily selective, is good as far as it goes.

This is a book for which we should be extremely grateful. All readers of Homer will learn much from it; but they will be well advised to read it through, not (at first, at any rate) to use it for reference.

D. A. RUSSELL.

Entzifferung Verschollener Schriften und Sprachen.

By J. FRIEDRICH. Pp. vi + 147, with 73 text figures and 1 map. Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1954. DM 7.80.

I had long hoped for just such a book as this, combining in one narrative the many fascinating decipherment stories of the last century and a half; and Professor Friedrich is well qualified to write it. The presentation is detailed but jargon-free, in conformity with the series' general title *Comprehensible Science*, and is well served by efficient and attractive block-making and typesetting in the many exotic scripts discussed. In the small compass of 147 pages compression is inevitable, and there is still room for more detailed accounts of individual decipherments (such as R. D. Barnett's account of work on the Hittite hieroglyphs in *Anatolian Studies* III, 53-95); the virtue of this book lies in inviting comparison between the methods by which quite different scripts have been attacked.

Such methods are largely determined by the varying mechanics of each script—whether alphabetic, syllabic, or ideographic—and by the nature of the extant inscriptions, and considerable space is given to their description (covering some of the same ground as I. J. Gelb's *A Study of Writing*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952); it was probably wise of F. to begin each story with an account of what we now know of each script, before describing the decipherers' slow groping towards the truth.

The still controversial scripts naturally merit less detailed treatment. The book went to press too early to include recent discussions of the Mycenaean Linear B script; the Sinai script is described as virtually undeciphered, without mention of Albright's recent work (*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* No. 110 (1948), 6-22); Dhorme's decipherment of the proto-Byblian script (*Syria* XXV (1946-48), 1-35) is, perhaps rightly, regarded with suspicion; no mention is

purposely made of the scripts of Central America; and Etruscan is shown not to be in need of a 'decipherment' (as often misconceived), but merely of a deepened understanding along lines established many years ago.

An all too short chapter of six pages draws conclusions from these case histories as to the basic principles common to all decipherments (see also Aalto, 'Notes on Methods of decipherment of unknown languages', *Soc. Orient. Fennica, Studia Orientalia* 11/4, 1945). These principles are not mysterious: the first victory (by Grotefend in 1800 over cuneiform Persian) was due to the operation of the same disciplined common sense as all subsequent successes, though without the benefit of our wider knowledge of the mechanics of languages and scripts. F. re-emphasises the main factors leading decipherers astray in their perilous choice between real progress towards the truth and the road to unproductive obsession:

(1) The inability to recognise that the known texts in a particular script are too restricted, have too little 'depth', for success to be possible; or for the correct result, if achieved by a fluke, to be demonstrable as such.

(2) The fallacy that, because a sign in one script looks very much like a sign in another, it must have the same value or function.

(3) The deceptiveness of superficial resemblances between words in one language and another, even when analysed with the imposing apparatus of comparative philology (particularly in the case of fragmentary languages nevertheless known to be Indo-European, such as Phrygian).

Having learnt our lesson from all these case-histories, it is disappointing to realise that the lion's share has already been eaten, and that the successful decipherment of any further scripts must probably wait upon the excavator's spade.

MICHAEL VENTRIS.

Studies in the Language of the Iranian Tribes in South Russia. By J. HARMATTA. Pp. 60. Budapest: Institute of Greek Studies, 1952.

The point the author claims to have made is that 'the historical identity of the language of the Sarmatians, Alans, and present-day Ossetes is not a probable proposition', and it is not possible to bring these languages into 'direct genealogical connection'. To show this the author first thoroughly discredits the 'family-tree' conception of the development of language, especially as applied to Iranian by the older philological school; thereafter he examines the linguistic material provided by the Pontic Greek inscriptions and Sarmatian names in ancient literature; from the dialect differences that occur in this material he concludes that it is impossible to derive modern Ossetic from a well-defined 'homogeneous' Sarmatian or Alanic language.

The time when the term 'family-tree' was taken literally is indeed past. Nobody to-day thinks of the reconstructed Proto-Iranian language as an undifferentiated unit from which all Iranian languages have neatly branched off, any more than the Indo-European parent language is conceived in such terms. Nevertheless, it is convenient, and substantially correct, to say that Oscan *puklo-* and Old Indian *putra-* 'son' go back to an Indo-European form **putlo-*, or that Avestan *puštra-*, Old Persian *puga-* and Sarmatian $\epsilon\phi\upsilon\pi\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (with τ from θ) derive from Proto-Iranian **puštra-*. While such a statement does not commit us to maintaining that Avestan, Old Persian, and Sarmatian go back to one and the same Proto-Iranian language, it does imply that each of them had developed from a lost language in which IE *t* had become θ . Within Iranian, Ossetic with its *furt* for 'son' will be the descendant of a language in which Proto-Iranian **puštra-* suffered initial Lautverschiebung, metathesis of θr , and despirantisation of θ . Since among the older Iranian languages Sarmatian, and only Sarmatian, fulfils these three important conditions, and historical and geographical data in a general way support the derivation of Ossetic from Sarmatian, why refuse to admit the obvious?

On the character of the Sarmatian language it is not clear against whom or what the author is arguing. The material provided by the names is evidently not 'homogeneous', and what dialect differentiation is apparent in Sarmatian cannot be assigned to particular areas or tribes. On the other hand, some of the differences in the material available may not be synchronic, but due to diachronic sound-change within one dialect. It has always been understood that in these circumstances to speak of the Sarmatian or Alanic language, rather than group of languages, is merely a convenient simplification. One will readily concede to Harmatta that the careful way to state the derivation of Ossetic is that it, or rather its dialects, derive from one or more dialects which are closely related to,

possibly partly identical with, the language(s) to which the Sarmatian and Pontic names belong. In so doing one neither assumes identity between the ancestral language(s) of the Ossetes and a fictitious single language recoverable from these names, nor denies the obvious likelihood that the Ossetic dialects represent the modern form of one or more of the Sarmatian dialects. Between these two extremes Harmatta's distrust of the 'family-tree' theory tends to lead him to the latter, and take up a position of unwarranted agnosticism. (A more detailed critique of Harmatta's views, by V. I. Abayev, has meanwhile appeared in *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 1953, vol. XII, part 5, pp. 487 sqq.)

ILYA GERSHEVITCH.

Geschichte der griechischen Sprache, I: Bis zum Ausgang der klassischen Zeit. (Sammlung Götschen Band III.) By O. HOFFMANN and A. DEBRUNNER. Pp. 156. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1953. DM 2.40.

Professor Debrunner's revision of this well-known manual will be generally welcomed. It is doubtless the last edition of the book that the publishers will wish to issue. Yet it is remarkable how well even now it withstands the passing of the years. Page after page of the second edition (which came out in 1916) remains unchanged in the third, and the individual words and forms with which Hoffmann illustrated his argument have for the most part been allowed to stay. Inevitably there are passages which strike the reader as old-fashioned or as contradicting modern opinion; but it proves difficult to make such passages more acceptable either by amending or by re-writing, and in the end one has to admit the reviser's wisdom in keeping them.

The innovations that appear in this edition are wholly advantageous. The paragraphs are now numbered throughout; the indices have been amplified; and the bibliographies have been brought up to date. The text of the book is a little shorter than before. This is because some of Hoffmann's more egregious opinions have been omitted, especially those which dealt with the growth of the local dialects and the emergence from these of the epic diction and style; e.g., p. 39², on 'Ἀχαιοί, Ἀργεῖοι, and Αἰολαίς, p. 70², on Aeolic elements in Homeric diction. Other passages are omitted, not because they were outmoded or incorrect but because they dealt with matters that are irrelevant to the early history of Greek; e.g., p. 58², on popular speech in Hellenistic times, p. 61², on the weakening of local dialect through the influence of inter-city leagues and the growth of the Koiné. Sometimes details have been left out because, one supposes, the reviser has judged them unimportant or no longer valid; e.g., p. 47², on Doric ω , $\gamma\alpha$, $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\rho\iota$; p. 76², on Ionic $\delta\omicron\varsigma$, $\theta\epsilon\iota\omega$, etc.; p. 77², on forms used by Hesiod; p. 81², on the influence of Tyrtaeus on later elegiac poetry. On the other hand, there are occasional additions which are much to the point, notably a new paragraph at p. 49² in which the inscriptions of western Greece are said to contain no visible trace of Illyrian influence.

The volume thus remains what it always was—a handy aid for the student who wants a simple sketch of linguistic history as a background to his study of Greek literature, and also a conveniently short work of reference for more advanced scholars. The discussion is conducted chiefly in terms of the types of literary composition and of individual authors within these types. And since inscriptional material for the pre-classical and classical periods is still scanty and often hard to interpret, there is no denying that a review of the earlier phases of the language must depend to a great extent on the analysis of literary texts. What results therefrom is, to be sure, hardly the history of the Greek language; but it is almost the only part of that history of which we can have exact knowledge.

One misses, both in the text and in the accompanying bibliography, any reference to Professor Page's essay on the dialect of Alcman; and there are some other gaps of the same kind. But in a book of this size one cannot have everything, and the editor cannot be expected to make last-minute additions on every topic.

The most regrettable feature of the book is that it still treats the Greek language mainly as a collection of words (or even as a collection of word-roots and word-endings), and discusses syntax only in the sketchiest fashion; constructions are usually represented only as formulas, and quotations of words in combination with each other seldom exceed the limits of a simple phrase or a half-line of verse. It is, of course, difficult to describe the syntactical structure of a language within the limits of a book such as this, and syntax in its wider aspects is only too apt to stray into a study of literary style. Nevertheless, the attempt should be made; and the language in each of its phases should be illustrated by actual sentences or even paragraphs.

In discussing Hoffmann-Debrunner while it is yet new, we may perhaps be forgiven if we also look forward to the book which will eventually replace it in the Götschen series. It seems that the work of the future will differ from the present in two ways. First, the gradually increasing stock of classical and pre-classical inscriptions should enable the writer to form a more continuous and better-rounded picture of the early history of Greek. Secondly, it may be hoped that the pre-classical phase will be carried back some centuries by the transcription and elucidation of the Cretan and Mycenaean tablets. Whether this latter eventuality is already within sight as a result of Mr. Ventris' efforts, the reviewer does not feel able to say; but in both spheres it is likely that much progress will be made in the next few decades towards the goal for which Hoffmann and his Göttingen contemporaries strove. In the meantime Hoffmann himself is still in very many respects a guide worth following.

A. J. BEATTIE.

The Constitution of the Athenians, by the Old Oligarch and by Aristotle. A new interpretation. By L. C. STROCHINI. Pp. 112. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950. \$2.50.

The publication in one volume, with full notes and an English translation, of two works so fundamental to our understanding of the greatest of the Greek $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, and so notoriously difficult to interpret and expound, puts upon the reviewer a heavy obligation which cannot be discharged in a few lines. The translations (published without the Greek text) will serve the purpose, for which they were intended, of assisting general students of antiquity; I reserve detailed comments upon them to the last.

The *Old Oligarch* S. regards as 'the product of a superior thinker and powerful writer'. The belief that it reflects the ideas of Thucydides son of Melesias is not new (cf. Prestel, *Antidemokrat. Strömungen in Athen*, Breslau, 1939, cited by S.); but S. goes further, and would actually assign it to Thucydides ('almost certainly the grandfather of Thucydides the historian', p. 14) after his return from exile and more precisely in the second half of 431 B.C., being 'an invitation to make peace after the outbreak of hostilities' (p. 13, taking up a theory of G. Stail, Paderborn, *Rhet. Stud.* 9, 1921). S. contends (p. 30, note to I 8) that the discourse is addressed to an individual Spartan, whom he tentatively identifies (p. 16) as King Archidamus himself.

Do §§ I 8 and I 11 (both represented in several misprints as II 8 and II 11) in fact justify the assumption that a definite individual, and a Spartan, is being addressed? The use of $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ and $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ in the treatise is often purely rhetorical, not literal. In I 11 $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\acute{\eta}$ $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\alpha\delta\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\delta\omicron\delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\sigma\epsilon$ $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota$ certainly does not carry the meaning (implied by S., though naturally not so translated) 'the slave whom I own in Sparta fears you whom I am addressing', any more than the following $\delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\iota$ $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\delta\omicron\delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}$. . . means 'if the slave whom you personally owned [here] feared me . . .'. The true meaning is 'in Sparta any man's slave fears any citizen; in Athens this is not so, because . . .'. S. makes a similar mistake in deducing from II 11 ($\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\sigma\acute{o}\phi\epsilon\iota$ $\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omega\iota$ $\epsilon\kappa$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\gamma\eta\varsigma$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\alpha$ $\epsilon\chi\omega$ $\delta\iota\alpha$ $\tau\eta\eta$ $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$) the conclusion (p. 15) that 'the O.O. is not an agrarian traditionalist but an owner of ships'. The reference here is in fact to the happy position of the Athenians in general. In fact, the attempt to discover authorship and purpose through betrayal of personal touches breaks down.

To the problem of date S. makes two new contributions, neither as he thinks 'quite cogent' (p. 13). The number of 400 triremes (III 4) he explains as the 300 of Thuc. II 13 plus the 100 set aside for emergency in 431 (Thuc. II 24). But in fact 300 here seems the *maximum* number, since Thuc. dates the speech in II 13 to just before, and the arrangement made in II 24 to just after the first Pelop. invasion. In the 'mention of the possibility that a blight may strike the crops of Attica' (II 6) S. sees a reference to the $\lambda\upsilon\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ or $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ of the oracle mentioned by Thuc. II 54 in connexion with the plague. But indication of date hardly enters in, since according to Thuc. the $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\beta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$ reminded their juniors that the oracle had been current for a very long time, and in any case O.O. II 6 merely considers in general the advantage enjoyed by a sea-power in being able to pick and choose its foreign sources of supply.

To speak of the 'tolerant matter-of-factness of the O.O. towards the most oppressive aspects of Athenian imperialism' (p. 16) is surely to miss the sardonic irony of the writer altogether. It all works admirably—except that public business is not carried out and justice is not done (III, 1-9). But for S. this passage is part of the O.O.'s heritage (discussed at length) from philosophical-medical speculation; 'the O.O.

considers... the problem of gradual additions or subtractions to the constitution' (p. 19).

I turn to the *Ath. Pol.* attributed to Aristotle. S. inveighs against the historians' habit of judging this work by purely historical criteria, and argues with some force that, starting with reasons for attributing it to Aristotle, we ought to consider it in relation to A.'s philosophical ideas. There is a stimulating line of approach here, but S. is inclined to excessive zeal in discovering pointers to his goal, which is to show that the treatise was 'written in Aristotelian language and reflects the Aristotelian doctrine of becoming' (p. 45). A.'s conception of the nature of change as applied to city constitutions (*Pol.* V 1301 B. 'Motion' and 'increase or diminution' are alone applicable of the four kinds of change considered in the *Physics*) is suggested (p. 40) as an explanation of the 'eleven changes' of Ch. 41, but S. does not attempt to explain how so penetrating a thinker came (in this passage) to think there were no *πρόβολαι* at all between Theseus and Solon. In the apparently excessive importance attached in the treatise to the revolutions of 411 and 404 S. sees reflected A.'s concept of *Nómos* (a word which he consistently refuses to translate) as having the power of educating the citizens to better behaviour. Even the 'coming of Ion' and his followers as the starting point for the whole work is explained, according to S. (p. 41), by A.'s conviction that a city with a large population thereby became potentially a democracy.

The author appears to attach undue importance to commonplace expressions such as 'the *Demos* ἡγεμόσθη' or 'it happened' (*συμβῆναι*) in his hunt for traces of A.'s theory of causation, and pays scant attention to practical difficulties which still remain (unevenness of treatment, internal contradictions, etc.). A rather disturbing example of his treatment of difficulties in the text appears in connexion with the Five Thousand (p. 104, n. 27): 'the very fact that A. does not explain who composed the F.T. suggests that they were an established and well-known part of the constitution'. Failing to notice that Polystratus as *καταλογεύς* enrolled 9000 (*Lysias* XX, 13) and that in fact the *Ath. Pol.* (29 *ad fin.*) does define the '5000', S. offers as explanation an Assembly of Ephetae (*sic*), with far-reaching consequences, as in his n. 39 (to Ch. 57), where in order to support the idea of a permanent 5000 a most unlikely emendation *ἀριστιόθεν* (why not *ἀπὸ πάντων*?) is suggested in connexion with the selection by lot of the Ephetae in homicide trials.

There are unfortunately other unacceptable suggestions, as e.g., a supposed four-tribal organisation by Peisistratus into Plain, Highlands, Coast, and Megaris (*sic*), p. 97, n. 2, and (p. 106, n. 36) 'the fact that marriage with an heiress, and marriage in general, was called *synoecism*, that is 'settling with' is a clear indication of the fact that originally land was transmitted through the female line'. But which (if either) 'settled with' the other?

There is a bibliography to each section of the book, containing useful references to many recent books and articles, and analytical tables of both works are provided.

The translation in both sections is somewhat free and sometimes misleading. I select a few examples.

Old Oligarch II 5: *ὅπουσιν βούλει πλοῦν*, 'to any place they wish'. The rest of the sentence is also too freely translated (*βροδοῦναι τὰ γὰρ αἱ πορεῖαι καὶ σίτον οὐχ ὁλόν τε ἔχον πολλοὺ χρόνου πηρὶ λόγῳ* 'because supply trains are slow and cannot carry supplies for a long period'). II 12: *ἀλλοσε εἶναι οὐκ ἱκανοὺς ὅτινες ἀντιπαλοὶ ἡμῖν εἰσιν ἢ οὐ χρήσοιται τῇ θαλάττῃ* 'they will not allow those who are our enemies (interpreted by S. as a reference to the Megarian decrees) to transport [these products] to another place unless they *reimburse* transporting them by sea'. Surely the reverse, 'unless they *do* transport them by sea'. III 12 (not '16', p. 14) is wilfully emended to make it fit in with S.'s theory of authorship (*cf.* p. 14, 'the work of an oligarch, but of a loyal oligarch who does not conspire against Athenian democracy'). The text has *ἰγὼ δὲ φημὶ τινες εἶναι οἱ δόλιχοι ἡγούμενοι, δόλιγοι μὲντοι τινὲς δ' ἄλ' οὐκ ὀλιγῶν εἰσι τῶν ἐπιθησομένων* τῇ δημοκρασίᾳ 'Athens', translated 'I grant that some have been unjustly disfranchised, a few oligarchs who are not among those oligarchs who plot against Athenian democracy' (omitting *εἰ* before *ἐπιθησομένων* and taking this as equivalent to a present participle). Is *δόλιγοι*, *δ' ἄλ'* οὐκ ὀλιγῶν equivalent to 'oligarchs who are not among the oligarchs who...'? The text as it stands makes better sense (*i.e.*, 'but more than a "few" are needed to plot...') with less violence to the language.

Ath. Pol. 4. 1: *θεσμούς* (of Dracon) why 'precepts'? 5. 1: *κατακτείνην* inaccurately translated 'slain'. 38. 4 *ad fin.*: *στρατηγὸς* by a slip is translated 'Archon'. 41. 2: *συμβῆναι τὴν πόλιν... ἀμαρτάνειν διὰ τὴν θαλάττης ἀρχήν...* 'for the desire to rule the sea'. 42. 2: *ἡ βουλή... ζημιώσιν*, '[the

members of the *deme* who have enrolled him] are punished'. *Ibid.*: *ὁ δῆμος... χαροτονοῖ* 'they [*sc.* the fathers of the Cadets] elect by show of hands'. 53. 1: *πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν τριάκοντα καὶ κατὰ δῆμους περιμένοντες ἱδίαζον*, 'they judged cases by going each to one of the thirty groups of *demes*', involves an unjustified assumption. 53. 2: (the Arbitrators) *ἐμβολόντες τὰς μαρτυρίας καὶ τὰς προκλήσεις καὶ τοὺς νόμους εἰς ἔχθους*, 'the Arbitrator [*sing.*] puts... the testimonies [*etc.*] submitted by the parties'. The addition (for which there is no explanatory note) goes beyond the evidence and does not agree with the following *παρὰ τοῦ διαιτητοῦ*, which is wrongly translated 'before the Arbitrator'. 53. 4: *ἀπεγράφοντο αὐτοῖς... καὶ ἐπώνυμος ὁ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτι δεξιαιτῆκος*, 'the name-giver of the Arbitrators of the previous year'.

K. M. T. ATKINSON.

Ricerche sui Rapporti tra le Poleis. By I. CALABI. Pp. vi + 164. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1953. L. 700.

This book, clearly and concisely written, consists of a series of essays—on metics, commercial law, the meaning of the word 'amphictiony', the Ionian League, the Delian League in its origin, the congress of Corinth in 481 B.C., the congress of Plataea in 478, the Panhellenic congress proposed by Pericles, the congresses for *koine eirene* in the fourth century, international arbitration down to 338, and the antecedents of the League of Corinth. The author has defined her purpose in the following words: 'compiessivamente si è accertato un' antica coscienza unitaria dei Greci, manifestatasi in atti legislativi e funzioni giudiziarie comuni, ma non si è trovato traccia di una sistemazione giuridica che, attraverso organi precostituiti ad attività continua, tendesse ad attuare uno stato superante la pluralità delle *poleis*'. This seems platitudinous, but no other general conclusion emerges from her researches, and the value of her book must therefore depend on the originality and thoroughness with which the particular themes are treated.

Perhaps the most interesting section is the attempt to show that what *ATL* (whose views on this subject, as on many others, are overlooked) calls the Congress Decree (*Plut. Per.* 17) is a fiction of Athenian propaganda: why and when invented she does not explain. C. urges that *Plut.* is the sole source (considering the rest of our evidence for this period, this is not surprising) and that even if he drew on Craterus, this would not prove the authenticity of the decree. This may be so, though scepticism is not confirmed by reference to Theopompus' criticism of the Peace of Callias decree (*cf.* Gomme, *Comm. on Thuc.* i, p. 332) or to the fictitious decree of Aristides (*Plut. Arist.* 22, 1), which need not come from Craterus at all. C. argues that the language *Plut.* uses is self-contradictory and unsuited to a fifth-century decree, e.g., the reference to the Greeks of Europe and Asia (the Greeks of the West were not invited by his own account) and the use of the word *κατοικοῦντες*, appropriate to individuals, although what follows shows that the invitations were addressed to cities. But this at most proves that *Plut.* has not given us the text of the decree, but dressed its contents in inaccurate grandiloquence of his own. It is merely captious to say that the use of the formula 'cities great and small' is inappropriate except in a context which guaranteed the autonomy of even the smallest cities (e.g., *Thuc.* v. 77); the implication is surely that each city represented at the congress was to have an equal voice (*cf.* *Thuc.* i 125, 1). C. reasonably finds it odd that some of the Athenian ambassadors were to proceed first to Boeotia and Phocis, then to the Peloponnese and finally back to Locris, Acarnania, and Ambracia. She rejects as unjustified the supposition that only Achaea in the Peloponnese was to be approached, yet this would explain the route, and *Plutarch's* allusion to the covert opposition of Sparta (*ὁ π. ἐκαστωθέντων*) might be taken to mean that Sparta was never called on for a direct refusal. (It is strange that she should think that Sparta was friendly with Athens c. 449: not to speak of the Sacred War, the events of 446 show that Sparta was waiting for a chance to pounce.) One difficulty of detail, perhaps due to error in the tradition, is not enough to invalidate *Plutarch's* story as a whole. C. finds the objects of the proposed Congress suspect: (a) the rebuilding of Athens' temples could not be of concern to all the Greeks; (b) the vows of the Persian invasion had been fulfilled; (c) Athens alone could safeguard the freedom of the seas. But: (d) the Eleusis decree (*Tod* 74 lines 30-6) shows an attempt to make Athenian cults Panhellenic, and Athens could claim that her temples had been burned down as a result of her Panhellenic devotion; (e) C. makes an unjustified assumption (of course the oath in 481 to 'tithe' the Medising Greeks would now be diplomatically forgotten); and as for (c), Pericles was seeking not power but recognition of Athens' right to levy *phoros* from her allies, perhaps to get contributions from other

cities too, and in general acknowledgement of her hegemony in Greece.

This challenge to orthodoxy would have been worth an article: as a whole the present book hardly justifies itself. I do not insist on occasional errors, such as the astonishing misunderstanding of Lysias xix 19-20 (p. 8). But in general where sound C.'s views lack novelty, where novel thoroughness. In opposition to Wilcken, she holds that the so-called League of Corinth was no new *koinon*, but that Philip did no more than summon a Panhellenic conference for peace among Greeks and alliance with Philip to make war against Persia under his guidance. I am not impressed by the arguments she does produce, but in any case she cannot be entitled to such a conclusion without a careful discussion of the positions of *Hegemon* (should it be distinguished from *Strategos Autokrator*?) and of οἱ ἐν τῇ κοινῇ φιλίας τεταγμένοι, of the apparently continuing duty of a *synedion* to protect the members against external attack and internal revolution, and of the weighted voting rights of the members. Of all this there is nothing; [Dem.] xvii is not even mentioned, and the parallel with the League of 302 is dismissed with a word as irrelevant. As for the supposed jurisdiction of the league, she has an inconclusive discussion of Tod 179 and of the evidence that Philip's territorial settlement of the Peloponnese was confirmed by the *synedion*, but nothing of the fate of Thebes, or of Tod 192. Even where her conclusions are more orthodox, they are not backed by a fully comprehensive treatment of the evidence. C. may have an important contribution to make towards the solution of the problems with which she is here concerned, but the time is not yet.

P. A. BRUNT.

Perseo e la fine della monarchia macedone. By PIERO MELONI. (*Annali delle facoltà di lettere, filosofia e di magistero nell'Università di Cagliari*, Vol. XX, 1953.) Pp. xii + 509. Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1953. 51s. 6d.

Hitherto there has been no full-dress study of the last king of Macedonia. The justification for producing one now lies in the character of Perseus himself and also in the perennial interest aroused by a detailed analysis of Roman motives during the decisive period of imperial expansion. The task was not easy. Where the unanimous tradition of the sources from Polybius downwards is hostile to the Macedonian, the historian must keep a clear head and a critical mind, and be prepared to deal quite often in probabilities. Much of Perseus' life and policy is lost for good. What can be salvaged, especially from the years between 179 and 172, has to be disentangled from partisan statements and a tradition shot through with Roman war-propaganda, apart from later distortions by annalists who did not hesitate to re-shape their narrative to conform with patterns of accepted Roman behaviour. Polybius himself, too, is less just to Perseus than to his father Philip. The reasons for this are worth studying. They have something to do with Polybius' own sources, but even more to do with the relations between Rome and Achaia at the time of the two reigns. Also, I believe, they reflect in part Polybius' estimate of what was a feasible policy towards Rome for anyone living in the Hellenistic world towards the beginning and at the end of the fifty-three years which lay between 220 and 167. A comprehensive survey of the sources available for a study of Perseus might therefore have raised some fundamental questions, and its absence from Dr. Meloni's biography is a cause for regret.

Otherwise, the book deserves a welcome. It is a thorough, scholarly, and well-documented work, with plenty of sketch-maps (some perhaps a little misleading in their definiteness), a good index, and a full bibliography. Its author has read widely in both the ancient sources and the modern literature, and every detail is discussed at ample length. This does not mean that one cannot see the wood for the trees. The last chapter in particular pulls the strings together, and shows that the author appreciates the important historical issues. His estimate of Roman policy in the war with Perseus is sound. The struggle was not forced on Rome by military elements, for its main support came from plebeian consuls without notable military connexions or experience; nor was it prompted by economic interests, since no territorial acquisitions or financial exploitation followed the settlement. In 172, as in 200, it was in the main an exaggerated fear, played upon and encouraged by unscrupulous Greeks, which led to the decisive intervention of the legions. On his side Perseus pursued a fatal policy of building up his power and influence beyond his own realm, not seeing that the real balance of forces rendered his position so much less favourable than the terms of the treaty appeared to suggest, and that whatever his purpose, an independent policy in Thrace, Delphi, Aetolia, and Illyria was bound to excite the animosity of the Romans and their ally

in Pergamum. Once the Roman decision was taken, the considerations of 200 gave way to the methods of 150. Throughout the war the Romans acted with the advantage of a policy as clearly defined as that to be pursued against Carthage twenty years later. In both cases the enemy was to be eliminated; in both cases he was to learn his fate by a gradual process. Thus Perseus fought with one hand tied behind his back, believing throughout the initial stages of the war that a settlement was still within his grasp.

Dr. Meloni brings this out clearly; but to comprehension and exposition he adds approval, a more dubious procedure. Many readers will raise an eyebrow when they learn that the method of Q. Marcus Philippus 'era l'unica politica realista che la evoluzione degli avvenimenti permettesse' (p. 191, n. 3). The issue is controversial; not all Romans agreed with Dr. Meloni—see, for instance, Livy, XLII. 47. 4-9, based on Polybius. Perhaps in general it is wiser to refrain from passing judgements in which success appears to be its own justification.

When one comes down to detail, the book impresses by its fullness of documentation. Indeed here and there it might have profited by a more rigorous exercise of the *ars excludendi*. For instance, Perseus' command in 199 occupies five pages (16-22), of which two are concerned with the pass he defended; half a page would have been adequate for the topographical problem. Moreover, the author's manifest desire to do full justice to all his predecessors has left occasional loose ends. On p. 14 he quotes as *probabile* Reinach's suggestion that the name Perseus was evidence of an intention 'di opporre una nuova discendenza, propria degli Antigonidi, a quella da Eracle che Lagidi e Seleucidi già avevano assunto', yet in the note below lists the long and growing line of evidence for Philip's special stress on the cult of Heracles. Another similar example arises in connexion with the relative chronology of the embassy of Q. Marcus Philippus and the sending of Sicinius' force to Greece in 172. The latter event is described in Livy XLII. 36. 8-9, the former immediately afterwards in XLII. 37. 1, introduced by the words *paucis post diebus*. If the chronological order is to be reversed, then (as the present reviewer argued in *JRS* 1941, 82-93, following Kahrstedt) one must assume that 36. 8-9 is based on an annalist (since 37. 1 comes from Polybius) and dismiss *paucis post diebus* as a loose and inaccurate copula. Dr. Meloni (p. 181) accepts my and Kahrstedt's relative chronology for the two events; but he follows De Sanctis in regarding 36. 8-9 as of Polybian origin. The supposed chronological inversion is then explained 'col fatto che sotto l'anno varr. 583=171 av. Cr. e senza accettarne la relazione cronologica con i fatti che precedevano, è stata inserita l'ambasciata di Q. Marcio che Polibio riferiva sotto l'olimp. 152, t=172/1 av. Cr.'. Now this explanation is taken from De Sanctis (*Storia dei Romani* IV. 1, 398), as Meloni tells us. But in fact the 'svista cronologica' to which De Sanctis refers is that which leads Livy to relate (from Polybius) the sending of Q. Marcus' embassy to Perseus (XLII. 37. 1) after he has already related (from an annalist) the reception given at Rome to Perseus' envoys, sent in consequence of Marcus' embassy (XLII. 36. 1 ff.), not, as Meloni assumes, one which leads Livy to relate (from Polybius) the sending of Marcus' embassy after he has related (also from Polybius) the sending of Sicinius' force, which (Dr. Meloni thinks) in reality came later. De Sanctis believes the despatch of Marcus' embassy and Sicinius' force to have taken place roughly at the same time, and his account is logical; Dr. Meloni's is not. The problem is too complicated to be dealt with fully here. But I think we shall have to return to the view of De Sanctis, that Livy XLII. 36. 8-9, with its description of Sicinius' crossing and figures for his forces which are completely different from those given by the annalist drawn on in XLII. 27. 3, represents Polybius' version (as Nissen said). Marcus' embassy is then subsequent to Sicinius' crossing (as Livy puts it); and the *urbes* of XLII. 37. 5 are the *maritimae urbes* of XLII. 18. 3, which Sicinius was to garrison, and also the *Dassaretiorum et Illyriorum castella* of XLII. 36. 9, which he did garrison. (Against the argument that a *castellum* can hardly be an *urbs* see Livy XXI. 33. 11, where a *castellum* is identical with what Polyb. III. 50. 7 calls a *πόλις*; and for Polybius' readiness to strain the meaning of the word *πόλις*, which Livy would naturally turn by *urbs*, see Polyb. I. 72. 2. (*πόλις* used of settlements in Libya) and Poseidonius' criticism of him on this score in the passage given as Polyb. XXV. 1.) Livy XLII. 40. 1 is admittedly difficult (but not insuperably difficult) on this hypothesis; but XLII. 40. 10 clearly associates the garrisons with the crossing of an army, not with the very few men that could at the most have been released from the bodyguard of 200 each which accompanied Marcus and his fellow *legati* on their tour (Livy XLII. 37. 1). In any case, when Perseus' message reached the envoys before they left Corcyra (XLII. 37. 5), Perseus could only know of *urbes*

occupandi to the extent that this was already accomplished by Sicinius.

A few other points deserve comment. Dr. Meloni's interesting discussion of Beloch's theory, that Perseus was the son of Polykrates of Argos, does not perhaps make as clear as would have been desirable that the attacks levelled against Perseus were not primarily of illegitimacy (*i.e.*, that his mother was a concubine)—though this was said—but that he was not Philip's son at all; for it was, of course, his descent from Philip which really mattered, rather than legitimacy, a thing not always easily defined (*cf.* Dow and Edson, *Harv. Stud.* 1937, 162; and on the fluidity of dynastic right in the Hellenistic world, Aymard, *Historia*, 1953, 49–73). Incidentally, Aelian, *Var. Hist.* XII. 43, ὁδὸς δὲ τὸς υἱὸς does not imply that Perseus' father was *un uomo ignobile* (p. 11); it merely uses a two-termination adjective to retail the usual scandal about Perseus' mother. On pp. 86 ff. there is some consideration of the settlement of Thracians in Macedonia by Philip V. Rostovtzeff (*SEHWW* III, 1471 n. 38) has pointed out that this was 'traditional in the economic and social policy of the Macedonian kings' and he quotes epigraphical evidence for a similar policy under Alexander. Had Dr. Meloni taken this more fully into account, he might have been less inclined to attribute Philip V's use of it to what he calls (p. 87) 'l'allarmante fenomeno del graduale spopolamento della Macedonia in questo periodo... ben noto agli studiosi di problemi sociali'. In fact, there is good reason to think that Macedonia was well populated in Philip's last decade; *cf.* Livy XLII. 10. 6, 'florere iuventute, quam stirpem longa pax ediderit', which implies that when there was any failure of population it was due to war. (Livy XLII. 12. 10 *ut iam Macedonia deficiat*, means 'should Macedonia fail'.) Against Tarn's thesis that the country was irremediably depopulated under Alexander and the Diadochi (*Greeks in Bactria and India*, 70, n. 5) see Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, 1136; but of course there are no figures. Larisa, which Dr. Meloni adduces with its *πολιτογραφία*, is of course a Greek city, and no evidence at all for Macedonia, where social conditions were in no way parallel. Finally, one may note the plausible suggestion that Perseus' establishment of good relations with Delphi shortly after his accession was due in part to the good offices of Praxias, the husband of Praxo, who was Delphic archon in 178 and Perseus' host in 174.

The military part of the book, which occupies pp. 211–440, is well done; but to deal with it here would carry this review beyond the limits allowed. All in all, Dr. Meloni has produced an honest and readable account of Perseus and his reign. There must be little, whether in Italian or any other of the main languages, which he has missed, and his book will be a quarry for all working on the period.

F. W. WALBANK.

Demetrio Poliorcete. By E. MANNI. Pp. 127. Rome: Angelo Signorelli, 1952. L. 1000.

Bibliographers may be interested to observe that this volume's title page records its date of publication as 1951, but its outer cover records it as 1952; the second date is presumably the right one. The character of the book is best indicated perhaps by a brief description of its contents. Of its 126 pages of text, the first sixty-four contain an historical sketch of the life and deeds of Demetrius, about half of the space being devoted to footnotes. The second part of the book consists of four Appendices, the first Chronological, comprising (besides a Table of Dates) notes on seven separate chronological issues; the second discusses the propaganda of Antigonos and his legal or constitutional position; the third deals with four separate source-questions; and the fourth is Geographical. Clearly part of the author's intention is to continue his task, begun in an article published in 1949 (*RAL*, Cl. d. Sci. mor., stor. e fil., Ser. 8, 4, 1949, 53 ff.), of constructing a firm foundation, especially in the field of chronology, for a full-scale history of Demetrius and his life and times rather than to accomplish any such complete study in this present work. Indeed, in a short preface he warns the reader that he does not aim at completeness, and mentions topics which he has felt obliged, for the present, to pass over. His interest here (apart from the chronological and other 'problems' that he seeks to elucidate) is in the political and diplomatic history of a period of thirty years in which Demetrius was an outstanding and no doubt the most spectacular figure.

This limitation of interest limits inevitably the usefulness of the book itself: for some must think (to take the obvious example) that the Besieger without his sieges too much resembles *Hamlet* without the Prince. Nor is this trite objection devoid of force: for a man is entitled to expect that his historian will give attention to the things to which he himself gave attention when he was alive. And in general Demetrius and the contemporary dynasts, his rivals, do appear in these pages as

something like puppets, scheming and planning indeed their alliances, campaigns, propaganda, dynastic marriages, and the rest, but all without a suggestion or a reminder of what was really happening in this generation to the world (as opposed to the handful of celebrities on whom is focused M.'s sharp and narrow beam). It is symptomatic that such landmarks as the founding of Antigonaea or of Antioch are not noticed, and even that of Demetrias receives only two or three lines and a footnote. The exposition itself of the political developments would gain sometimes in clarity for being more broadly based, especially in Chapter IV. And the final summary of Demetrius, his achievement and his aims, does not (for this reader) carry much conviction.

These defects, however, should not be allowed to obscure the merits which the book does possess. Apart from some misprints (mostly in quotations from Greek sources) and the absence of an Index, it presents all reasonable aids to the reader who wants to arrive at the facts. M. knows the sources and misses no opportunity of subjecting them to the tests of a criticism which is always searching and sometimes acute, and is not unduly inhibited by a *communis opinio* where it exists. The number of problems which he seeks to elucidate in passing is very large, and while no writer would expect or even hope to command universal agreement for each of his views in the present state of the evidence, M.'s judgement is such that his views always deserve respect. His most radical researches are in the chronology of the period, and a comparison of his Chronological Table with others reveals a number of new dates proposed, some of them important.

Of the greatest general interest, both intrinsically and as an example of method, is the long note (Appendix I. B) on the Chronology of Diodorus. Here M. considers in some detail a number of instances especially in Book XVIII, where the dating of Diodorus seems impossible, and he demonstrates how D.'s errors arose, not only by habits of narrative which led him occasionally to 'telescope' events of more than one year into one, but also in Book XVIII by the fact that his main source used the Macedonian calendar, in which the year did not coincide with Athenian archon years. This appears to be proved; though it would be interesting to know why this particular confusion ceases with the end of Book XVIII. In general, M.'s arguments in this Note would certainly, one imagines, derive considerable support from analogous instances in the earlier books of Diodorus if M. chose to refer to them.

M.'s study of the chronological and other problems make this work an essential part of the apparatus to be used by future students of this period.

G. T. GRIFFITH.

Plutarch. Vita Demetrii Poliorcetes a cura di E. Manni. Pp. xxv + 121. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1953. L. 1300.

This small volume, one of a series of Greek and Roman texts which includes now twenty-five or more titles, has much to commend it. The text itself is decently and accurately printed (I have noticed only one misprint of importance, εἰς at 49. 9), reproducing without any variation, and without apparatus criticus, that of Ziegler's edition (Teubner, 1915). The Introduction is a good short essay on the sources used by Plutarch in this *Life*. There is a very short Bibliographical Note, confined also to works on the sources for the period. And there is a useful Appendix in which are collected about a score of passages of interest and value for the study of Demetrius, from Demochares and Duris, Philochorus and Phylarchus, Pausanias and Polyaeus. The tradition surviving in Diodorus is referred to continually and as occasion demands in the Notes on the text, printed (rather inelegantly but by no means inconveniently) at the foot of each page.

The book is designed clearly, in short, for the ancient historian, and not for the student whose interests are primarily philological or literary. Problems of the text are ignored, and a general knowledge of Plutarch and his biographical aims and methods is evidently taken for granted, even where such obvious opportunities occur as (in this *Life*) the opening chapter on the value of an example (even a bad example), or the little excursus on Fortune in Ch. 35. In the same way, the historical aids themselves are concentrated very heavily within the narrow chronological limits of the generation of Demetrius himself, and knowledge is evidently assumed of matters or events that fall outside it. Within these limits the commentary is done very competently in the space available. M. is particularly strong on chronology and on the complicated diplomatic and political alignments of the dynasts, referring often to his other published works on these topics for further information. But on such matters too as the Athenian Calendar and the Macedonian constitution, as well as on the Greek League of

Demetrius, and on his dedication at Athens, he is very successful in giving briefly the essentials of guidance and bibliography. Military and naval affairs interest him little, which seems a pity in this context: events such as the siege of Rhodes or the appearance of the great ships are magnificent in their way, and deserve some comment. A more serious lack, probably, is that of the information needed to supply a general background to the lifetime of Demetrius and the politics of that generation. For example, Plutarch writes at length of Demetrius at Athens and his relations with the Athenians, but when he mentions their *πατριος πολιτεία* (meaning here democracy), the phrase receives no comment, and M. makes no allowance here or elsewhere for the likelihood that students who may (or may not) know their Athens of Pericles or of Demosthenes will yet need to be instructed or reminded of the developments there in Alexander's reign and after his death. Even the Lamian War and Demetrius of Phalerum get very short measure. Allowing for all the exigencies of space, it seems not unfair to suggest that M. could with advantage have consulted his own preferences less and the needs of the average student more.

Perhaps it is not too much to hope that in a second or later impression of this book some revision of the commentary might be considered which would increase the value of what is in any case a useful work well performed.

G. T. GRIFFITH.

The Ruling Power. A study of the Roman Empire in the second century after Christ through the Roman oration of Aelius Aristides. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 43, 2.) By J. H. OLIVER. Pp. 133. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1953. \$2.

Professor Oliver, by producing a critical edition of the text of Aelius Aristides' Oration *Εἰς Ῥώμην* with a translation and a full literary and historical commentary, has performed a service to students of the ancient world for which all will be most grateful. Here at last is a text of the speech which all can afford to purchase (it is on sale separately), and with it a learned commentary which will be of permanent value. Rostovtzeff's enthusiastic comments on the speech (*SEHRE*, c. V) drew the attention of a wide circle of readers to its importance, but texts of the speech have been difficult to obtain, and the only full-length study of Aelius Aristides to appear in this century, that of A. Boulanger in 1923, was concerned, as its title indicated, to assess the significance of Aristides' whole career and literary output within the context of the Second Sophistic movement, and did not give the speech *Εἰς Ῥώμην* all the sympathetic attention it merits. O., on the contrary, confines himself to this single speech. There is a brief discussion of the circumstances and date of its delivery, but scarcely a mention of other speeches of the orator, or of his character and career in general, or of his place within the *Zweite Sophistik*. This feature of the book may be viewed as a shortcoming by some of those who take it up on the strength of O.'s prefatory remark that it 'is not written for classical scholars alone, but for all those interested in the Roman Empire'. The novice into whom O. wishes to inject a large dose of Aelius Aristides as 'an antidote to Tacitus' will need to supplement this treatment with a considerable amount of further study of Aristides himself and of his no less unprepossessing contemporaries, the film-star heroes (or T.V. celebrities?) of Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*.

However, O. has not left the uninitiated without guidance, e.g., as to what can and what cannot be used as evidence in the Oration (pp. 88-92). We are told that 'the historical and political judgements of Aristides are very superficial'. For all that, the enthusiasm of the exegete sometimes clouds the judgement of the historian. Some readers, for example, will prefer Wirzubski's condemnation of para. 90 of the speech (*Libertas*, etc., p. 162) as a worthless rehash of Polybius' remarks on the mixed constitution of Rome to O.'s attempt to find some substance in it. Tac. *Ann.* iv, 33 on mixed constitutions, which O. ignores, is relevant to the discussion of para. 90, and might be considered a useful 'antidote' to Aristides' inept remarks. The contrasts and comparisons drawn between Aristides and Tacitus (pp. 89-9) seem to one reader to be superficial and unhelpful.

But, comparisons with Tacitus apart, there is much that is of great value in O.'s discussion of the literary origins and philosophical background of the speech (pp. 87-86). O. is interested in tracking down Aristides' debt to Plato and follows the tracks boldly into the central opacity of the metaphysical speculations in the *Timaeus*. Aristides 'thinks in terms of a Good World Soul' (the Roman Government). His panegyric is also partly a cosmology (p. 88), in which it is suggested that Rome brings harmony into the material world after the manner of Eros in the earlier cosmologies. O. detects hinting

allusions to the secret name of Rome (AMOR-ROMA), a dark subject, on which some scepticism might be thought to be justified.

But the commentary is throughout most illuminating and scholarly. New readings in the text are ably defended (O. is more conservative than Keil, whose collation of the MSS. is the basis of this edition; he attempts to solve many cruxes by small-scale transpositions and insertions, some of which carry immediate conviction). New light is thrown on many a difficult passage, e.g., in paras. 26, 30, 60, 61, and 65, to mention but a few. There will naturally be some points where readers will not all accept O.'s interpretation. For instance, para. 33, where O. produces six arguments against the view of Keil and Zucker that Aristides is here having a sly hit at the deceased Hadrian. 'The ideal basileus has no need to wear himself out traveling around the whole empire.' O. protests too much. Aristides' audience in Rome must have detected an unkind allusion to Hadrian in this, and can we escape from the dilemma, Aristides was being either a knave or a fool? Is it possible for the complete panegyrist to be without that saving touch of malice? Aristides can prove himself worth his salt as a panegyrist in good company, that of the younger Pliny, who flattered Trajan by stigmatising the beneficent Nerva's reign as chaotic, or that of Dio Chrysostom, who appears to have touched up his fourth discourse *Περὶ Βασιλέως* after Trajan's death so as to incorporate some hints of flaws in the character of his late benefactor (cf. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War*, c. xii).

O.'s translation of the oration differs in many details from others published in recent years, and must be judged the most successful in expressing the exact meaning of the Greek. It does not lay claim to rival the elegance of the original, and here and there the reader will wince, e.g., para. 6, '... or on plains so many meadows completely urbanised'. Can one urbanise a meadow?

For good measure, O. includes in his book two lengthy excursions, of great interest to the historian and epigraphist, though only tenuously connected with his commentary on the oration. The first, *à propos* of paras. 65-6, takes as its text a passage in Plutarch, *Political Precepts*, 19. O. argues that Augustus and his successors made an effort to protect the less privileged citizens of Greek cities from the encroachments of members of the ruling Greek aristocracies, for all that the latter were imperial protégés. While one agrees that O. has made a useful point here, it is difficult to feel entirely satisfied with some details of the argument, especially the section dealing with C. Julius Eurykles. To O. Eurykles was simply one of the *δυνάσται* at Sparta, who tried to acquire a position of dominance in the state and was prevented from over-reaching himself by Augustus' intervention. O. more than once applies to Eurykles the question-begging and not very apt label, 'the deceased philanthropist Eurykles'. The epithet *ἐσπυρτὸν* in the Gytheion decree (line 20) is perfectly consistent with his being in a tutelary relation with the Laconian community, and the words applied to Laoco in the same decree no less so. O. might have considered other possible renderings of the vexed passage in Strabo, vii. 5. 5. 366C. On the analogy of Strab. i. 3. 21, *ἐδίδου μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἑσπυρίαν εἰς τὸ χρεὼν* might even be fairly translated, 'but that person died, and . . .'. O. has a good way further to go if he is to convince his readers that the correct translation of the passage is, 'Caesar withdrew far enough so that the influence of Eurykles might be reduced to proportion'. Nor will they accept without qualification O.'s remark that 'under the Third Triumvirate (*sic*) . . . *civitas* had replaced *amicitia* as an instrument for consolidating support in the Greek cities'. Is it as simple as that? It might be argued that, whatever developments there were from Caesar's time onwards in the matter of virilane grants of *civitas*, *amicitia* remains the main feature of small-scale and large-scale diplomacy within and beyond the Eastern provinces of the empire throughout the early Principate, and that the career of the Roman citizen C. Jul. Eurykles exemplifies this.

In the second excursus, 'Common Laws for all', O. re-edits with translation and commentary a number of inscriptions which, he considers, throw light on para. 102 of the oration. He treats these as evidence of the willingness on the part of the Roman emperors to take the initiative both in revising Greek city codes of law (as in Hadrian's Oil Law at Athens, which O. treats at length, pp. 960-3) and in interfering to protect Greek endowments (in this connexion O. re-edits and comments on some half-score of inscriptions from various parts of the Greek East in the Roman period). After a weighty consideration of the evidence O. comes to the conclusion that the Roman Government can be seen here at work developing a genuinely international law for the benefit of the Greek world, just as had been attempted earlier, in the Hellenistic period, by the Amphictyonic League in questions concerning *ἀστυλα*,

This is an important contribution to a subject that must interest all who study the history of the relations between the Roman Government and the Greek cities of the Eastern provinces, and a worthy supplement to the pages of scholarly exegesis and commentary that precede it. Altogether, O's edition and commentary provide the best available instrument for the study of this difficult and important oration, and one that will be indispensable for many decades to come.

E. W. GRAY.

Problemi di Storia costituzionale Italiota. By F. SARTORI. Pp. 203. Rome: Bretschneider, 1953. L. 1500.

This is the first of a series of studies to be published by the Institute of Ancient History in the University of Padua. It deals with an obscure subject, for which the evidence is very scanty and difficult of interpretation: the later history of the Greek cities of Southern Italy, and of certain Oscan towns credited with a Greek origin, ending with their inclusion in the Roman system as allies, colonies, or municipalities. The subject is not their general development, but the details of their constitutions, which have to be pieced together from occasional references in literary sources and from inscriptions. Most of the Greek cities concerned were for some time under Oscan rule and governed in some degree by Oscan magistrates before the Roman period. It is therefore natural that the first chapter should set forth the author's view of the *meddikia*, the typical magistracy of the Sabellian peoples. He rejects the interpretation of the *meddiss twtiks* (*meddix tuticus*) as the chief officer of a league, and points out that most Oscan cities had a *meddix twtiks* as supreme magistrate and a *meddix minie* (*meddix minor*) as second-in-command. This unequal pair of colleagues is sharply distinct from the *duoviri* or *quattuorviri* of a Roman municipality.

The second, and longest, chapter collects the available information of this kind for the Greek cities, and the third for the Oscan. In Cumae and other cities conquered by the Samnites or related peoples the persistence of Greek culture under the Oscan surface is noted, but it is also remarked that Oscan institutions were easier to adapt to a Roman form than any Greek ones. Another important difference is that the Greeks in these cities were eager to be allies but not to be citizens of Rome, while the Italic peoples took exactly the opposite attitude, culminating in the Social War.

The evidence is not enough to shew the workings of these institutions or the quality of life lived by Greeks under the two stages of foreign rule, except at moments of stress and violence when they are mentioned by historians. But this survey is a valuable collection of material for the next writer who attempts a special treatment of the Greek cities of Italy in their decline.

E. D. PHILLIPS.

Herodotus. Histories. Newly translated with an introduction by A. DE SELINCOURT (Penguin Classics). Pp. 599, with 2 maps. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1954. 5s.

Herodotus, the easiest of authors to construe, sets a pretty problem to the modern translator. This becomes evident as soon as we compare the task of translating him into an idiom that is to be readable by a modern, Greekless, non-specialist reader of English, with performing the same service for any of the Attic prose writers. The latter task may vary in difficulty of execution, but at least no question arises in choice of idiom; no translator to-day would do anything but try to reproduce the thought and, according to his ability, the impact of the original Greek style upon the original Greek audience, in the diction of our own day. We customarily express this feeling of contemporaneity that we have with the Athenian prose-writers by speaking of the modernity of the Athenians. Indeed, it may be that we, in our troubled age, feel a more intimate fellowship with those giants of old than our grandfathers, who were content to translate them into a slightly archaic Anglo-Ciceronian.

But Herodotus, like Homer, is different. His language, 'shot through and through with poetry', as Mr. de Selincourt says in his introduction, not only must have sounded archaic to its first, Athenian hearers; it is also farther removed than any Attic (even Thucydidean rhetoric) from any dialect that was ever spoken. Such was the Ionic tradition. Homer's language, it is generally agreed to-day, was never a spoken idiom. Even in his day, the hearers of Ionic formal narrative heard something that was not their own speech, but something rich and strange, though familiar from childhood; a Greek which Andrew Lang, as well as duller men, thought it appropriate to render in something like the idiom (an equally artificial, literary idiom) of the English Bible.

Now the problems of translating Homer and Herodotus hang together, despite the much greater difficulty, as always,

of translating the poet. Herodotus is difficult, at least by perfectionist standards, not only because of his personal choice of a style, but because he is pre-Attic. For all that Thucydides started to write before Herodotus was dead, he is in spirit more our contemporary than his predecessor's; though what lies between them is not (*pace* Dr. Toynebee) only the events of 431, but the generation of the first sophists, which Herodotus missed, not only through being some fourteen years older, but through spending his early manhood travelling in the east and not in Athens. In Herodotus there is much that is reminiscent of Old Testament history; much of Hakluyt, much of Raleigh, and not a little of 'Sire Jehan de Mandeville', who indeed found some of H.'s natural history, at one or more removes, highly congenial.

It seems, in short, a pity that, as has already been observed by a reviewer in *The Times Literary Supplement*, Herodotus and Thucydides in their Penguin form sound very much the same. Both read like good modern war-journalism, often crisp and snappy, but seldom distinguished. We do not ask for the translation of each poetic word by a poetic word—a course which S. is obviously right to eschew; but more literalness in reproducing the structure of H.'s sentences would give us English more reminiscent of H. and less of Our Correspondent.

The above could have been more briefly expressed by saying that the present reviewer found this translation sometimes rather dull. But to say this, *tout court*, would have been unfair. Mr. de Selincourt has faced the problem of translating Herodotus, as his General Editor and, doubtless, Mentor, Dr. Rieu, has faced that, far more intimidating, of translating Homer. The Penguin *Odyssey*'s huge sales show that in it Rieu did a service to his generation; and every lover of Herodotus will wish the present venture a comparable success, even if we believe that the translation of early Greek cannot be adequately carried out in modern English.

Mr. de Selincourt's work leaves us indeed, in detail, little to criticise. A curious tendency to render active verbs by passive (*not* only where it is necessary in order to keep the original word-order) is one avoidable trick, which reduces the original's speed and simplicity. In the map of the Aegean it is unfortunate that Keos is spelt 'COS', on both pages; while a ghost-name 'Alphetae', presumably for 'Aphetae', misplaced and misprinted, appears in Chalkidike. Chalkis and Eretria are omitted; and Thermopylae is rendered as a town. In the map of the Middle (sic) East, the readers for whom this work is intended could do with the names of Media, Persia (Persis), and Pasargadai, which seem to have been crowded out to make room for the label; and in the text, at p. 597, last line, 'direct' seems to be a misprint for 'direst'.

In the Macedonian story (VIII, 137; here pp. 546-7), in which (as in Scythia, and in true northern style) the youngest son of three gets the kingdom, the fairy-tale atmosphere is not always brought out. Θεοβλάτης, of the king who offers the boys the sunlight on the floor of his house for their wages, is not well rendered 'as if he did not know what he was doing'; and the counsellor who points out *ὅλον τι ποιῆσαι ὁ πῶς*, in symbolically accepting the offer, was not remarking on 'what an odd thing' he had done, but what a magically significant thing. And elsewhere, if footnotes are to be introduced to receive some of H.'s minor digressions, it seems curious to introduce the modern alongside the ancient names of rivers, etc., in the text. Lastly (though no doubt the policy is a deliberate one, to conciliate the Philistine) it is a tribute to the potential usefulness of this book to the serious, though Greekless, reader to regret that the traditional chapter-numbers are omitted, and that there is neither an index nor even a synopsis of contents to assist the reader in turning up a particular incident or story.

But whatever its limitations, every Hellenist will concur in wishing this book all good fortune and the largest possible circulation.

A. R. BURN.

Herodotus. Histoires. Livre VIII, Uranie. Texte établi et traduit par PH.-E. LEGRAND. Pp. 145. (Assn. G. Budé.) Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1953. Price not stated.

This further instalment of the Budé Herodotus is no less pleasant to use than its predecessor. The short notes at the foot of the translation seem to be a little more frequent than in Book VII, and from time to time discuss single words not only for their special meaning but for their effect. There are three *Notices*; the first on the Persian invasion and the battle of Salamis, the second on the flight of the fleet and the retreat of Xerxes, the third on the liberation of Greece and the battle of Plataea (VIII 130-IX 39); the last justifiably ignoring the division of books.

Legrand refrains from any attempt to reconstruct the naval

action at Salamis in detail, and confines himself to pointing out what is obscure or incoherent in Herodotus. Indeed, he suggests that the battle was in fact little more than a *mêlée* without concerted manoeuvres. On the episode of the Persian attack at Delphi he accepts the view of H. W. Parke: that the Delphian priesthood added a supernatural colouring to a real attack by marauders who had for the time escaped the control of their commanders. The last would have had orders to spare Delphi, as Delos was spared during the campaign of Marathon; but this band of insubordinates gave the priesthood a welcome chance of making a story to distract attention from the medium of the oracle, which Xerxes had intended to reward by protection. On Themistocles Herodotus is shown to have used incompatible sources, some glorifying him, others vilifying him, the latter, perhaps, the Alcmaeonid family; Legrand points out the resulting difficulties. In the battle of Plataea the continual use of Athenian sources is again emphasised, except for the many favourable observations on Pausanias, whose later history was notorious when Herodotus wrote; the sources here were Spartan. Enough has been said to indicate that the most important matters have been brought into prominence and lucidly discussed, at such length as the form of the Budé series allows.

E. D. PHILLIPS.

Thucydides. The Peloponnesian War. A new translation by REX WARNER. (Penguin Classics.) Pp. 553, with 4 maps. London: Penguin Books, 1954. 5s.

The energy and enterprise of the publishers of the Penguin Classics are beyond praise; of them the Greek and Latin are not the least interesting, and among these Mr. Warner's *Thucydides* will be put among the best. He has a short and intelligent introduction on the historian and on the two best existing translations (Hobbes' and Crawley's, rightly chosen); his translation is nearly always 'lucid, and not mean', as Aristotle said diction should be, generally lively and interesting. Both in exciting narrative (the first attack on Plataea, and the escape from it; the Mykalessos disaster; the fighting at Epipolai) and in the hortatory portions of speeches, it is especially good, e.g., Stenelaïdas, the Corinthians (i 120-124), Perikles' first speech, Examples of vigorous rendering are swearing for *λοιοβία* (ii 84. 3), *let us set on them as fast as we can*. *We are sure to win* (v 10. 5), *Hope, that comforter in danger!* (v 103. 1); and the end of Hermokrates' speech (vi 34. 9), *The Athenians are coming: the Athenians are, I am sure of it, already on their voyage: the Athenians are very nearly here*, an instance which shows that Mr. Warner knows that one device of rhetoric in English is repetition, where, often, Greek would use variation—in iv 61. 7 he misses his chance of this through believing (with many scholars) that *ἐμπειρῶς* and *εὐλόγως* mean different things instead of being *variatio*.

On the other hand, he seems afraid of eloquence, whether in the grand or poetic manner, or in pathos; with the result that the Epitaphios and the Plataean speech fall rather flat; and sophistic modes of expression, even where the thought is profound and to the point, are often dully and sometimes mistakenly rendered (as iv 62. 4, and often in iii 82-3). We miss, perhaps inevitably, Thucydides' variety. We find even echoes of our childhood's efforts, which is surprising, e.g., too many sentences beginning *now, or therefore*; he misses the point of Archidamos' use of *ῥαβδὸς* and *ἀσπίς*. But generally, where Thucydides is difficult and obscure, his version is intelligible; where the text is dubious, he makes a sensible choice; yet where it is (almost certainly) wrong, he once adopts a correction (i 57. 6), elsewhere leaves it (ii 2. 1, v 1. 1; and, it seems, vi 72. 3). There are, however, too many mistakes, apart from a few unfortunate slips or misprints (400 tal., i 96. 2, 12,000 cavalry at Athens, and ii 9. 5) and some misleading translations: as, the Athenians 'of a different nationality' from the Spartans (i 102. 3); 'a Spartan of the officer class' (ii 66. 2); i 92. 1 ('the fact was that their embassy'), ii 45. 2 ('not to be inferior to what God has made you'), 48. 2 ('wells' for *κρήναι*), 'guessing the thickness of a single brick', and 'inside this space were built the huts', iii 20. 4, 21. 2, 'democratic government' (for *ισοκρατία*), iv 78. 3, 'unconventional character' (*παρὰ νόμον*), vi 28. 2, 'very much a matter of accident', vi 33. 6. Mr. Warner has not found a satisfactory way of translating *ἐμπροσθεν*; he conceals the fact that Thucydides uses the same word, *ἔμπρῳ*, of both Nikias and Antiphon (mis translating both passages); and makes a muddle of *τρίηραρχος*, whom he calls 'captain' and so reduces *καταστρέφει* to 'helmsman' (helped thereto, certainly, by L. and S., and English metaphor).

This brings me to another complaint. Mr. Warner, every now and again, puts a sentence or two of Thucydides into footnotes, on the ground that he would have used them had he been writing to-day: a poor argument anyway, and a sad muddle is made of them—only one or two are useful, and many

are quite wrong. And, had the translator, instead of improving Thucydides, put in some footnotes of his own to explain certain words, it would have been much better: e.g., trierarch (if only he had used this word), tireme, a 'fast-sailing ship', a hoplite; what is a talent, a drachma? Where were certain places for whose names there is no room on the map? What are summer and winter in Thucydides, and what were the dates of the eclipses he mentions? We are not even given any cross-references (e.g., iv 102. 2 to i 100. 3). A panic fear seems to possess translators of appearing learned and pedantic, and, I suspect, an unconscious belief that their readers will not be intelligent enough to want to understand what they read: 'Listen with Mother'. A paragraph or two in the introduction on the main features of ancient warfare, and the strategy of this war in particular (with the essential map of Attica, which is not there), would have saved many even of such footnotes. I will give one instance, ii 80-3: Thucydides does not say where Knemos landed in Akarmania, and the reader, not knowing where Stratos was, and not recognising the slip by which the Greek city Oiniadai (rightly given elsewhere) becomes the 'tribe of the Aeniadae', cannot follow the narrative; and he is not helped by a mistranslation of *ἀνὰ πύλων* at 81. 8, nor by the rendering of 83. 5, 'the Peloponnesians sailed with their ships in circular formation, the prows facing outwards and the sterns in' (a remarkable feat). I need not add that those readers who might want to look at the Greek too are not helped to find their way by any pedantic mention of the traditional chapters of the text.

I should not like it to be thought that this book is not welcome; it is, very welcome. But, with some extra care, it might have been much better.

A. W. GOMME.

Strategemata (Nouvelle Collection de Textes et de Documents). By J.-A. DE FOUCAULT. Pp. 152. Publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé. Paris: Société d'Édition, Les Belles Lettres, 1949. Price not stated.

In recent years the MSS. tradition of the Greek writers on military matters has progressively been made known to the world by the unceasing labours of M. Alphonse Dain, to whose inspiration the present work is also due, as its editor explains. M. de Foucault publishes with Latin introduction, *apparatus criticus*, very full index, and a genealogical tree showing the relation of the works themselves to their forerunners, two eleventh century MSS. derived in the main from the *Strategemata* of Polyaeus (A.D. 162). Since this is their known origin, F. himself modestly disclaims any but a mere philological interest for this work. But the information which he himself gives shows that its interest is wider than he claims. Of the two MSS. the *Parechbolae* (preserved in two eleventh-century and no less than twenty-six other MSS., of which all but two are of the sixteenth century) is thought by F. to be of later origin than the *Strategemata Ambrosiana* (so named by him as being part of the eleventh-century *Cod. Ambros. 139*), because it contains sections at the end (40-3 on various 'duties of the general' and 44, 1-55 on miscellaneous military precepts) which are markedly different in character, and also later from the linguistic point of view, than the 'Stratagems'. These sections, for which no source has so far been found, are full of interest both linguistically and because the sixteenth century apparently took a very great interest in them; indeed, this observation (though F. has not seen fit to mention it) applies to the work of all the Greek tactical and military writers in general. Consideration of the sources of the *Strategemata*, which perhaps considerably antedate Polyaeus, will no doubt engage future researchers on the basis of F.'s establishment of the text and with the help of his very full index.

K. M. T. ATKINSON.

Papyrus grecs d'Apollônios Anô. By R. RÊMONDON. Pp. xv + 250, with 12 plates. Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1953. Price not stated.

These papyri, discovered at Edfou in 1921-22, are part of the correspondence of Pappas, landowner and pagarch of Apollonopolis between ca. A.D. 703 and 714, and vividly illustrate the relationship in which an official of his rank stood to his immediate and more remote superiors in the central government, to his *vis-à-vis* in neighbouring pagarchies, and to his own family, relations, and tenants. The volume is a most valuable addition to our knowledge of the Arab administration of Egypt, its techniques and difficulties in dealing with a subject people of alien nationality and religion.

Two features in particular strike us—the palpable similarity to the Byzantine administrative system and, not unconnected with this, the persistence, even aggravation, of social and economic distress. The official designated as *ἀνπάς* clearly

corresponds to the Byzantine duke (9), and his rule extends either over the Thebaid only or over the whole of Upper Egypt, if, as Rémondon believes, the fusion of the Thebaid with Arcadia was really a *fait accompli* by the first decade of the eighth century (1, 3, 8); he enjoys a fiscal and judicial competence at least as wide as that of his Byzantine counterpart (1, 2, 9, 20, 29, etc.). His representative at Antinopolis, for he is not himself able to reside there permanently in view of his responsibilities elsewhere (7, 9, 20, 28), is the *topoteretes*, an executive official acting as intermediary between the *amir* and the pagarchies throughout the Thebaid, with the notable exception of Aphrodito, whose extraordinary position seems to have been maintained (1, 6, 27); he has, however, no real authority (18, 28), and the most drastic action of which we find him capable in this volume is the temporary suspension of a minor instruction of the *amir* pending the receipt of further information (51). The pagarch receives the orders of the central government as transmitted by the *topoteretes* and, so far as one can see, does his best to delay their execution for as long as possible (37). Admittedly, though his power within his own area of jurisdiction is unrivalled (4), social and economic disorder, aggravated by the unsympathetic demands of the Government, make such an attitude of unwilling co-operation quite intelligible: taxes and requisitions were heavy (20, 25, 29, 49), labour was scarce (13, 29, 38, etc.), the pagarchy fell far short of autarky (26), so that even the *topoteretes* was forced to admit the *παντίκωσις* of his charges (10). The hierarchic transmission of orders (9, 18, 20, 27, 28, 29), the distance from the seat of the central government and the slowness of the postal services (31, 32, 55)—it took a month for a message to pass by ordinary means between Antinopolis and Apollonopolis—all contributed to the administrative chaos. This general similarity to the pattern of Byzantine administration is supported by the retention of technical terms, e.g., *διορύττωσις* and *bucellarius* (30), and titles, e.g., *νόμος πόλεως* (37, 46, 66, 75) and *δοῦξ* (9), and by the persistence of characteristic institutions, e.g., in the administration of the law, the *defensor civitatis* (46), the bishop (41(?), 46) and the *curator civitatis* (66(?)), and in finance, the *βοηθὸς λογιστηρίου* (47, 52(?)), and the fiscal distinction between the peasants of the *χωρία* and those of the great estates (42). Many of these survivals were purely nominal of course: the *defensor* was by this time little more than an administrative device, and the *curator*, *pater Rémondon*, retained little power after the fifth century.

Administration apart, there is much here which supplements or corrects current views about Arab Egypt. 15 shows the Blemmyes autoproduct and independent of any pagarchy but paying taxes to the Arabs long before the first treaty is held by Arab sources to have been concluded between them in A.D. 724. The mention of the *κέντρα κατανικῶν* 'Ἀπόλλωνος' *Ἀντα* or *Contra Apollonos* (56) suggests the need for qualification of the theory of a complete abandonment of the Eastern Desert in the Byzantine era. Again, from his close analysis of 1, which he dates to ca. A.D. 704-5, Rémondon concludes that the *amir* Οὐοῦθ should be placed between the last Christian duke, Peter, and Surayh B. al-Wāsil and gives a chronology of the dukes of the Thebaid from 699 to 712.

The notes are particularly well documented, the editor careful not to press his own views to the exclusion of those of his precursors in the field. Perhaps his most fruitful piece of work is the re-editing of PSI 1266 (in 9), of which, by a judicious revision of the preliminary findings of Bell and Norsa, he is able to present a more complete and satisfying interpretation. Of his alterations to Bell's text all are possible, two probable, though *καλαφ[ά]τ[α]* *ε[ἰ]ς τ[ὴν] παγαρχ[ίαν]* in l. 4 cannot be regarded as more than a suggestion, especially when *καλαφάτης* is consistently abbreviated throughout the rest of the document; the chief amplifications of Bell's interpretation (*JEA* 31, *Aegyptus XXXI*) affect the mutual relationship of the two letters contained in the papyrus, the status of the *topoteretes*, and the official position of Jordanes.

A few final comments. 44 appears, even by late Byzantine standards, to be too extravagantly phrased to have been written by an equal. The suggestion in 61, 16n, that this Librerius may have been the pagarch of Edfou in A.D. 651 is rather a shot in the dark. As for the editor's doubts about the mention of a payment for a bath in an account of expenditure on food (85, 4), a papyrus in the second Merton volume will show such an insertion to be by no means impossible. Finally, *οὐκοῦν* *δύο* *ψυχὰς* *ἔχετε* (38, 8) and *γενεσάσθω* *ὁδῶτος* (37, 11) are both intriguing pieces of Greek; ll. 4-6 of the document and such parallels as *P.Tab.* I, 56, 11, show that 'deux hommes' is correct for the former, but it would be interesting to have the views of an Egyptologist on the latter: it seems a pity that a phrase possessing such a wealth of religious overtone should have to be reduced to the prosaic 'let him drown'!

B. R. REES.

Träger der Lebenskraft. Ausscheidungen des Organismus im Volksglauben der Antike. By R. MUTH. Pp. xiii + 184. Vienna: Rohrer, 1954. \$3.20.

This little work was composed mostly between 1939 and 1946, under obvious difficulties, especially of getting access to works published outside central Europe. It consists of an introduction (pp. 2-25) concerning beliefs among the lower cultures in the magical and medicinal efficacy of parts of the animal, especially the human body, considered as repositories of life-force or life-substance, and in particular in the uses to which the various secretions may be put, and of a series of sections dealing with the ancient use in magic, in professional medicine, and in popular medical beliefs of three of the most important secretions, saliva, urine, and faeces, which are treated in ascending order of unsavouriness. The author has a fair knowledge of anthropology, with a leaning towards the Gräbner-Schmidt hypotheses, and has read extensively in such authors as Pliny, the Greek and Latin writers on medicine (including, of course, such repositories of folklore as Marcellus Empiricus), and the classics generally. He has also consulted a number of modern books and dissertations, which he lists in a bibliography, pp. vi-xi. He does not pretend to give a complete account of all relevant passages, which indeed would call for a much bulkier work than this, but compromises by listing a number of them after the manner of an index, e.g., pp. 133-42. What is offered is an intelligent discussion of a number of representative statements by ancient writers concerning the alleged virtues of these unpromising materials; the author very properly distinguishes between those passages in which Pliny, Galen, or another seems himself to believe in the statements he reports and those in which doubt or disbelief is expressed.

A rather too sharp distinction is drawn between popular medicine and that in professional use. M. apparently does not quite realise the extent to which the former is merely an obsolete form, perhaps simplified or otherwise corrupted, of the latter. Any folklorist with a little experience in such matters could furnish examples. Indeed, not a few of M.'s own footnotes, which are numerous and interesting, unconsciously do so. There is also a little too much inclination to find an explanation of a magical or medicinal practice in some one principle derived from what is known of 'primitive' ideas. The reasons for spitting, for example, are probably more numerous than M. realises. However, these are minor faults, and the book is on the whole both sound and readable.

H. J. ROSE.

Personal Religion among the Greeks. By A. J. FESTUGIERE. (Sather Classical Lectures, 26.) Pp. viii + 186, with 1 plate. Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press, 1954 (London: Cambridge University Press). 28s.

This book contains the Sather Lectures for 1953, slightly revised by the author. His original French MS. was translated by Milman and Barbara Parry, of whose version it suffices to say that it reads like an original, a virtue more than compensating for one or two minute slips (p. 7, line 16, 'wear' should be 'bear', perhaps a printer's error, as 'best' for 'least', p. 137, l. 12 from below, certainly is). The English versions of various ancient texts quoted in it are from several sources. The printing has been well done, a single error being likely to mislead the unwary; p. 157, n. 28, the new edition of Plotinus is credited to one 'Henry Schwyzer', the author of course having written 'Henry-Schwyzzer'. More important than these trifles is the content.

Father Festugière has contributed one of the best volumes to this well-known series. Being a scholar, a priest of a Church which has bred many saints and mystics, and in obvious sympathy with the contemplative life, he has both the learning to detect and the understanding to interpret the religious thoughts and feelings revealed in ancient documents, especially those of the fourth century B.C. and later, down to the close of antiquity. But he begins earlier than this, looking for personal religion as early as Homer, and his opening words obey the best oratorical precepts by arousing the hearer's or reader's attention: 'Religion might perhaps be defined, very generally, as belief in a fourth dimension.' I am inclined to say that to him religion (apart from the external ceremonies of cult) is Platonism in one form or another, and indeed Plato and his later interpreters take up a great part of the book. However, this is not until Chapter III. Chapter I distinguishes between popular piety, such as the worship of a *θεὸς πόλιος*, and the concept, which F. styles 'reflective piety', of God, as we see it growing through Hesiod, Pindar, and Aeschylus to the great philosophers. His example of the former is Hippolytos in Euripides (pp. 10-18), whose character he interprets as rather that of the nicest kind of sixth-former, sexually un-

awakened and naturally modest, than the abnormal type which, with Wilamowitz, I believe him to be. Discussing the matter further in a note (p. 145, n. 19) he commits himself to the statement that the Greeks 'had no real sexual morality'. The truth, I think, is that their sexual morality was not ours, a very different thing.

Chapter II takes up 'reflective' piety, and starts from the attitudes of the soul caused by pondering on the difference between divine happiness and human misery and the problem of how to reconcile, if at all, the postulate of divine justice with the fact of unmerited troubles. A brief account, with good illustrations, is given of the two main attitudes, the craving for some kind of escape and the robust attitude (he illustrates it by Herakles from Euripides' play and Herakleitos from real life) of acceptance of things as they are, combined, as he interprets it, with ultimate reliance on Deity. I doubt, by the way, if Zeus Prostropaïos is an avenger of crime, and the ghost-theory of the Erinyes is now badly out of date (p. 27).

Chapter III deals with 'the Hellenistic mood and the influence of Plato', concerning whom F. very well says (p. 42) that the most profound influence of any great philosophy, including especially Platonism, is 'the ferment which gives the whole doctrine its life . . . the impulse that lies at the heart of the philosopher and communicates itself to our hearts'. Much stress is laid on the mystical element in Plato himself, and in this connexion (p. 44) F. uses his interpretation of Ep. VII, with which I disagree. My reasons are stated in a forthcoming notice of Vol. IV of *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* in the *CR*, in which the much fuller statement of the matter on pp. 86-91 of that work is criticised. The main argument of the present book is little affected. I note in passing that F. agrees (p. 49) with A. E. Taylor in accepting the *Epinomis* as Platonic, and draw attention to his postulation (p. 52) of a genetic connexion between the Sophoklean laws of Zeus (*Ant.* 450 ff.) and the Platonic Forms.

With Chapter IV the Hellenistic period is reached, and F. speaks more than ever as an expert. In this chapter he deals with ἀσκησις in all its forms, from mere retirement from political life to the withdrawal from the world of hermits. Chapter V handles afresh what has often been treated, though seldom if ever with such insight, the plot of Apuleius' *Golden Ass*. The points most stressed are: (a) the contrast between Fortune, which has been a cruel mistress to Lucius, and the mercy of Isis, who is stronger than fortune; and (b) the vocation of the hero, including the question of what exactly his sin had been. Continuing the same topic (popular piety), Chapter VI handles that disagreeable hypochondriac pietist Aelius Aristides. A particularly good point is made on p. 86: Aristides did not really want to be cured. 'The more unheard-of the treatment, the more the patient is convinced that the god is interested in his case. . . . Thus he comes to be no longer able to do without the god, and by the same token to be no longer able to do without his sickness.' He also sketches with excellent historical imagination the atmosphere of the group of worshippers of Asklepios of whom the rhetorician was one. It is not very unlike, though F. does not say so, that of Thomas Mann's *Zauberberg*.

Reflective piety forms the theme of the last two chapters, which are a sort of compendium, and a very good one, of Vols. III and IV of *La Révélation*. Naturally Hermetism comes in for its share of treatment, but not a disproportionate one; F. is very far from being a specialist of the type which cannot see beyond the specialty. Indeed, this whole treatise will serve as a very good introduction to the longer work and to the new edition of the *Hermetica*, the last two volumes of which are dealt with elsewhere in this number.

H. J. ROSE.

Hellenistic Religions. The age of syncretism. By F. C. GRANT. Pp. xxix + 196. New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1953. \$1.75.

This volume is one of a series called *The Library of Religion* and described as 'readings in the sacred scriptures and basic writings of the world's religions, past and present'. Obviously, the worth of each volume in such a series, which aims at no more than selections from relevant documents, must depend on the care and taste with which the selections are made, and the trustworthiness of any explanatory matter the editor may add. In this case, the work has been well done, within the limits imposed by the book's being intended for a wide public with no linguistic or other propaedeutic. The editor, who is Professor of Biblical Theology at Union Theological Seminary, clearly is a man of cultured and liberal mind and wide reading, and he has made an interesting choice among the very numerous documents, literary and other, at his disposal. His introduction compresses into its few pages a large amount of correct infor-

mation and evaluation of the Hellenistic cults, both official and other, and maintains (p. xxxix) that the ultimate result 'viewed strictly historically, was in fact nothing less than what the Greek Fathers call it: "the preparation for the Gospel"'. His selections are classed under four headings, *Institutional Religion, The Criticism of Traditional Religion, Cults, and Religious Ideas of the Philosophers*. In the first, inscriptions are freely drawn upon, though authors from Theophrastos to Eunapios contribute a good deal. In the second, the largest extract is from Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride*, but also considerable use is made of Lucian and Sextus Empiricus, and Theophrastos, *Char.* 16, appears, a little out of place, for that is not a criticism of religion but a humorous sketch of a silly pietist. Under *Cults* are to be found some Orphic extracts (but was Orphism ever a cult?), Lucian again (this time the *de dea Syria*), the initiation of Lucius from Apuleius, a little of the *Kore Kosmou*, and some selections from papyri and inscriptions. The last section starts with the Stoics and Epicureans and ends with Sallustius, in Nock's translation. Scattered up and down the book are judicious little bibliographies. If a second edition is called for, the editor would do well to get rid of the misprint or slip Melitus for Meletus on p. xxix, use 'dualism' somewhat less loosely (p. xxiv and elsewhere), and if possible take his inscriptional selections oftener from the third edition of Dittenberger; the second is not always at hand.

H. J. ROSE.

Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt (Being the Forwood Lectures for 1952). By H. I. BELL. Pp. x + 117. Liverpool: University Press, 1953. 15s.

Sir Harold Bell here provides a popular account of a subject to which throughout the years he has devoted much attention. In the nature of things—the work consists of four slightly revised lectures—we cannot demand exhaustive treatment or a full statement of the evidence, and Sir Harold has given the relevant and decisive evidence in most cases. I give here a brief summary of the contents, and raise a few points. Chapter I, 'The Pagan Background', points out the various elements, principally Egyptian, Jewish, and Greek, which contributed to the religious life of Egypt. He discusses the significance of the old Greek cults in Egypt, perhaps under-estimating their religious importance (see now my remarks in *JEA* 38, 70); summarises Wilcken's view on the origin and nature of the Sarapis-cult; and touches on Ptolemaic Ruler-worship (here, on p. 22, B. suggests that Rhodes was a subject of the Ptolemies; in the context the point is of significance: for 'individual' read 'independent'). Chapter II, 'The Jews in Egypt', gives a general account of the religious attitude of the Achæmenid Jewish colonists at Elephantine, followed by a summary of the history of the Jews in the Graeco-Roman period. This latter section seems to me to be weakened by a disregard of strictly chronological sequence: Ptolemaic and Roman material is at times placed cheek by jowl, and it is difficult to gather a coherent picture of any development in the history of the Jews in Egypt (in this respect though not in others, a more satisfactory account is to be found in the English summary of the Hebrew book of V. Tscherikower, *The Jews in Egypt*, 1-32). A more serious defect, it may be, is that, though B. refers (35) to the Jewish necropolis at Tell el-Yahudiya, he does not consider the evidence afforded by the inscriptions found there (now *CIJ* ii, 1451-1530: see *JEA* 40, p. 124, no. 4). These, funerary inscriptions are Greek in language, form, and content, and give an excellent picture of the assimilation by Jews of Greek notions of death and Greek funerary customs, in the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods. It is also regrettable that important epigraphical evidence for the building of synagogues is not taken into account. All that we hear of synagogues (34 f.) is limited to the evidence of *PEnt.* 30, 6, of 217 A.C., which contains an oblique reference to one at Alexandrou Nesos, the synagogue at Arsinoe, *PTeb.* 5, 86, and the 'synagogue of the Thebans' in A.D. 113, *PLond.* iii, 1177. But we possess, for instance, a dedication on behalf of Euergetes I and Berenice of a synagogue by the Jews of Crocodilopolis (*Ric. Fil.* 67, 247-51; omitted in *CIJ*: see *JEA*, loc. cit., no. 4), and, at a later date, at Wadi Natrun, *SB*, 7454, *SEG* viii, 366, *CIJ*, 1442, and Damanhour, *SB*, 5862, *CIJ*, 1441, on behalf of Ptolemy Euergetes II and the two Cleopatras; and from Athribis (Benha) a similar dedication of uncertain date, *OGIS* 96, *CIJ*, 1443 (and cf. *OGIS* 101, *CIJ*, 1444). There are other references to be found in Bevan's *Ptolemaic Egypt*, 112, note 1. It is from such documents that the history of Jewry in Ptolemaic Egypt must be written, and not from stories in the books of the Maccabees. It is clear that synagogues were wide-spread in Egypt in this period, and it seems likely that the synagogue-worship was, or might be, closely connected with the state cult of the Ptolemies. Chapter III,

'The Preparation for Christianity', gives, among other things, a useful account of the alterations in administration of the active temples, and of the worship of the Emperors. It is perhaps misleading to claim (56, top) that the cult of Alexander continued in the Imperial period, since the only cult certainly known from that time is the strictly Alexandrian cult of Alexander Ktistes (SB, 6611, of A.D. 120/1), and it seems likely that the worship of Alexander in the Roman period was restricted to this very natural civic cult (cf. Plaumann, *Archiv*, 6, 85 ff.). There is nothing in SB, 6670 to suggest a 'Reichskult' (cf. Visser, *Griechische Kulte*, 9). Similarly, the most important evidence for the worship of Cleopatra in the Roman period is the inscription SB 647 of A.D. 4/5, which shows her cult with a temple called τὸ μέγα Κλεοπάτρειον and an ἀγυρῆς. Compared with this, the later survival (?) of a cult of Ἀποθῆνῃ καὶ Κλεοπάτρῃ (if cult it be) seems less important. On p. 62 B. discusses two inscriptions which record dedications by Greeks (ephebes and others) to Egyptian gods: OGIS 176 and 178 (*WChrest.* 141, 142). The dates of these texts, however, 98 and 95 B.C., are such that in Fayyūm, whence they originate, the phenomenon is hardly significant. On the other hand, SB 5021, to which B. refers only in a footnote and which he does not discuss, is of considerable importance, because, though it is of approximately the same date ('spätere Ptolemäerzeit', according to Schubart), it is a dedication made by Greeks to a native deity in Alexandria. And again in SB 1162, one of the two dedications to Bubastis, claimed by B. as a dedication to 'purely Egyptian gods by Greeks', Bubastis has received a purely Greek cult-title, Ζῶρεπα, and the epiklesis seems to suggest that there may have been some modification of the purely Egyptian deity. Again, I am not sure what *PAmh.* ii, 35 (*Sel. Pap.* 274) proves, except that the native priests of Socnopaios claimed that their deity had cured Apollonios: does it imply anything on the side of Apollonios? Chapter IV discusses the evidence for the rise of Christianity in Egypt with admirable clarity.

P. M. FRASER.

Hermès Trismégiste. Vol. III, Fragments extraits de Stobée, I-XXII. Ed. and trans. A.-J. Festugière. **Vol. IV, Fragments extraits de Stobée, XXIII-XXIX.** Ed. and trans. A.-J. Festugière; **Fragments divers**, ed. A. D. Nock, trans. A.-J. Festugière. Pp. cccxviii + 93, and 150. (Assn. G. Budé.) Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1954. Price not stated.

With these two volumes the long-awaited complete edition of all that remains of the theological or philosophical works attributed to Hermes-Thoth is completed. The first two were very briefly noticed in Vol. LXVII (1947), p. 145, and at greater length by the present reviewer in *CR* LXI, pp. 102-4. The whole forms an absolutely indispensable utensil for anyone who studies the curious movement known as Hermetism or any of the many movements of more or less similar type which marked the opening centuries of the Christian era in the classical world. The tedious but necessary labour of constructing a critical text was less in this part of the work than in the *Corpus Hermeticum* proper, for there very few of the discourses had been through the hands of a scholar at once versed in the matter and sufficiently acquainted with the language of that epoch and the limits of textual emendation, whereas the text of the Stobaeian fragments, though not faultless, has been better preserved than that of the *C.H.*, while both they and some at least of the authors from whom the other fragments are taken have had the benefit of really good editing in the past, leaving less for Father Festugière to do. This, of course, is not to say that all the work had been done for him, nor that there remain no passages in which reading and sense are doubtful and freely admitted by him and his collaborator A. D. Nock to be so.

On the other hand, the work of interpretation is made harder than ever by the very fact that we are here confronted with fragments only, and no entire treatise, the *Kore Kosmou* (No. 23 of the Stobaeian extracts) being perhaps the nearest to completeness. Hence the long introduction to Vol. III deals very largely with the classification of the fragments. Those from Stobaeus are arranged practically as in Scott, and depart but slightly from his numbering. It would, I think, have been better if the numeration had been continued for the extracts from other authors, which as it is begin a new series on p. 104 of Vol. IV, making them rather unhandy to cite.

Taking the Stobaeian extracts as they stand in this edition, No. I (Stob. vol. ii, p. 9, 3 Wachsmuth) is a short, though celebrated fragment on the incomprehensibility of God. Nos. 2A and 2B give us a considerable part of a treatise dealing chiefly with the nature of truth and the impossibility of finding

it in the material universe. How much is missing, if we remember the incoherent structure of many Hermetic pieces, it is not possible to say. These fragments occur respectively in Vol. iii, p. 436 and vol. i, p. 273 of the Wachsmuth-Hense Stobaeus. Nos. 3 and 4 (Scott's IV A, IV B and III) again appear to belong to a single treatise, dealing with the nature of the soul, its relation to the body, the forces which act upon it, and the sense-perceptions resulting therefrom. They are Stob. vol. i, pp. 322 and 284. No. 5 (Stob. vol. i, p. 290) is a short but interesting extract contrasting the work of the Creator proper (ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντων δημιουργός) with 'our creator' (ὁ ἡμετέρος δημιουργός), an embodied being who is occupied in making mortal bodies. No. 6 (Stob. vol. i, p. 189) is either a short complete treatise or a section of a longer one. It is a description of the structure of the heavens, heavily charged with astrological theories and especially with the rather elaborate doctrine of the decans. No. 7 (Stob. vol. i, p. 62) occupies but half a small page; its subject is the position in the universe of the δαίμων πρυιότης known as Justice. No. 8 (Stob. vol. i, p. 73) F. considers part of the same treatise as No. 7. Be this as it may, the subject is the relation between necessity and providence and the reaction of the rational and irrational parts of our being to certain immaterial forces. No. 9 (Stob. vol. i, p. 131) is merely a seven-line extract from a discussion of matter. No. 10 (Stob. vol. i, p. 104) treats of time. They may be scraps of the same treatise, which in that case probably dealt with the nature of γένεσις. All these fragments belong to a group of discourses addressed by Hermes to Tat, if 'group' is the right word for a number of pieces of miscellaneous content, the date of which we do not know.

No. 11 (Stob. vol. i, p. 274) consists for the most part of a summary, in forty-eight brief and dogmatic sentences, of the chief doctrines of that section of the Hermetic movement which took an entirely pessimistic view of this world (e.g., 16, οὐδὲν ἐν σώματι ἀληθές; 26, οὐδὲν ἐστὶ γῆς ἀετέρας). The hearer, who may be Tat again, for he addresses the speaker, presumably Hermes, as 'father', is then warned against letting the vulgar know these truths, for if they did, they would realise that nothing in the material universe really matters, and so give themselves over to all manner of evil, to which they are quite sufficiently inclined as it is. This, F. thinks (p. 60, n. 37) is a hit at some Gnostic sect.

We now come to a series of extracts from speeches addressed by Hermes to Ammon. The first three, Nos. 12, 13, and 14, are the merest scraps; No. 15 (Stob. vol. i, p. 289) deals with the origins of motion and growth; No. 16 (Stob. vol. i, p. 281) is part of a discourse on the soul and its relation to the body, and No. 17 (Stob. vol. i, p. 321) is part of the same treatise or one of similar subject. No. 18 (Stob. vol. ii, p. 160) treats of fate and freewill; No. 19 again deals with soul and body, No. 20 with a like topic, while No. 21 (Stob. vol. i, p. 293) is an account, distinctly neo-Platonic in tone, of the ultimate reality (τὸ πρῶτον) from which all real being comes, and No. 22 (Stob. vol. i, p. 295) is a scrap of a treatise entitled *Aphrodite*, apparently dealing with human reproduction; the few lines we have explain why children often resemble their parents. Whether Ammon or another was the addressee of Nos. 18-22 is unknown.

Vol. IV begins with the long and very puzzling *Kore Kosmou* (No. 23, Stob. vol. i, p. 385). To discuss here the complex questions of its composition, the inconsistencies which its clumsy compiler has committed, the amount which may be supposed lost, and so forth would take far too much space. The analysis of its structure and enumeration of the various theories proposed concerning it occupy pp. cccx-cxcix of Vol. III, besides the abundant notes which accompany the text and translation. It is part of a long treatise or a group of treatises in which Isis is the chief speaker and Horos receives her instruction. The next four pieces, Nos. 24-7 (Stob. vol. i, pp. 407, 458, 463; iii, p. 467) complete this group; No. 27 is merely a two-line fragment, the others are of greater length and importance. Of them, No. 24 is Isis' reply to some questions of Horos regarding the soul, especially the royal soul which animates a heaven-sent king. No. 25 may well be from the same treatise, for it deals with the experiences of the soul when set free from the body. No. 26 is on a like topic, and is not badly summarised by the sub-title which Stobaeus or his source has given it, περί ἀναρχώσεως καὶ μεταμυχώσεως.

The non-Stobaeian fragments are assembled and expounded by A. D. Nock, and are not, as had been planned (Vol. I, p. vii), accompanied by an essay on Hermetism generally, for N. modestly feels that that would be superfluous since the completion of his collaborator's four-volume treatise, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*. It need hardly be said that they are critically handled and well commented on. The concluding words of the volume (p. 150), however, reveal a gap still to

be filled. Certain Coptic treatises ascribed to Hermes are not yet available.

It should be emphasised that, good though this edition is, it does not even intend to displace the elaborate commentary of Scott-Ferguson. That is often drawn upon, of course with proper acknowledgement, and remains a store-house of relevant matter for the use of present and future students of late classical religion and philosophy.

I have not thought it worth while here to list several small disagreements from the editors. Two or three are dealt with in a forthcoming notice in the *CR*. Of misprints there are a good many, but not such as to inconvenience a reader seriously.

H. J. ROSE.

La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste. III. Les doctrines de l'âme. Suivi de Jamblique, Traité de l'âme, traduction et commentaire, Porphyre, De l'animation de l'embryon. By A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE. Pp. xiv + 314, with 1 plate. Paris: Gabalda, 1953. Fr. 2000.

The third volume of Festugière's great exposition of Hermetism in its context of later Greek religion and religious philosophy is concerned with the Hermetic doctrine of the soul and its origins. The main purpose of the volume is to demonstrate that a very close relationship exists, both as to structure and content, between the Hermetic expositions of the nature and destiny of the human soul and the treatises on the soul produced by the Platonic school in the second century A.D. which, Festugière maintains, provided the model and the starting-point for most writing about the soul in the next two centuries. To support and illustrate his contention he gives as Appendices new translations (his own) of two later psychological treatises of the Platonic school, the *Περὶ Ψυχῆς* of Iamblichus (i.e., the extracts in Stobaeus, which are all that survive of that work) and the *Περὶ ἀνυψώσεως τῆς ψυχῆς* of Porphyry: there is a very full commentary on the first and an number of important critical and explanatory notes on the second. These two appendices, which together occupy well over a hundred pages, are one of the most valuable parts of the book.

Festugière has, I think, satisfactorily demonstrated his main thesis of the close relationship between Hermetic and other writings of the same period on the soul (notably Tertullian's *De Anima*) and Middle Platonist school-treatises. He has little difficulty in showing by comparison with Aetius and Albinus, that all these writings follow a set pattern, and that the doctrine expounded by the Hermetists and criticised by Tertullian and Arnobius is in its essentials a dualistic Platonism. The only criticism that can be made is that Festugière, in reaction (to a great extent justifiable) against attempts to explain the peculiarities of Gnosticism by Iranian or other Oriental influences, sometimes goes too far and tends to present his Hermetists as nothing but a very odd sort of popular Platonists (though he often states clearly and admirably the differences between Gnosticism and genuine Platonic or Neo-Platonic philosophy). For instance: on p. 25 he suggests that the fantastic account in the *Poimandres* of the bisexual Anthropos and his seven bisexual children is a reminiscence of the *Symposium*; which is making Aristophanes's joke responsible for altogether too much! (Both stories may well have a remote common origin in primitive Eastern Mediterranean beliefs in bisexual deities.) Again on p. 36, in an effort to secure Platonic harmony among the Hermetists, he tries to assimilate the doctrine of the *Asclepius* that man was created in the image of God to that found elsewhere in the *Hermetica* which makes man an emanation from the divine substance. The two doctrines seem to me intrinsically different, and that in the *Asclepius* clearly Jewish in origin. The doctrine of the 'third god' in the *Chaldaean Oracles* and in Porphyry, which Festugière discusses on pp. 54 ff. seems to me to be clearly un-Platonic and to belong to a totally different world of thought to that of Greek philosophy. It is significant that in the passage in which Augustine refers to some incomprehensible remarks of Porphyry about this 'middle god' (*De Civ. Dei* X. 23) he makes it clear that Porphyry's doctrine here is quite different from that of Plotinus. It may possibly have something to do with Egyptian divine triads (cf. the passages cited by Festugière on p. 57) but has nothing to do with Platonism. Again on p. 62, in his anxiety to make the Gnostics 'dualistic Platonists' he contrasts their attitude to the visible universe with that of the Stoics in a way which leaves out of account altogether the genuine Platonic doctrine, expounded so finely by Plotinus, that the visible universe is good but the intelligible universe much better. This, however, is only a temporary aberration. Festugière, of course, knows very well what the real late-Platonic doctrine is, and describes it well on p. 96 (and elsewhere). But we may say generally that he is so anxious to stress the Platonic element in

Hermetic Gnosticism that he sometimes minimises or tries to explain away the extremely un-Platonic and un-Greek elements which also appear in it. But this defect, though we should be aware of it, detracts very little from the value of an excellent book which, like the previous volumes, will be indispensable to all students of later Greek philosophy and religion.

A. H. ARMSTRONG.

Le Calendrier de 354. Etude sur son texte et sur ses illustrations. By H. STERN. Pp. 430, with 63 plates. Paris: Geuthner, 1953. Fr. 5750.

More than one publication has already been devoted to the interesting problem of this manuscript, for the original has not survived, though a number of copies make it possible, by means of comparison and collation, to reconstruct it. The ideas of previous writers have, however, varied somewhat on points of detail in the reconstruction, according to the value which each author placed on the importance of the various surviving versions. M. Stern's volume brings the whole problem up to date by means of a very full, detailed and scholarly examination, and he succeeds in producing what appears to be a completely reliable interpretation of the nature of the original text and illustrations alike. He is, however, more concerned with the illustrations than with the text, and the greater part of his book is devoted to a study not only of their iconography, but also of their style. To study iconography by means of later copies, especially when there are two or three variants to draw from, is comparatively simple; to reconstruct the style is less easy, but M. Stern's conclusions in this respect are thoroughly convincing.

The original manuscript was pagan in theme, and M. Stern stresses its importance as one of the last manuscripts to be written wherein a pagan, and not a Christian, outlook predominates. Even more important, however, was the role that such manuscripts must have played in the dissemination of iconographical themes and motifs, as well as of stylistic features, over very wide areas, and M. Stern cites instances of motifs which are virtually identical in places as far apart as North Africa, Constantinople, and Antioch, and which must owe their origin, if not to this book, at least to a very similar one.

In addition to matter which has reference primarily to the manuscript, M. Stern's text shows a great wealth of learning and information, and his book constitutes not only a very valuable addition to the literature on the Calendar of 354, but also to our knowledge of the art and thought of the mid-fourth century as a whole. This was a very vital period, when a new civilisation was forming. The debt of Christian culture to Rome was immense, and if M. Stern does not deal directly with this subject here, his publication nevertheless furnishes a great deal of important evidence which it would be impossible to neglect.

D. T. RICE.

The Costumes of Chios. Their development from the XVth to the XXth century. By P. P. ARGENTI. Pp. xii + 338, with 83 coloured plates, 28 monochrome plates, and 207 text figures. London: Batsford, 1953. £10 10s.

The diplomatic and military encounters of the East Christian society with the West have been extensively studied. The cultural influences of the West upon the Byzantine and post-Byzantine Greek world are by no means as well understood. The more obvious literary imitations have drawn attention as curiosities rather than as works worthy of real criticism. The *Old Knight and Florios and Platziadora* (being respectively a fragment of the Arthurian cycle and a near-translation of *Floire et Blanchefleur*) were published long before incomparably better poems which had no such eccentric advantages. For Cyprus, we have had to wait until 1952 for an edition of the sixteenth-century lyrics which give us an entirely new and startling view of Cypriot poetry and its dialect (Th. Siapakaras-Pitsillides, *Poèmes d'amour en dialecte chypriote* (XVIe. s.), Athens, 1952). For Crete, many important poems and plays remain unpublished (the *Rhyme of Apollonius of Tyre*, the *Thesid*, the greater part of George Chumnos' biblical poem, *Katsurbos*, and *King Rhodolinos*); and the archives of the Dukes of Candia are a treasure known only from fragments.

In these studies we are at a beginning, when the first concern of the historian must be the collection and classification of his material. In such collecting, Dr. Argenti's name is well known. He is a Chiot, and has studied and written upon the history of Chios for over twenty years. In particular, in his *Bibliography of Chios*, he has gathered together some two thousand works in many languages, which could have been found only by a man of great breadth of reading.

But this catholicity of information is joined (we may take as

evidence the list of his published works) with a complete concentration upon one theme: Chios. Above all, Dr. Argenti is a patriot. And when, in *Costumes of Chios*, he uses all the sources he knows so well to give us a book as fascinating to the mind as to the eye, it may seem rather graceless to complain that this Chios has never been influenced by Byzantium, and has had no connexion with the rest of the Greek world. As for the first, he may half-protect himself by his sub-title: for the second, it seems impossible to treat such a subject with no mention, and hardly any inference, of the many works (mostly, it must be admitted, much inferior to Dr. Argenti's) on the costumes of other islands. But if we protest privately at the amputation, we can only admire the skill with which the operation is performed.

The book begins with a concise topography and history of the island. As early as this we see the author's method. Buondelmonti appears on p. 1, and by the time we reach p. 5 we have heard travellers from France, Germany, Holland, and Scotland, describe Chios as—Dr. Argenti repeats it with obvious pleasure—'paradise', 'the Sultan's kitchen-garden', 'garden of the Seraglio', and 'flower of the Levant'. How happy we should be if all historians took delight in their sources. The texts are gathered in an appendix, and translations of them (the French rather oddly being left in the original) make pleasant reading. The material includes travellers' memoirs and consulate reports, and documents from the Archives of Genoa and Venice, and from the Public Record Office.

The immediate impression we get from all this is one of the wealth and scope of the Chian textile industry under Genoese and Turks. It is with some surprise that we find, around 1450, direct trade between England and Chios (p. 28). The silk-weavers of the island produced not only their own designs, but 'specialised in imitating material and designs of India, Lyons, Persia, and Venice—a range, be it noted, that could be made to include almost any design' (p. 53). Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Chian silks were exported 'to all the world' (p. 41), and when, in 1822, the remnants of the population were scattered through Europe, it was largely as silk-merchants that they tried to repair their fortunes (p. 54).

There are two reasons for stressing in this way the historical content of Dr. Argenti's book, as opposed to the artistic interest of Chian dress.

Firstly, that the contrast between the luxury and sophistication of Chios and what we know of the provincial life of the other islands provokes the question, whether this very ease of existence caused the absence of any important Chian contribution to the 'Greek Renaissance' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Secondly, that it is impossible to describe happily in this plain text an artistic interest lying mainly in the ample and delightful plates, of which most are full-page and nearly a hundred in colour. They include not only photographs of actual garments (many of the eighteenth century) but reproductions of paintings, lithographs, and sketches; which show the costumes of men and women, at work and play, from the Genoese period up to now. Contemporary costumes are dealt with village by village, and frequent diagrams give the design of the more characteristic garments of each place. All have the technical perfection we have learnt to expect from Batsford's.

Two sections provoke special admiration. The first (pp. 59–62) deals with the preparation of those vegetable dyes which have not yet been displaced by chemical products—a subject which, for all its technicality, the author succeeds in making interesting. The other consists of two tables (pp. 104–20, 294–8), giving the local names of the garments and, more particularly, of the embroideries with which they are patterned. The names of these motifs—*καλάδες*, *φασαδιές*, *κράσδες*, and the rest—remind us of the vital freshness of the demotic vocabulary; but the way in which they vary unrecognisably from village to village brings up yet again some of the vast problems of Greek linguistics.

GARETH MORGAN.

ΠΑΓΚΑΡΤΕΙΑ. *Mélanges Henri Grégoire. Vol. III* (*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves, XI.*) Pp. 607. Brussels: Secrétariat des Editions de l'Institut, 1951. B. Fr. 600.

For the two previous volumes of this comprehensive *Mélanges*, see *JHS* LXX, 101; LXXIII, 191. The third volume begins with a supplement to the Bibliography of H. G. given in the second. The articles are as follows:

Abel discusses the place of the Alexander-legend in Islamic religious tradition. Anastasijević and Ostrogorsky emend a

text from the Lavra of Mt. Athos, datable to 1184, and show how it illustrates the development of the Pronoia-system in the later twelfth century (it is a pity that their convincing emendation contains two typographical errors, p. 27). Backvis writes on the sixteenth-century Polish drama *Odprawa posłów greckich* ('Return of the Greek Ambassadors') of John Kochanowski. Bonenfant summarises the formal elements in Carolingian imperial documents which are manifestly borrowed from Byzantine practise. Boutemy contributes a revised chronology of the poems of Foulco de Beauvais. Caben extracts references to historical relations between Seljuks, Byzantines, and Franks in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from the anonymous *Seljuknâme*. Delatte attempts a brief classification of the Astrological Manuscripts on Mt. Athos, and ends with remarks on how much cataloguing still remains to be done there. Dupont-Sommer defends his reading of the Aramaic inscription on the 'lamelle Virolleaud'. Grumel extracts an authentic and hitherto unnoted fable of Aesop from a letter of Photius. Herescu studies the musical structure of Latin verses, with special reference to the conscious or unconscious arrangement of vowels. Hombert and Préaux publish a document of the second or third century A.D. from Egypt, now in Oxford, which contains a paraphrase of a passage from the Fourth Book of the *Iliad*. Janssens discusses the meaning of the Syriac word *Haymonutho*, as used by Syrian logicians. Kyriakides restores and scans a Byzantine demotic bridal-song from the *De Cerimoniis*. Lallemand identifies and dates six Prefects of Egypt between A.D. 303 and 312, the period of the Diocletian persecution. Lambrechts discusses the religious beliefs native to the Celts of Gaul and elsewhere, as they are illustrated in religious monuments. Lascaris defends the authenticity of the famous inscription which purports to define the Bulgaro-Byzantine frontier in 904. Leroy maintains the indo-european origin of the noun-suffix *-eus* (see now *JHS* LXXIII, 97). Maricq discusses the chronological data for the association of Mani with Shahpur I. Mathieu finds that the passage dealing with the First Crusade in Book III of the *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* is an interpolation of 1098, the rest of the poem having been composed 'quelques années plus tôt'. Moreau suspects that the *objectus pectorum* recorded by Tacitus (*Germ.* 8, 1), of German women in battles is a euphemism for a more potent, if more obscene, gesture, that of *ἀναστροφή*. Pertusi discusses Byzantine versions of the *De Consolatione* of Boethius. Richard discusses the original Latin version of the letter *Confidimus quidem* of Pope Damasus. Scheidweiler makes a thorough examination of the date of Theocritus' Eighth Idyll, and relates his conclusions to the circumstances and chronology of the poet's career. Scherrer contributes a recollection by the Czech poet Neruda of his acquaintance with Louis Léger. Sigalas describes and illustrates methods to be followed in attempting to restore the original text of Byzantine popular romances. Vergote discusses the etymology of the word 'Paper'. Weinreich examines the origin and development of the fable of the Treasure and the Noose, summarised in two epigrams of the Anthology. Wenger describes the legal significance of an action heard by the Emperor Caracalla in Syria in the year 216, according to a recently published inscription. Wittek describes the quarter of Constantinople known as Ayyansaray, the traditional burying-place of Abu Ayyub Ansari, who lost his life in the expedition of Muawiya against Byzantium in 668.

R. J. H. JENKINS.

Dumbarton Oaks Papers. Number Seven. Pp. 141. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1953. 60s.

This number of *D.O.P.* is shorter than most of its predecessors, but the value of the contributions is by no means diminished. Of the four articles the first three concern ikonoklasm, and are annotated versions of lectures delivered at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on that theme in April 1951.

Gerhart B. Ladner contributes a learned and subtle analysis of the steps by which the eighth-century ikonodule concept of images developed from a fusion of Scriptural witness and pagan philosophical ideas. It is impossible to summarise the content in a paragraph. Specialists will find especially illuminating the pages (16–18) which distinguish the notions of imitation *κατὰ εἶδος* and *κατὰ θέσιν*, and those (20–2) which differentiate the concept of imperial images from that of divine images. This is a fundamental study, which all who approach the problem of ikonoklasm will have to take into account.

Paul J. Alexander, in an acute and masterly article, refutes the prevailing opinion that the Second Period of Ikonoklasm (815–43) was a 'senile' and 'impotent' reflection of the great movement of Leo III and Constantine V. On the contrary, he maintains, the Council of St. Sophia (815) showed real

originality in its consideration of the proper nature of an image, that is to say, in its adoption and development of the Origenist position that 'the only true image of Christ and of the saints is Man endowed with the Christian virtues'.

Francis Dvornik adds a mainly historical corroboration of Alexander's thesis: he shows very clearly that even in 843 ikonoklasm, so far from being moribund, was still in full vigour. This fact explains why Theodora and her advisers had to proceed with extreme caution in their restoration of Orthodoxy, and why Photius later made such efforts to have the Second Council of Nicaea (787) accepted as the Seventh Oecumenical Council. Even at the end of the century Arethas was maintaining that anti-ikonoklast instruction was still indispensable for the weaker brethren.

Deno John Geanakoplos, in a very interesting and well-documented article, examines, first, the relationships and ambitions of the members of the 'unnatürliche Bundesbrüderschaft' on the losing side at the Battle of Pelagonia (1259): Michael II of Epirus, Manfred of Sicily, and William of Achaia; and second, the circumstances preceding and accompanying the battle itself. There are two appendices, one on the site of the battle, and the other on the identity of the Latin lord 'Asel' (Ansel), who, says Acropolita, was captured in the battle.

R. J. H. JENKINS.

The Chronographia of Michael Psellus, translated from the Greek by E. R. A. SEWTER. With an introduction by PROFESSOR J. M. HUSSEY. Pp. viii + 320. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953. 30s.

The *Chronographia* of Psellus is a most important document: not only because it is a contemporary source for the century 976-1077, but also because of the author's humanistic approach to history, which has inspired perhaps the most brilliant series of character-sketches surviving from the Middle Ages. It is also uncommonly hard to translate: as will be seen from the criticisms of Emile Renaud's French version contributed by H. Grégoire to *Byzantion* 2 (1925), 550-67; 4 (1927-8), 716-28.

Mr. Sewter's approach to his author is literary rather than scholarly; indeed, it would scarcely be unfair to describe his version as a paraphrase rather than a translation. There is, to be sure, more excuse for applying this technique of free rendering to Psellus than to most authors, since there is an unusually sharp contrast between the value of his testimony and the anfractuosity of his style. Whether a translation could be made which should be at once literal and readable is a question. But Mr. Sewter has not made the attempt; for, while his version is readable and, in general sense, not wildly inaccurate, he has certainly not come to grips with his text. None the less he has rendered a service to the English reader by introducing to him a very important, fascinating, and original piece of writing.

Professor Hussey's six pages of introduction are valuable; but the Bibliographical Note (pp. 291-2), short as it is, has one surprising omission: there is no mention of J. B. Bury, *Roman Emperors from Basil II to Isaac Komnenos* in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 4 (1889), 41-64, 251-85, reprinted in *Selected Essays of J. B. B.*, ed. Temperley (Cambridge, 1931), 126-214.

R. J. H. JENKINS.

La légende de S. Spyridon, évêque de Trimithonte. By P. VAN DEN VEN. Pp. clviii + 200, with 4 plates. Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, 1953. Price not stated.

St. Spyridon, now patron saint of Corfu, lived and died in Cyprus in the first half of the fourth century, rising from humble origins to the bishopric of Tremithus. His remains were moved from Cyprus to Constantinople in the seventh century, and transferred to Corfu (via Paramythia) soon after 1453.

In his introduction Professor van den Ven analyses the sources (historical and hagiographical) for the life of Spyridon. Of the church historians Rufinus provides the basic material for the accounts given by Socrates and Sozomen. The printing of parallel texts of the relevant passages helps to distinguish fact from fiction. The question of Spyridon's presence at the Council of Nicaea (on which Sozomen is silent) is examined, and also that of his Confession of Faith under Galerius, direct evidence for which is not found in Greek sources before the fourteenth century (Nicephorus Callistus).

The greater part of the book concerns the four earliest hagiographies of Spyridon, only one of which (that composed by Theodore of Paphos in 655), has hitherto been published (Sp. Papageorgiou, Athens, 1901, from one MS. only). It is here re-edited from the twelve known MSS. Theodore's 'Life' and the first of those here published (an anonymous Life of Spyridon from the Codex Laurentianus) derive from a

common source now lost—an iambic poem wrongly ascribed to Triphyllus of Ledrae, a disciple of the saint. But there are important differences in technique. The anonymous biographer is content to appeal to 'the humbler reader' by reducing the poetry of the pseudo-Triphyllus to prosaic terms and the life of Spyridon to a succession of miracles. Theodore, on the other hand, while acknowledging his debt to the poet, scrupulously collates and examines all sources (written and oral) for his 'Life'. This he sifts and records 'avec un zèle louable et une précision qu'on découvre rarement chez les hagiographes'; and his work is thus of special interest for the evidence it provides of the methods of research employed by himself as well as by less conscientious hagiographers.

The two other Lives published here date from the eleventh century. Both are based on Theodore of Paphos, the one (Anon. Metaphrastes) being unacknowledged plagiarism with stylistic elaborations, the other (the 'Abridged Life') being simply an Epitome.

The Life of Spyridon by Symeon Metaphrastes (originally published in 1566 and again by Migne) is not here reprinted, but its significance is discussed for the development of the 'legend' of Spyridon in the numerous later hagiographies (cf. van den Ven in *Byzantion* 22 (1952), 229-35). There is an interesting Appendix on the Growth of the Cult of the Saint—from the seventh century (as witnessed by Theodore) to the present day, when in Greece alone seventy-eight churches bear his name, and his feast-day is celebrated from Venice to Aleppo.

Professor van den Ven has made a unique contribution to our knowledge of St. Spyridon, and a valuable addition to the study of hagiography in general.

D. NICOL.

Theodoros Metochites. Die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14. Jahrh. By H. G. BECK. Pp. vi + 149. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1952. DM. 15.

It might seem premature to undertake a monograph on Theodore Metochites while so many of his writings remain unpublished. But the theme of this book is a work so encyclopaedic that it can hardly fail to enlarge our knowledge of its author. The 'Miscellanea philosophica et historica' of Metochites (described by Beck as 'ein Werk weltanschaulicher Besinnung auf die Grundlagen und Grundgesetze des Daseins') cover so wide a field that they provide ample material for assessing the 'intellectual atmosphere' of fourteenth-century Byzantium.

Beck begins with a biographical sketch of the Grand Logothete of Andronicus II, with a brief survey of his works. (Cf. (more fully) H. Hunger (*BZ* 45 (1952), 4-19, who also reviews this book at length in *BZ* 46 (1953), 123-7). Beck, however, is concerned less with the life of Metochites than with the workings of his mind. The core of his philosophy as expressed in the *Miscellanea* was a fatalism strangely at variance with the 'official' Byzantine ideal. His historical researches and the vicissitudes of his own career led him to doubt the theory of divine supervision which had inspired the Empires of Constantine and Augustus, and to share with his beloved Plutarch a belief in the omnipotence of fortune. 'All the world's a stage' was his favourite metaphor: and on the *παιδαγωγὸς θεοῦ* the *πύλος αἰῶνος* of life was played out under the direction of *τύχη*, the force behind the scenes.

This philosophy leaves no room for the Christian's trust in the fatherhood of God. The problem Beck sets is whether such questionings of the accepted ideal represent a new and isolated phenomenon, or whether similar trends of 'heresy' can be traced in other Byzantine sources. That certain philosophers should have betrayed a lack of faith in the ideals of Byzantium in its declining years is not surprising. The 'Kaiseridee' might well seem unconvincing when the Empire was gathered round the skirts of the capital. Thus far Metochites may justly be interpreted as the first exponent of a changing outlook.

It is harder to follow Beck's arguments from Metochites into the past as well as into the future; and the last chapter of his book ('der byzantinische Zwiespalt') gives much ground for controversy. He discusses some of the historical instances of opposition to the Emperor and to Chalcedonic Orthodoxy, and considers them as symptoms of a 'schizophrenia' in the collective mind of Byzantium. He concludes that there were continual undercurrents of antipathy to the Byzantine ideals of Church and State, and that Metochites stands as the first successful representative of an intellectual crisis which had long been brewing.

Much of this book is (as its author admits) of a hypothetical nature. But acceptance of the hypotheses would seem to require a very narrow interpretation of the term 'Byzantine'. If Metochites, Cydones, Manuel II, and Plethon (not to men-

tion many of their ancestors) are to be dubbed 'reactionaries', one is left with the question—when is a Byzantine not a Byzantine?

D. NICOL.

Castles of the Morea (Gennadeion Monographs IV).

By K. ANDREWS. Pp. xvii + 274, with 40 plates and 231 text figures. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1953. Price not stated.

If Mr. Andrews' book is a disappointment, the fault lies neither in the importance and interest of the matter, nor in the writer's industry and learning, but in the title, which leads the reader to expect more than he is given, and has induced the author to attempt rather more than his subject demanded. This is not, as one had hoped, a full account, historical and architectural, of the medieval and later fortresses (fortified towns like Nauplia, Corone, or Methone should not be called 'castles') of the Peloponnese, though when that account is written it will owe much to Mr. Andrews.

The true purpose of this work is the publication of a folio of plans of medieval fortresses discovered in Venice in 1938 by the Director of the Gennadius Library in Athens. These plans cover 'two fortresses in Crete and Euboea, three in Albania and Montenegro, and seventeen in the Peloponnese, with ten large bays around its coast' (p. 8). They were drawn up during the Venetian occupation of the Morea from 1685 to 1715, the majority of them for Francesco Grimani, from 1699 to 1701, *Proveditore Generale Dell' Armia in Morea*, and from 1706 to early in 1708, Governor. They are by the hands of various engineers in the Venetian service, and show the state of those fortresses (mainly on the coast) in which Venice was chiefly interested, together with proposed alterations and additions to the defences, not all of which were in fact carried out.

Inland castles built by the Frankish barons, such as Karytaina and Kalavryta, are not represented in the collection, nor mentioned by Mr. Andrews except in passing.

Had he confined himself to the full publication of these plans, with an account of the existing remains of the various fortresses and historical notes confined mainly to the period 1685–1715, Mr. Andrews would have been performing a service of great value: this service he still performs, but its value is lessened by the dilution of the really useful part of the book with much matter of less worth. The book opens with a hurried and not wholly accurate sketch of the history of the Peloponnese from the Roman conquest to A.D. 1715 (Introduction, pp. 1–8), which is altogether too slight to help the general reader, but may affront the specialist. This is followed by a useful introduction to the plans themselves (pp. 9–10), and we then pass to accounts of the various fortresses concerned. Here is the main and valuable part of the work, but Mr. Andrews has not been happy in the arrangement of his material. Recognising that his concern is mainly with the wars of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, he deals with his fortresses in the order in which they were taken or attacked by the Venetians during those wars: thus he begins with Corone (taken on August 11th, 1685), but the neighbouring Methone is left till after Kalamata, the fortresses of Mani, and the two Navarinos, because it remained in Turkish hands till 1686. Later Mr. Andrews' scheme forces him to insert Chalkis in Euboea between Mistra and Monemvasia. By adopting a more strictly geographical order he might have made the strategic relation between his fortresses clearer.

Each fortress is given a chapter to itself, beginning with an account of the part played in resisting the Venetian re-conquest, continuing with a rapid sketch of its earlier history, and concluding with a description of its works, as planned by the Venetians, as noted by later observers, and as they exist to-day. The historical sections are unsatisfactory: what might have been a clear and readable, though brief, account of Morosini's great counter-offensive is broken up into short unconnected passages, and the earlier histories repeat each other and the Introduction with minor variations and inconsistencies. By contrast, the descriptions are full, accurate (as far as the present reviewer can check them from memory), and admirably illustrated by numerous photographs and sketches. (Modern plans of the Castle of the Morea at Rhion and of the Palamedii at Nauplia should have been given: the Venetian ones were drawn before the building of the existing works.)

A Conclusion (pp. 219–36) discusses developments in masonry and architecture: here some account of the principles of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century siege warfare, with reference to Turkish methods, as used against Candia or Vienna, on the one hand, and those of Western Europe, as exemplified by the systems of Vauban and Coehorn, on the other, would have helped the reader to understand the problems faced by the Venetian engineers, why they were dissatisfied

with the fortresses as they found them, and the reasons for their improvements, proposed and actual. In this connexion, a description (illustrated where possible) of the artillery of the period would have been useful: is not Mr. Andrews mistaken in translating *Petriere* (p. 247, plan XXIII S) as 'stone-throwing catapults'? surely large stone-throwing mortars, the descendants of the medieval perrier or bombard; splendid examples of this period are still preserved at Corfu outside the citadel and, I think, outside Nauplia museum. 'Stone-hurling engines' (*ibid.* L) avoids the inaccuracy, but is too vague.

The book ends with four appendices: A and B describe anchorages on the coast of the Argolid; C is a most interesting descriptive catalogue of the Venetian plans. D, a 'Chronology of the Morea and Related Events in the Levant' merely lists, with dates, a number of events which have already been mentioned, several times, in the Introduction and text. It might have been replaced by a glossary of technical terms used in fortification. In passing, is Tholos (p. 18, etc.) a word that Uncle Toby might have used at the late notable siege of Namur?

The clarity of the print and the choice and nature of the illustrations (especially the admirable air photographs) are excellent. Fig. 173 (p. 154) is upside-down; otherwise I noted only a few minor misprints.

J. K. ANDERSON.

Voyages and Travels in Greece, the Near East and Adjacent Regions Made Previous to the Year 1801 (Catalogues of the Gennadius Library, II).

By S. H. WEBER. Pp. vii + 208. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1953. Price not stated.

The Librarian of the Gennadeion has produced with commendable promptness a second instalment of his *Catalogue*, covering the period down to the end of the eighteenth century. He excludes from it the maps, charts, pamphlets, and dissertations on geography and cartography, which are reserved for a third volume; but the two now published (the earlier of which was reviewed in these pages recently (Vol. LXXIV), complete the Section of Voyages and Travels in the Near East, in which the Library is so strikingly rich.

The arrangement follows that of the earlier volume, with minor differences due to the more varied nature of the material catalogued here. As before we are given brief but most helpful explanatory notes, which reveal incidentally a wide knowledge of bibliography in this sometimes obscure field, and there are two admirable Indexes. The works are classified as follows: IA, Introductory Treatises, arranged alphabetically by Author (Nos. 1–32). IB, Collections of Voyages, arranged chronologically (Nos. 33–59). II, Travellers in the Near East and adjacent regions, arranged chronologically by the date of the journey, where known (Nos. 60–649). III, Books Topographical and Descriptive (which show little or no evidence of the author having visited the places in person, Nos. 650–794). IV, Books largely or entirely pictorial (Nos. 795–835). V, Proskynetaria (Guide-books for the use of pilgrims to Palestine or famous churches elsewhere, especially of the Greek Orthodox Faith, Nos. 836–60).

No doubt Section II will be found to contain the great majority of works of special interest for the student of Topography and Travel, but it is to be noted that though this comprises nearly 70 per cent of the items in the *Catalogue*, approximately two-fifths of these 590 entries represent re-editions or translations.

It would be misleading to try to draw any very definite conclusions from a statistical study of the works in this section, for Gennadius himself did not try to acquire every edition of every work, and seldom appears to have sought for really scarce early editions. Thus, his six editions of the *Travels* of Sir John Maundeville include nothing earlier than an Italian version (abbreviated?) of 1567; the three English editions (dated 1727, 1883, 1887) are accompanied by one in German (1692) and one in Dutch (1779). Actually, his *Travels* had been printed in Latin, Italian, and French before 1490 and in German in 1501 (or earlier?). Other famous early travel-books for which we look in vain here include the *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* of Breydenbach, the *Itinerario* of Ludovico de Varthema, and any early edition of Marco Polo. Even Col. Yule's edition is not here, and the famous Venetian only appears in two collections of early travels (Nos. 38 and 41). It would appear that the writings of sixteenth-century travellers made a particular appeal to the creator of this Library, for we find no less than sixteen entries for Busbecq, commencing with the first edition (Plantin, Antwerp, 1581), and ten others are dated earlier than 1800. Among his contemporaries, Pierre Belon, Explorer and Naturalist, is represented here by nine entries dating 1553–89, and there are eight for Nicolas Nicolay,

'Daulphinoyz Seigneur d'Arfeville, valet de chambre et geographe ordinaire du Roy de France', whose works were quickly translated into German, Dutch, and Italian, and shortly afterwards into English (1585).

Among the works of well-known travellers of the seventeenth century, for George Sandys, 'the first English Classical Tourist', (first edn., 1615) we find only the fourth and seventh editions (1637, 1673), with versions in Dutch (1665) and German (1669). For Tavernier, whose long series of journeys began in 1630, we find twelve entries here (1675 ff.) and eleven for Rycart's *Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1668 ff.). It is strange that William Lithgow's *Painful Peregrinations* is only represented by a humble twelfth edition (Leith, 1814), though even the first edition was probably not a very expensive book at the time when the Gennadeion Library was being formed. Of Maundrell's *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (first edn. Oxford, 1699) there is no edition here in English printed before 1800, though there are translations into Dutch (1705) and both French and German (1706).

Coming to the eighteenth century, we find that the entries in this Section amount to only about four-fifths of those for the seventeenth, owing partly to the less frequent reprinting of works of this period. In fact, it is unusual to find here more than three (but occasionally four or five) editions or translations of any eighteenth-century work. It is not surprising that Richard Pococke's learned *Description of the East*, relating his travels in the years 1736-40, should be found here in French, Dutch, and German versions also; or that Baron de Tott's *Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares* should appear in two different English versions (both 1785), as well as in French (Amsterdam, 1785) and German (Vienna, 1788). The popularity of the latter work serves to remind us that the unflagging interest of Western readers in the Turks, their capital, government, and customs, showed no signs of diminishing even after three hundred years.

Before leaving the appetising contents of this second Section, it may be of interest to consider briefly the different types of travellers represented in it. The three main groups into which they may be classed comprise: (1) the scholarly travellers, whose interests were not always limited to classic lands, but often embraced Egypt and Palestine; and who sometimes, like Belon and Tournefort, were learned in natural history or botany. (2) Heads, or members, of Diplomatic Missions, mostly to the Ottoman Court. To this class belong the writings of Busbecq, Tavernier, and Rycart, already mentioned. The last-named describes himself as 'Secretary to H.E. the Earl of Winchelsea, Ambassador Extraordinary for His Majesty Charles the Second to the Emperour of the Turks'. Besides these we may note the *Relation des Voyages de Monsieur de Breves* (French Ambassador to the Porte, ca. 1583-1605) and the account of the embassy of his successor the Baron de Salignac (1605-10) published finally in 1888-89.

Almost contemporary with Rycart are the *Mémoires* of Sieur de la Croix, who accompanied the French Ambassador Nointel to Constantinople in 1670. Two works of this class which are presumably rare are the *Memoirs of a Swedish Envoy to the Porte* in 1658 (Stockholm, 1679) and those of Count Walter Leslie (or Lesslie) Ambassador Extraordinary for the Emperor Leopold I, who travelled overland through the Balkans (1664-65).

(3) A more miscellaneous group comprises accounts of pilgrimages and journeys to Jerusalem, starting in the fourth century with the Pilgrimage of Aetheria, and including such famous or interesting names as Benjamin of Tudela, Guillaume de Rubrouck (ca. 1250), Bertrandon de la Brocquière (1432), and William Wey, Fellow of Eton College, who visited Jerusalem in 1458 and 1462. Later, we find that this journey was often combined with more extensive wanderings which need not be described here in detail.

Attention may also be drawn to a further group of works, of which the number is rather surprising, namely those which owe their origin to the captivity of their authors. (There are more than twenty entries in Index II under 'Captives'.) These consist of narratives of captivity at the hands of Barbary pirates or Turks, or of travels and observations made in captivity, or of the accounts of various missions which secured the liberation of these victims. The earliest of these records (catalogued in Section III, No. 667) is entitled *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis*, by Bartholomaeus Georgievich, a Hungarian pilgrim to Jerusalem, 'qui tredecim annos apud eosdem servitutem serviendo, omnia experientia didicit' (Antwerp, 1544). This short work was expanded later to form a volume of 184 pages (No. 669, Lyon, 1553, and often reprinted, *ibid.*); and part of it, translated into Italian, was incorporated into Giovanantonio Menavino's *I cinque libri della lege, religione, et vita de' Turchi* (Venice, 1548). The experiences of a German captive, Wolfgang Müntzer, who spent three years in bondage in

Turkey (ca. 1560) are recorded in a small volume printed at Nuremberg in 1624, from which city came also a later victim, Johann Wilden, the title-page of whose work in a full transcription occupies twenty lines of the *Catalogue* (No. 239). He tells us that he was seven times 'verkauft' between the years 1604-11, witnessed the pilgrimage to Mecca, visited Abyssinia, Mt. Sinai, Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus, Cyprus, Rhodes, and Constantinople before reaching home via Poland. Like Georgievich earlier, he took advantage of his plight to record much interesting and varied information. We find, too, that several Britons had similar experiences, beginning with Edward Webbe, Master Gunner, whose narrative, first published in 1590, is only represented here in the reprint, edited by E. Arber, 1902 (No. 192a), and ending with Thomas Pellwe, who claimed that his captivity, suffered at the age of eleven (!) lasted from 1715 to 1738 (No. 475). Among *rariora* in this group of works we must note the story of two Quaker women, imprisoned for nearly four years by the Inquisition at Malta (1659-63), to which there should be a reference in the Index under 'Inquisition', where the only work cited is that of Lithgow, whose sufferings at its hands in Spain are graphically related in his narrative (No. 242).

We need not draw particular attention to the contents of Sections III and IV, where most of the standard works of these classes are to be found, along with some uncommon items such as three different editions of the fifteenth-century *Tractatus de Ritu et Moribus Turcorum* (Hain, 15673, -74, -77) and two Venetian Portolani (of 1520 and 1530?). On the other hand, the Proskynetaria (Section V, Nos. 836-60) would seem to reflect a special interest of the founder of the Library. Apart from a few reprints of scarce early works of this type, these are mostly of nineteenth-century date, and the most curious is a guide to Mt. Athos written in Turkish, but printed in Greek characters (Venice, 1806; No. 849), which is accompanied by a similar guide to the Monastery Tis Theotokou at Kykkou in Cyprus (*ibid.* 1817; No. 847).

There are not many works in the *Catalogue* which represent Gennadius' interest in 'Association-Copies', but a few are worthy of notice. No. 254, the *Voyage du Levant*... par Louis Deshayes, Baron de Courmenin, is the presentation copy, suitably bound, for Louis XIII and Anne of Austria (1624). No. 270, Tavernier's *Nouvelle Relation de l'intérieur du Serrail du Grand Seigneur* (1675) has an armorial binding of later date for a daughter of Louis XV, and No. 369 is the presentation copy to Louis XIV of Grélot's *Relation nouvelle d'un Voyage de Constantinople* (1680); and finally, on the title-page of a copy of Chardin's *Journal du Voyage en Perse* is the author's autograph dedication 'Pour Monsieur le Chev. Christoffe Wreen'.

No more need be said to illustrate the various interests to which this splendid collection may appeal; and it only remains to pay a warm tribute to the diligence and scholarship of the editor, and to commend the accuracy of the printing throughout. A few trifling slips call for notice: in Index I, s.v. SUCHEM, for '43' read '45'; in No. 123, l. 5, 'dispositiones' should be ablative singular (or is this an error in the original?); in No. 146, read 'in' (for 'is') 'a collection': in No. 640 the spelling of 'Mitylene' should be made consistent with the other eight instances, where it appears as 'Mytilene'.

A. M. WOODWARD.

Λεσβιακά: Δελτίον τῆς ἑταιρείας λεσβιακῶν μελετῶν. Τόμος Α', τεύχος Α'. Π. Νικήτας, Τὸ Λεσβιακὸ Μηνολόγιον. Pp. 282, with map. Mytilene: 1953. Price not stated.

This substantial book forms the first part of the first volume of *Lesbiaka*, a periodical to be issued in Mytilene by the Society for Lesbian Studies; and makes a very good start for a fresh local periodical of which there are so many in Greece, and all doing much good work. The author has collected in his native island popular lore of every kind: local customs, doings at church festivals, local stories of saints and their miracles, songs and ballads, some with their music, anecdotes of common life, sayings and maxims of all sorts, weather lore, indeed everything which can be called folklore. The book is a repository which will be invaluable and indispensable to anyone writing of modern Greek local customs and lore, all set down plainly and without any embroidery or conjecture. I say 'set down plainly', but the material is all recorded in the not very easy local dialect. This adds in a way much to its value, and the author has helped his readers over many of the harder words; and anyone who in reading can use his ears as well as his eyes ought not to find the book really difficult, provided of course he has a competent knowledge of the spoken language.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first the material is classified by the months, in the second more items are set

down, arranged according to villages. As the author puts it: *μυθῶναι τὰ χωρία τοῦ νησιοῦ μας*. 'The villages of our island speak.'

Here is one of the anecdotes given us by Mr. Nikitas. It is of St. Kassianos: 'Kassianos the Roman, the saint upon whom was a curse'.

St. Kassianos was making a complaint to God: Why is it that men give such glory and make so many festivals in honour of St. Nicholas, both here in the world and in heaven above, and of Kassianos, who saved so many men from wild beasts, no one ever thinks, either to salute his icon or to make him a festival. At that very moment lo, St. Nicholas appeared, drenched to the bone and his hair all dishevelled. Panting with exhaustion, he fell at the feet of God and began to tell Him over how many seas how many ships he had saved, and their crews as well. God could stand this no more and He turned and said to Kassianos: 'What do you want? What are you after? Let Me tell you, friend, once and for all, that the people who celebrate these festivals know very well what they are doing. Take a look at St. Nicholas. He has no rest, day or night, year in year out, in the midst of the storm, striving to save people, his very breeches soaked all the time; dry never. But you who did once save some men from wild beasts, now sit here in Paradise and do nothing whatever. How can you have the face to be always making complaints?'

Kassianos was so much ashamed that he fell silent. Then God laid a curse on him that he should not have a feast every year, but should appear once only in four years, in those years when February has twenty-nine days.

But the Greek book of the Lives of Saints, the *Synaxaristis*, tells us that Kassianos, a Roman soldier who became a pious wandering monk, does have a feast every year; February the 29th in Leap Years and in other years on the 28th.

To review such a book in any detail is here impossible, but attention may be drawn to a few of the more interesting items, and this will give an idea of what the book contains. It leads off with the well-known tale of the Old Woman and the Twelve Months, for which the reader may see my *Modern Greek Folktales*, No. 76. Then among much else we have on p. 73 a long ballad on the Passion of Christ; p. 77, a Song of the Virgin; p. 89, ballads of St. George; p. 132, a story of the finding of the True Cross; p. 152, stories of St. Nicholas; p. 273, a collection of ballads; and all through I am noting only the more important entries. Such a book ought to have an index; as it is, each reader will have to make his own and will find it well worth the trouble. I do not think that from any other island or district of Greece have we such a full account of local lore.

R. M. DAWKINS.

Introduction to Old Testament Times. By C. H. GORDON. Pp. vii + 312, with maps on endpapers. Ventnor, N.J.: Ventnor Publishers, 1953. \$4.75.

Surprising though it may seem, there are very few modern books dealing with this subject, which is clearly of great interest to all those who read the Bible. As an experienced teacher of cuneiform and hieroglyphs, Dr. Gordon has always realised how important it was for his students to relate the frequently irksome labour on dead languages to something vital and alive in the modern world. Accordingly, he built his curriculum around the Bible, and this book, now published in the United States, is a revision of his lectures.

Beginning with a simple summary of main events, expressed in terms which may fall strangely on English ears, the author points his narrative with useful footnotes and linguistic explanations. The inclusion of much new knowledge derived from the tablets found at Ugarit in recent years, and the full text of the bilingual inscriptions at Karatepe, are important and valuable additions to a book for which readers of every description will be grateful, while some of Dr. Gordon's comments may suggest new fields of research to the more mature student.

Readers of the *JHS* will find special interest in a very short chapter on Homer and the Ancient East, where the author compares the clichés and similes which are found in Homeric and Ugaritic texts, and stresses the bonds which must exist between them.

Dr. Gordon has chosen to present his case without any of the customary visual aids in the way of illustrations, but he has wisely provided maps as endpapers. Though they gain in clarity through the omission of physical configuration, they do not show how the land-features have affected the course of history. He could have helped the general reader more, if he had adopted a less positive attitude to the synchronisation of Bible history with events and people in neighbouring lands;

for he does not suggest that problems and inconsistencies beset all proposed interpretations of the evidence. He does, however, emphasise his own attitude in a revealing footnote, where he states that 'the discoveries of archeology tend to justify the literal meaning of the text as against scholarly and traditional interpretation . . . not only for the Bible but for ancient texts in general'—a conclusion which is becoming more evident year by year.

For those who are outside the university and the teaching world, the addition of a short bibliography would have proved useful.

OLGA TUFNELL.

Grosser Historischer Weltatlas. I, Vorgeschichte und Altertum. By H. BENGTSON and V. MILOJEVIĆ. Text and Maps. Pp. 62; 44 maps. Munich: Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag, 1953. Text DM. 4.80. Maps DM. 6.50.

This part of the World-Atlas is a veritable fund of information and a masterpiece of compression. The maps in the first volume range from *Erdgeschichte* and Prehistory down to the Lombard Kingdom ca. A.D. 600 and portray the distributions of cultures, dialects, races, myths, colonies, empires, roads, imports, and exports. The range in time and in subject is most impressive and, as a whole, this part of the World-Atlas deserves the highest praise. The salient defects are the overcrowding of names and the use of closely allied colours on some of the maps (for instance, on p. 12 'the great Greek colonisation' in which Megarian and 'other Dorian colonies' can hardly be distinguished). It might have been easier to have printed fewer maps and made them larger (e.g., the map of 'Attic Imperialism' 461-431 B.C. is cramped, but the larger map of Greece on pp. 18-19 is good, although it strangely omits the road from Cytinium to Chaeronea). In general, however, the merits of the maps far outweigh their defects. One most attractive feature is a map of Imperial Rome on transparent paper which overlies a map of modern Rome. There are also several good insets which reproduce ancient maps of the world at the different stages of man's knowledge.

The explanatory text in a separate volume makes solid reading. It begins with *Beiträge* by Schröder, Königswald, and Milojević which deal with the main geological, anthropological, and chronological divisions of time. Next follows a chapter by Milojević (col. 11-56) on *Vor- und Frühgeschichte* which is continuous and universal until the Early Iron Age and then passes to the nomadic peoples of later times in North Europe and Asia Minor down to the second century A.D. The chapter is equipped with footnotes in which select bibliographical references are given, and the text is made easier for the reader by the use of heavy type when a particular culture is mentioned. In his world-wide survey of prehistoric cultures Milojević shows remarkable powers of organisation and of specialised knowledge.

In so far as Aegean prehistory is concerned, some difficulties arise from the chronological divisions which are applied to the overall picture. For example, the lower dating for the Early Bronze Age 1800-1500 B.C. is given to the section which contains a description of Middle Helladic culture, itself dated 1950-1600 B.C. When Milojević moves from the description of cultures to that of folk-movements, he is on more controversial ground. He holds that the Greek mainland was overrun by two Trojan-Anatolian waves of migrants, one in the late Neolithic Age and one in the early Bronze Age (the former spreading up into Central Europe through Serbia); that the first Greek-speaking peoples came from Central Europe in the Middle Helladic period; and that at the close of the Bronze Age Greece was overrun by peoples from the central Balkans and later by the Dorians. There is perhaps a danger of over-simplifying the folk-movements, for they probably followed a less precise pattern than the spread of cultures.

The rest of the explanatory text (col. 57-124) covers the whole range of 'Antiquity' from the Empire of Hammurabi ca. 1728 B.C. to the Lombards ca. A.D. 600. It is clear, informative, and closely related to the maps, and Dr. Bengtson deserves praise for the high quality of this survey. It is interesting to note that he adheres to the earlier chronology for the beginning of the Ionian Migration before 1000 B.C., the founding of Kyme in 754 B.C., and the use of Greek script at least since the ninth century B.C.

N. G. L. HAMMOND.

From Pericles to Cleophon. A source book and reader in Athenian politics. By M. S. WARMAN, I. SUTHERLAND, and C. MACDONALD. Pp. xii + 260. London: Rivington, 1954. 10s. 6d.

This book should prove an extremely useful reader in sixth forms for the study of Athens in the Peloponnesian War. It consists of passages from Greek authors, arranged by subject

matter in chapters, with brief notes to help in the translation, comments on the authors and their value for the historian, and a short account of the aspect of Athenian life dealt with in the chapter. Aristophanes, Plato, and Thucydides are well represented, but the selection is widely made, including the Old Oligarch almost in full. Reasonably enough the book confines itself to literary evidence, save for an occasional reference. Chapters or pieces can be taken in whatever order a teacher may choose, without impairing the usefulness of the book, but a continuous reading would in fact provide a satisfactory background to the history of the period.

This is not a source book, but a reader. It will commend itself to all who, in teaching the history of Athens, prefer to let Athens, as far as possible, speak for herself.

G. L. CAWKWELL.

Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London. No. 1. Pp. 29. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1954. 5s.

This first *Bulletin* of the newly founded Institute comprised two parts. The first contained papers presented to or arising out of work done in the Institute's first Seminar, devoted to the new and important subject of Mycenaean Greek. Ventris's report on suggested standards of procedure in publishing Linear B documents was a good example of the value of international consultation; but surely users of English, which readily and clearly distinguishes *transcription* (copying out as originally written) and *transliteration* (writing out in another script), should never have been asked to substitute some other word for *transcription* so that this could be misused to oust the word *transliteration*? We cannot with impunity blunt our own tools. Otherwise, the standards proposed deserve wide circulation, and in the established journals too. The notes on various aspects of the Pylos tablets by Webster and Turner included some conclusions that may well prove lasting. Webster already discovered significant analogies between life at Pylos and the world of Homeric epic. But might not these notes have been presented in less arid form?

The second part gave a list of subjects of research in progress or brought to completion in Great Britain and Ireland in the year ending 31 May 1954. It should be noted that they did not include work not undertaken as a formal degree course, though it is hard to see how they could have done so. Anything more complete would be less up to date, and this first *Bulletin* was almost miraculous in that quality—achieved by short-circuiting printers and publishing by a lithographic process from MS. and typescript. Ventris's hand is always a model and a delight; even the typescript part exceeds expectation; but the foolscap format is unhandy in the world of books, whatever its merit in the counting-house.

Readers are left looking forward, to see what kind of fruit the new tree will produce next.

F. H. STUBBINGS.

Hesiod. Theogony. Translated with an introduction by N. O. BROWN. Pp. 87. New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1953. 50 cents.

Just as the *Works and Days* is more than a farmer's text-book, so the *Theogony* is more than what Herodotus (II, 53) was content to claim it as, an authoritative list of divine names, attributes, and functions. So Professor Brown's Introduction is largely concerned (following Solmsen's *Hesiod and Aeschylus*) with the place of the *Theogony* in Greek *Ideengeschichte*, and with its historical antecedents. He traces in detail the evolution of the Hesiodic Zeus in the *Theogony*, and the conflict between Hesiod's ethical preoccupations and the mythology of that evolution. We might explain this Hesiodic mixture of ethical animus and a step towards monotheism by reference either to the poet's own life and character, or to historical circumstance: Professor Brown chooses the latter course, and not only refers to the Homeric tradition, and to local Greek sources, but quotes largely from Babylonian cosmogony. He wisely refuses to say whether the agreements between the two accounts are coincidental or due to Oriental influence on Greek thought: speculation is easy and verification difficult. It is surprising, in view of this historical interest, that he makes no reference to Meyer's paper (*Kleine Schriften* II, 15 ff.), which showed how myth, history, and Hesiodic invention were conflated in the *Works and Days*.

Translation of the *Theogony* poses no great problems, and Professor Brown renders it accurately into *tertium illud genus dicendi*, which lies between the Authorised Version and E. V. Rieu. He follows the text of Rzach (Teubner, Leipzig, 1913), and conservatively regards the Typhoeus episode (lines 820-80) as the only major interpolation.

M. H. CHARLTON.

Alexandre le Grand (Que Sais-Je?). By P. CLOCHÉ. Pp. 127. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1954. Price not stated.

This is a simple, unambitious account of Alexander's career, addressed to those for whom he is no more than a great name. There are no footnotes or index, and the less important passages are printed in smaller type, presumably in accordance with the plan of the series to which the book belongs. But the campaigns are described in some detail and there is no map. This omission practically destroys any chance of the narrative being intelligible to the casual reader.

As for those already acquainted with the period it is enough to say that they will find here nothing of importance. The author discreetly rejects the more fanciful stories but does not reveal his opinion of the sources, which are nowhere discussed. The criticism of the main problems is very slight. In considering A.'s foundations C. fails to make the important distinction between cities and military colonies. No adequate motive is given for the demand for deification by the Greek cities. On A.'s relations with the Greeks of Asia Minor Bickermann's theory (*REG* XLVII, 346 ff.) is followed in spite of Tarn's convincing refutation (*Alexander the Great* II, p. 7). C. denies that these Greek cities were in alliance with A., and maintains that his attitude towards them was entirely arbitrary and that he drew no real distinction between Greek and non-Greek communities. Although it is true that they did not join the League of Corinth, this in no way suggests that A. wished to place them in a position inferior to that of the Greek cities in Europe, but only that he preferred to enter into alliances with them separately; his arrangements in Asia Minor are to be understood in the light of the progress of the war at the time.

Throughout the author's judgements appear to be inspired by a narrow interpretation of 'Hellenism', an approach not conducive to a sympathetic understanding of A.'s policies. Thus we are told that 'l'oeuvre d'A. était loin de s'accorder pleinement aux exigences et aux traditions de la plus haute civilisation du monde gréco-oriental', and at the very end there is the strange suggestion that a reason for the Greek rising against Macedonian power after A.'s death was dissatisfaction among 'les représentants les plus qualifiés de l'hellénisme' with the orientalising tendencies of the new empire.

It should be added that C. has recently published a longer work, *Alexandre le Grand et les essais de fusion entre l'Occident gréco-macédonien et l'Orient* (Neuchâtel, 1953), which I have not seen.

R. H. SIMPSON.

Gedanke und Gefühl. Prolegomena zu einer hellenischen Stilbetrachtung (Symbolae Osloenses, suppl. XIV). By G. RUDBERG. Pp. 36. Oslo: A. W. Brogger, 1953. Price not stated.

Professor Rudberg observes that in almost all types of Greek literature one can find in one and the same work deviations from an unemotional norm, not only to a heightened style, happy or pathetic, but also to a coarser one, which expresses hate, scorn, or irony. The most obvious marks of these styles are their vocabularies.

This pamphlet, which rapidly reviews a large number of authors, is said to be an earnest of a more elaborate work to come. Only detailed application of Professor Rudberg's observation will show whether it is a fruitful one. For the moment he utters the warning to *Quellenforscher* that these distinctions of style do not permit a distinction of source.

F. H. SANDBACH.

Classical Hand-list. By J. A. NAIRN. Edited by B. H. BLACKWELL LTD. 3rd edition, revised and enlarged. Pp. viii + 164. Oxford: Blackwell, 1953. 12s. 6d.

The revisers of this standard list, though disposing of fewer pages, by using a smaller type and double-column page, have not only found room for new titles but have picked up some of the omissions of the earlier editions (for instance, *Hermathena*, *Eranos* now figure among the thirty-one additional periodicals). The sections on archaeology and numismatics have been reorganised, and there is a cross-index of authors. Though the list is not yet exhaustive enough to serve them as advanced bibliography, happy the scholars privileged to work in a library containing all its titles!

E. G. TURNER.

Greek Comic Costume: Its History and Diffusion (Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 36, 2). By T. B. L. WEBSTER. Pp. 26, with 2 plates. Manchester: Rylands Library, 1954. 3s.

Professor Webster follows his recent papers on representation of comic costume and masks in ancient art with this study in

which the padded comic costume with phallos is traced from the seventh century to the fourth on vases and terracottas from most parts of the Greek world. He concludes that this costume is general for dances such as those from which drama and dithyramb had their origin. On a number of Corinthian vases a chorus of padded dancers is represented, sometimes with a clearly marked leader; 'the padded dancers probably were Arion's satyrs and sang Arion's dithyrambs'. The spots on the costume of some Corinthian padded dancers indicate hairy satyrs.

T. J. D.

Einführung in die alte Geschichte. 2nd edition. By H. BENTSON. Pp. viii + 197. Munich: Beck, 1953. DM. 11. Bentson's book has been thoroughly revised with additions, especially of a bibliographical nature, and addenda reaching to 1953. With these additions the book keeps its character as an up-to-date and reliable introduction to and broad general view of ancient history; see the review of the first edition by F. W. Walbank in *JHS* LXX (1950), 79.

Die Kunst der Griechen. By A. VON SALIS. 4th ed. Pp. 328, with 29 plates. Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1953. Price not stated.

This is a revised re-issue of a book first published in 1919 which keeps its highly personal character in its fresh form.

Greece and Rome. New Series, Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2.

This periodical begins a new series with a new publisher and cover design, but the same Editors and mixture of contents. No. 1 begins with a lively account by Paul MacKendrick of the excavations at Cosa: his remark that 'no respectable excavator would by choice be seen dead on a site without at least a light railway' may give many aspirants wrong ideas about Mediterranean excavation. K. Wellesley follows with 'Can You Trust Tacitus?', a discussion with paraphrase of the speech of Claudius as recorded on the bronze tablet found at Lyons (illustrated in one of the supplementary plates) and in the *Annals*. E. Watson-Williams discusses the meaning of the attribute *γλαυκῶπις* applied to Athene.

The second number contains Karl Reinhardt's important paper on 'Philosophy and History among the Greeks', Sir John Myres' account of the Battle of Lade in 494 B.C., one of the last articles from his pen, C. M. H. Millar and J. W. S. Carmichael on the 'Growth of Telemachus', F. J. Lelièvre on 'The Basis of Ancient Parody', and plates drawn from the illustrations of Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*.

It will be seen from this brief list of contents that *Greece and Rome* continues to provide readable and authoritative matter in many fields of classical study, and it remains to wish it well in its new dress.

T. J. D.

The Teaching of Classics. Issued by the INCORPORATED ASSOCIATION OF ASSISTANT MASTERS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS. Pp. xii + 244. Cambridge: University Press, 1954. 12s. 6d.

This book is full of information about the methods and content of teaching at various stages in schools, about examinations in the schools and about university entrance requirements, about visual aids, school plays, and classical societies, and about the pronunciation of Latin and Greek. The committee responsible was composed of teachers in twelve different schools, and they had the assistance of over thirty 'corresponding members' and experts. That so large and varied a team has produced a book which nevertheless reads as a unity is a high tribute to the Honorary Secretary, T. W. Melluish, whose epigrammatic phrasing can often be detected. It is much more than a first-rate handbook compiled from the best teaching practice of the time. It is written with a real faith in the Classics ('perhaps it may be said that they represent some episodes in man's history when he was at his best, when the individual counted for most, when in spite of limited resources he achieved most, when the material was most subjected to the spiritual') and a real awareness of the need of new methods to assist a perfectly genuine (and statistically demonstrable) revival of interest during this atomic age. Two suggestions seem to the reviewer particularly worth pursuing. The first is the suggestion for a cultural course of Greek which would prove both attractive and profitable to the Sixth-Form physicist, mathematician, chemist, or biologist with a text-book whose aim was to bring before the reader's eye the Greek origin of mathematics, biology, etc., with all their attendant specialised terms. The young zoologist would be amused to find that Aristotle (as J. B. S. Haldane has shown) anticipated von Frisch in noting the dance of the bees. The basis for such a text-book could be found in M. R. Cohen and I. E. Drabkin, *A Source Book in Greek Science*. The second suggestion is the long and eloquent chapter pleading that a special kind of classics (without language but not without emphasis on Greek and Latin origins of English terminology and with plenty of mythology, drama, good stories, art, and everyday life) should be taught in the secondary modern schools, which educate something like three-quarters of every age-group, and that the teachers of it should have a modicum of special training: here *mutatis mutandis* the now well-established Danish experiment (described recently in *Greece and Rome*) is not irrelevant. Both suggestions, like everything else in the book, conform to the authors' fundamental belief that 'a Classical course can be contrived which shall satisfy three requirements: 1. At each stage it must be appropriate to the mental development of the pupil. 2. At each stage it must realise perfectly definite aims: that is to say, it must be self-sufficient. 3. At each stage it must contain within itself the potentiality of future advance.'

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

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b.

CARRETAN HYDRIA IN DUNEID.
a. Front. *b.* Back.



a.



ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE SKYPHOS IN THE MUSEUM OF VALETTEA.



a.

BELL-KRATER BY THE PAINTER OF LOUVRE G308, IN THE MUSEUM OF VALLETTA
(see also p. 8, Figs. 1 and 3).



b.

BELL-KRATER BY THE TELLOS PAINTER, IN THE MUSEUM OF VALLETTA
(see also p. 8, Figs. 2 and 4).



HEIDELBERG 277.



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1. ATHENS 416 (DETAIL OF A).



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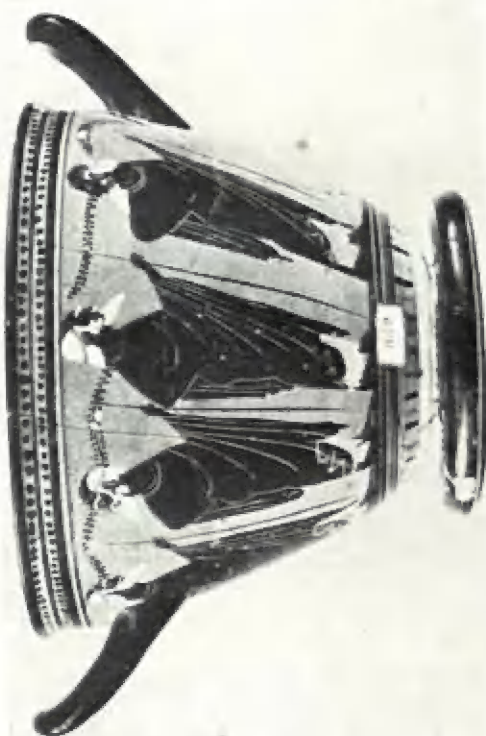
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4. WINCHESTER COLLEGE.



1. PHILADELPHIA MS5481.



3. ATHENS 362.



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2. SYRACUSE 26857.



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5, 6. OXFORD, FRAGMENTS.

3. HEIDELBERG 277.
7. BOSTON. 8. HEIDELBERG 277.



THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

50 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.

REPORT FOR THE SESSION 1954-55.

THE Council beg leave to submit their report for the session:—

It is pleasant to record that this, the first full year of the Society's association with the Institute of Classical Studies, has been one of harmonious co-operation.

In June 1954 the first floor of 50 Bedford Square was vacated by the subtenant, and during the summer the two large rooms were painted and decorated. The back room is occupied by the Director of the Institute, the front room by the Secretaries of the Societies and of the British School at Athens, while the large room on the ground floor is now used as an Institute Seminar Room and an annex to the Library, but is still available for Committee Meetings of the Societies. The general office has been redecorated, and lighting and linoleum have been renewed throughout the ground floor.

Plans are well advanced for the new building in Gordon Square, which will house the Institute of Archaeology and the Institute of Classical Studies, and in which provision will be made for the Societies. The fifth floor, apart from general office and administrative quarters for the Institute, is devoted entirely to the Library, and will consist of a large reading-room opening into a stack. Book space for 55,000 volumes is planned. On the sixth floor will be rooms for the Societies' Secretaries and a large joint common room, as well as rooms for seminars and committees.

The Society has lost the services of Mrs. Jones, who retired in February. She had given the Society faithful service as Caretaker for twenty-six years, including the whole period of the Second World War. Her place has been taken by Mr. and Mrs. Akehurst. (Mr. Akehurst is employed in the British Museum.)

Finance.

This year's accounts, closing with a surplus of £890, show the full benefit of the Society's association with the University of London, and the generous offer of the Institute of Classical Studies to bear a higher proportion of the maintenance costs of the premises will help towards preserving a satisfactory financial position. The sales of the *Journal*, together with the off-prints of the article by M. Ventris and J. Chadwick in Volume 73, amounting in all to £726, have also made a substantial contribution.

Despite this satisfactory position, however, a cautious financial policy should continue to be pursued. This is all the more necessary in view of the uncertainty about the liabilities of the Joint Societies under the terms of the lease of 50 Bedford Square. Although much of the necessary redecoration has been completed on the first floor and in the basement, some very substantial repairs remain to be done, which will involve the Societies in considerable expense.

Recoveries under deeds of covenant amounted to £225 for 1954.

Membership figures as at December 31st, 1954, are shown below, with comparable figures for past years:—

	Members.	Life Members.	Student Associates.	Libraries.	Total.
1939	1,003	141	222	325	1,699
1951	991	123	174	376	1,664
1952	1,014	123	197	376	1,710
1953	1,004	124	165	385	1,678
1954	1,023	124	147	402	1,696

Obituary.

The Council record with great regret the death of Prof. R. M. Dawkins, a Vice-President; of Mr. T. J. Dunbabin, a Member of Council and

for some years Review Editor of the *Journal*; of Mr. C. T. Edge, F.C.A., who acted as honorary auditor to the Society for fourteen years, and of the following members: L. F. R. Audemars, Prof. Campbell Bonner, Miss E. A. S. Dawes, Prof. H. Frankfort, Mrs. B. H. Hill, Prof. H. F. Jolowicz, Prof. G. Norwood, F. W. Pember, L. W. Spriggs, Miss E. Strudwick.

Journal of Hellenic Studies.

Thanks to a second and final gift of £250 from the Jowett Trustees, it will be possible to make Volume 75 as large as Volume 74.

In 1956, as already stated, there will be, in addition to the normal fascicule, a special fascicule as a tribute to Sir David Ross. An appeal is being made for funds to meet the expenses.

The off-print of the article by M. Ventris and J. Chadwick from Volume 73 continues to be much in demand.

International Congresses.

Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Etudes Classiques. The Society's representative at the meeting in Copenhagen for 1954 was Professor A. W. Gomme.

For the *Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences* in Rome the Council have appointed Professor A. Momigliano to represent the Society.

Meetings.

The following communications have been made at Meetings of the Society during the Session:—

October 22nd, 1954. Prof. John Huston Finley, Harvard University, on 'Pindar, the opening lines of Olympian I'.

February 11th, 1955. K. J. Dover on 'Tyrtaeus and the early history of Greek Elegy'.

April 1st, 1955. T. Bruce Mitford on 'Excavations at Old Paphos'. (Slides.)

June 17th, 1955. Presidential Address: Prof. Dorothy Tarrant on 'Plato as Dramatist'.

November 19th, 1954 (in conjunction with the Roman Society). Monsieur R. Joffroy, Directeur des fouilles de Vix, on 'La sépulture princière hallstattienne de Vix, Côte d'Or'. (Slides.)

Provincial Meetings.

Meetings have been arranged outside London in collaboration with local associations during the Session 1954-55:

At Birmingham: Dr. F. H. Stubbings on 'New Light on Mycenae'.

At Leeds: Prof. T. B. L. Webster on 'Portraiture in Art and Literature in the Fourth Century B.C.'. (Slides.)

At Edinburgh: Miss D. H. F. Gray on 'Homeric Geography'.

At Shrewsbury: Prof. A. J. B. Wace on 'Recent Discoveries at Mycenae'. (Slides.)

At Durham: Prof. H. D. Kitto on 'Hamlet and Greek Tragedy'.

At Reading: Prof. R. P. Winnington-Ingram on 'Greek Drama and Greek Society'.

At Nottingham: Prof. H. Ll. Hudson-Williams on 'Plato and Socrates'.

At Manchester: Prof. T. B. L. Webster on 'The Mycenaean Tablets and Homer'.

At Exeter: H. Lloyd-Jones on 'Zeus and Prometheus'.

At Liverpool: Prof. T. B. L. Webster on 'Costumes and Masks in New Comedy'. (Slides.)

At Southampton: Dr. F. H. Stubbings on 'The Classics in Elizabethan Times'.

At University College of North Staffordshire: Dr. M. Ventris on 'The Mycenaean Script—progress report'.

Administration.

Sir Richard Nosworthy, K.C.M.G., who has acted as Honorary Treasurer to the Society for four years, retired during the summer of 1954. The Council wish to record warm appreciation of his valuable services.

The Society is grateful to Sir Quintin Hill, K.C.M.G., who has agreed to accept nomination as Honorary Treasurer.

The Council has pleasure in recording the offer from the firm of Denham, Betts & Co., Accountants and Auditors, to act as Honorary Auditors to the Society in place of the late Mr. Edge.

The ten members of Council who retire in rotation under rule 19 are: Prof. A. Andrewes, P. E. Corbett, R. L. James, Prof. M. E. L. Mallowan, P. G. Mason, J. S. Morrison, E. V. C. Plumptre, Prof. P. T. Stevens, E. M. Woodward, Prof. R. P. Winnington-Ingram.

In their place the Council have nominated the following for election: Prof. H. C. Baldry, J. M. Cook, R. M. Cook, O. A. W. Dilke, J. G. Griffith, I. R. D. Mathewson, Prof. L. J. D.

Richardson, Prof. C. Martin Robertson, Dr. M. Ventris, Prof. F. W. Walbank.

Prof. Andrewes and Mr. A. G. Woodhead have been elected members of the Executive Committee for the next three-year period.

The Council has received with great regret the resignation of Mr. G. K. Jenkins, who has acted as Assistant Editor of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* since 1949. The Council wish to place on record their appreciation of the work that he has done.

The Joint Library.

The following figures show the work of the Library during the last three sessions:—

	1952-53.	1953-54.	1954-55.
Books added	441	450	486
Books borrowed.....	4,126	4,584	4,453
Borrowers	610	611	604
Slides borrowed.....	4,029	4,800	4,876

It will be noted that the number of books added to the Library continues to increase. During the year the Institute of Classical Studies also added 192 books in the 'primary' category.

The shorter period of summer closing (two weeks instead of five) was appreciated by a number of members who used the Library during the second half of August. It is hoped to make this arrangement permanent.

The Library staff has been increased to three by the appointment in September 1954 of Miss Antonia Pattin as Junior Assistant.

Much-needed improvements have been made to the Library heating and lighting during the year, and new linoleum has been laid in the main Library. Some steel shelves have been erected in the Council Room (now known as the Seminar Room) to relieve the pressure on the Library shelves. This room is now available as a

reading-room except when it is being used for meetings.

Association with the Institute of Classical Studies has made it possible to revive the pre-war custom of tea for members reading in the Library. Tea is available daily from four to four-thirty in the Seminar Room.

Additions to the Slides Collection include a number of slides from the Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photographs, all of Romano-British sites, which were selected for the Societies by Dr. J. K. St. Joseph, and additional slides of Greek vases in the British Museum, selected by Mr. P. Corbett.

The Slides Committee has reviewed the existing lecture sets of slides and is proceeding with the revision of several of the older sets. Two new sets, 'Homeric Pictures', by Professor T. B. L. Webster, and 'Greek Cities', by Professor R. E. Wycherley, have been compiled and are now available for borrowing.

The Councils of the Hellenic and Roman Societies wish to express their thanks for gifts of books from the following: Prof. B. Aiginitos, Miss M. Bennet-Clark, Prof. H. G. Beyen, Prof. E. Bielefeld, Mr. G. C. Boon, Mr. A. R. Burn, Prof. A. W. Byvanck, Mr. J. M. Cook, Prof. Sterling Dow, Dr. V. L. Ehrenberg, Sir John Forsdyke, Mr. D. Gillie, Sir Quintin Hill, Mr. D. Kanatsoules, Dr. J. H. C. Kern, Prof. G. Klauffenbach, Prof. W. A. Laidlaw, Prof. A. D. Momigliano, Mr. E. D. Phillips, Dr. W. H. Plommer, Mr. C. A. Raleigh Radford, Mr. A. Rowe, Miss E. M. Smallwood, Prof. J. Sundwall, Prof. A. Traversa, Mr. A. G. Tsopanakis, Prof. E. G. Turner, Dr. A. W. Van Buren, Prof. A. J. B. Wace, Prof. T. B. L. Webster, Prof. H. D. Westlake, King's College Library, London University Library, the Virgil Society, Winchester Museum.

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THE HISTORY OF THE ARABIAN EMPIRE, FROM THE DEATH OF MAHOMED TO THE PRESENT TIME, IN
 FIVE VOLUMES. BY J. W. BURTON, ESQ., F.R.S.

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